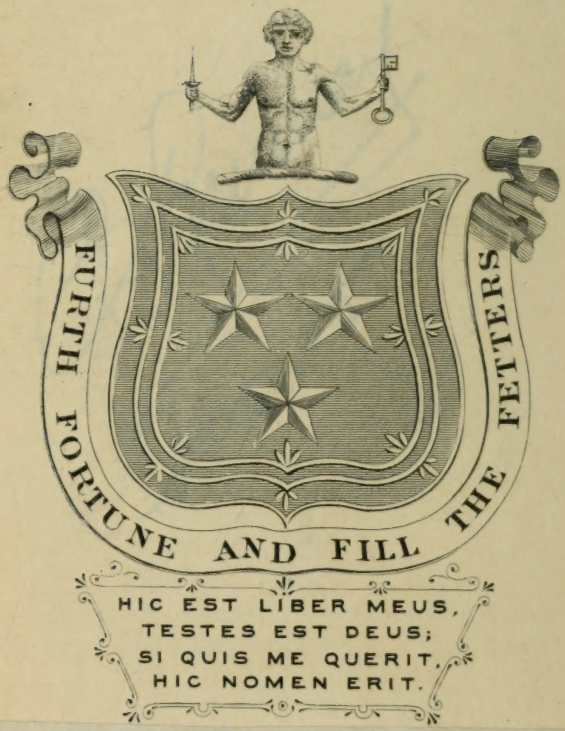
JOHNS
HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES


FURTH FORTUNE AND FILL THE FETTERS
HIC EST LIBER MEUS,
TESTES EST DEUS;
SI QUIS ME QUERIT,
HIC NOMEN ERIT.

DEAN HARRIS

LIBRARY
ST. MICHAELS COLLEGE

BOHN'S SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

ENNEMOSER'S

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

To the Very Rev:
Dean Harris
with the best wishes
of his friend
A. C. Murray.
March 31st/92.
(223 C.P.W. N:4.)

LONDON:
WILSON and OGILVY,
Skinner Street.

THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

BY

JOSEPH ENNEMOSER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX OF THE MOST REMARKABLE AND BEST AUTHENTICATED STORIES OF

APPARITIONS, DREAMS, SECOND SIGHT, SOMNAMBULISM, PREDICTIONS, DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT, VAMPIRES, FAIRIES, TABLE-TURNING, AND SPIRIT-RAPPING.

SELECTED BY

MARY HOWITT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCLIV.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

DEC - 1 1931

1753

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Of the nature and character of a work like the following nothing need be said. It is enough, that at a moment when the public mind occupies itself with the class of subjects on which it treats, the researches of an earnest and indefatigable student cannot be unimportant, even though the reader may not always arrive at the same conclusions that he has done.

To those curious in literary history it may not be uninteresting to know that this translation occupied my husband and our eldest son during their voyage to Australia in 1852. And perhaps the Dream of Pre-vision mentioned at page 416 of the Appendix may be explained in part by the mind of the Translator being occupied at the time by the peculiar views of Ennemoser, which predisposed it for occult impressions. This explanation, it appears to me, is rendered still more probable by another little circumstance, which, being no way irrelevant to the subject, I will mention. The printing of this Ennemoser translation had commenced,—and to a certain extent my mind was imbued with the views and speculations of the author,—when, on the night of the 12th of March, 1853, I dreamed that I received a letter from my eldest son. In my dream I eagerly broke open the seal, and saw a closely written sheet of paper, but my eye caught only these words in the middle of the first page, written larger than the rest and underdrawn, "*My father is very ill.*" The utmost distress

seized me, and I suddenly awoke, to find it only a dream; yet the painful impression of reality was so vivid, that it was long before I could compose myself. The first thing I did the following morning was to commence a letter to my husband, relating this distressing dream. Six days afterwards, on the 18th, an Australian mail came in and brought me a letter,—the only letter I received by that mail, and not from any of my family, but from a gentleman in Australia with whom we were acquainted. This letter was addressed on the outside "*Immediate*," and with a trembling hand I opened it; and, true enough, the first words I saw—and these written larger than the rest in the middle of the paper, and underdrawn,—were "*Mr. Howitt is very ill.*" The context of these terrible words was, however, "If you hear that *Mr. Howitt is very ill*, let this assure you that he is better;" but the only emphatic words were those which I saw in my dream, and these, nevertheless, slightly varying, as, from some cause or other, all such mental impressions, spirit revelations, or occult dark sayings, generally do, from the truth or type which they seem to reflect.

Thus it appears to me, that while we cannot deny the extraordinary psychological phenomena which are familiar to the experience of every human being, they are yet capable of a certain explanation wherever we are enabled to arrive at the circumstances which render the mind receptive of such impressions. The susceptibility either of individuals or bodies of people to these influences, seems to presuppose an abnormal condition.

In the Appendix will be found some curious matter, derived in many cases from old and almost forgotten sources, and given, for the most part, in the words of the original authors.

M. H.

London, May 1854.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

	PAGE
Editor's Preface	v
Author's Preface	i
Of Magic and its Branches in general	1
Plato and Hercules	3
The Mythos	5
The Cabbalah	9
Exorcism	11
Visions	13
Spiritual Magic	17
Tumah	19
Ecstasy	27
Clairvoyance	29
Dreams	34
Symbolic Language	37
Universal Language	39
Primal Truth	41
Varieties of Language	43
The Prevalent Divine Idea	45
Christ the Mediator	47
Soothsaying	57
Seers	69
Somnambulism	71
Catalepsy	73
Convulsionairs	75
Benvenuto Cellini's Vision	77
Intoxicating Drugs	81
Magical Ecstasy and True Inspiration	89
True Inspiration and Magical Vision	91
Inspirations and Visions of the Saints	93
Maid of Orleans	99
Power of the Imagination	101
Bleeding Wounds	103
Long Fasting	107
Healing by Touch	109
Talismans	113
Influence of Stones	115
The Breath of the Young	117
Theoretical Views on Magic among the Ancients	124

BF
1589
.E
v.1

PAGE

MAGNETISM AMONG THE ANCIENT NATIONS; ESPECIALLY THE ORIENTALS, EGYPTIANS, AND ISRAELITES . . . 152
Magical Influences 167
Spiritual Appearances 169
Magic among the Orientals 172
The Chinese 211
Infected Imaginations of the Lapps, etc. . . 227
The Arabs 229
Magic among the Egyptians 231
The Voluspa 235
The Egyptian Priesthood 243
Pictures and Statues relating to Magnetism . . 267
Heads of the Egyptian Belief 269
Magic among the Israelites 272
Mosaic Account of Creation 275
Magnetic Power recorded in the Bible . . . 281
The Magician's Power 297
Prophets of Israel 299
The New Covenant 207
Miracles in the Gospels 211
Miracles of the Apostles 317
State of the World at the Christian Era . . 327
Miracles and Magnetism 335
The Great Miracle of Christianity . . . 339
Magic among the Greeks and Romans . . . 343
Greek Inspiration 345
Gradual Belief in Demonology 315
Magic among the Greeks 355
The Healing Art connected with the Priesthood . 357
Temples of Esculapius 361
Ceremonies performed by the Sick . . . 365
Votive Tablets and Inscriptions 369
Magnetic Nature of Aristides 391
Pythagoras 390
Plato's Views regarding Numerals . . . 399
Plato's Original Man 401
Empedocles 403
Apollonius of Tyana 405
Plutarch regarding Oracles 409
The Kyphi 419
Magic among the Romans 420
The Sybils 423
The Early Fathers and the Sybils . . . 431
The Oracles 433
Magic in Mythology 441
New Platonists 443
Plotinus 445
Divine Dream of the Soul . . . 451
Iamblichus on the Force of Truth . . . 457

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

As it is customary for everyone on going into foreign countries to take a passport, in order to ensure his unimpeded progress, in like manner it has also been the usage, from time immemorial, for books to carry before them such a document of legitimacy in order to ensure for themselves a favourable reception: this book requires all the more such preliminary authentication, as its very name has something suspicious about it, and its contents are amongst the things which are generally considered contraband, and are often subjected to confiscation, or even, as blasphemies, to the tender mercies of the Inquisition.

Different readers will look at this book from very different points of view. By some it will be esteemed only as a curiosity, others will find matter for further research; one will wish to learn magic arts from it, and another will draw from it philosophical conclusions. All will be welcome: and will find, I believe, if not instruction, at least amusement and ample food for reflection; for it treats of remarkable phenomena and uncommon effects, which have certainly hitherto been looked upon as mere phantoms, or as belonging to a sphere quite unconnected with nature, but which nevertheless are a portion of history, and surely on that account are of universal interest.

Magnetism, by its remarkable phenomena, in modern times has led us into a sphere which still, like a closed book, contains secrets of a higher order of things lying

beyond the familiar, every-day history of nature. Before the discovery of magnetism, it was believed that science had already exhausted the world, and that the human mind had noted down on the map of natural and inner life everything that could and could not exist in heaven and earth. Magnetism itself stood in the background; it was looked upon as something that is nothing, and cannot exist. Such obsolete dusty charts are still often found hanging over the desks of zealous champions, who, in knightly manner, fight boldly against deceit and destruction for the beautiful prepared possession. Now, however, Magnetism, not content with its manifold wonders, leads the way back into the mysterious domain of exploded magic, gathers up old tales and long-forgotten laws of mysterious action, from a transcendental world, which estimates on one hand the present standard of science as valueless, and on the other, orthodox dogmas as the work of the devil. Whilst the former thus fears to be led back into the gloom of the mystical twilight of the past by such attempts as are described in this book, where only the phantasms of faith in miracles play their wild game, the latter resists boldly, in the anxious fear lest all miracles should cease to be miraculous.

Thus, if it should appear that the author's intention had been only to ridicule the understanding and wisdom of the times, collecting merely show and glitter instead of materials for true science, or to disturb the comfortable peace of pious minds by seeking to vulgarise the Sacred and to degrade the Divine, or even to open the door to Atheism, it is the more necessary to give the reader some preparatory notion of the construction and tendency of this work, which is probably still a stranger to most of them.

Whilst many of our contemporaries, unused to, or incapable of, deep reflection, feel no desire or impulse to pursue serious researches on the singular phenomena of nature and the action of the soul, there are others who perceive, or even comprehend, the most hidden springs of mysterious action, but will not place these on the theatre of earthly common-place, fearing the desecration of the impious world. The latter fear, not without cause, only to advance

human vanity, and to open to mankind a perspective of the most exalted truths, for which, as yet, but few are prepared. There are also false critics, who, like false prophets, rather accuse the whole former world of folly and deceit than confess that they do not know how to grapple with undeniable facts, and who with their own statutes and foolish imaginations fall far short of the prudent simplicity of old, which taught harmony and a regular correspondence between the visible and invisible world, which is truly little acknowleged, because, besides the clear brilliancy of the outward eye, it requires a certain unction of the inner, whilst the mere στοιχεῖα τοῦ χόσμου do not contain the substance and origin of things.

The contents of this book are, without reference to the above-mentioned contradictory motives, entirely occupied with those mesmeric appearances which formerly were called magical, and now magnetic; in the present state of opinion, therefore, it cannot, of course, aspire to universal approbation. It may, however, if it does not interest, at least not be generally displeasing, as the author seeks everywhere with complete impartiality only the historical traces of true facts, and the phenomena connected with them; compares these, and endeavours to lead them back to certain laws of nature, which, in truth, may be considered as something more than mere polluted pools, or decayed pillars.

If some things which are discussed do not always bear the impress of infallible truth, or even if some principles on which they are based be not the firmest, still it cannot easily be said that they are invented, or that it is all a deception. Even if they were really true, of which, indeed, we have many proofs, we may here and there find occasion to give them more consideration and to test the utility of their application, in order, perhaps, to succeed in discovering constant forces, even in the midst of more infrequent actions, in clearing away many difficulties which general science does not solve, and in opening a wider field of operations for human activity, so that it may attain at last the exalted end of spiritual destiny. As such, at least, is the aim of this novice sent among strangers, it hopes to meet,

if not with protection and shelter, at least with a fair hearing.

This book appeared, indeed, about twenty years ago, but in another garb, and then bore, contrary to the desire of its author, a somewhat unsuitable title; it was headed by the suspicious word "Scientific." At that time the clerks and general controllers of all knowledge, lying in wait at all corners and paths, seized hold of the unpolished stranger with merciless severity, declared his passport forged, found not a single good point about him, and asserted that he had nothing but damaged or contraband goods. A few, however, secretly searched his pockets, dishonestly abstracting therefrom various things, to be brought to market secretly as their own property,—"*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.*" In spite of all, the bookseller found his profit in it, and ere long the edition was sold out. All at once the novice reappears at a time, "*où les esprits fermentent*," but in quite a different form; with less pretension outwardly, but inwardly much more richly endowed. With a certain independence and confidence he now steps forward in a more solid form, little heeding the attacks of lurking pedants, who take the shallowness of their range of ideas for the mine of all truth, and do not perceive that there are still secrets to be disclosed which open a wider perspective to the investigations of the human mind, and afford a happier resting-place than is found in natural space and in these poor mortal times. With all this, it still treats the same theme, which suits the prevalent theories of science less than the regularity of ever recurring phenomena. The author builds, like St. Ambrosius, more on fixed laws of nature than on theories floating to the winds, —"*Validius est naturæ testimonium, quam doctrinæ argumentum.*"

Thus has the author for the last thirty years moved on the still uncultivated field of the wonderful phenomena of magnetism; and after having once ascertained its reality, and been convinced of the striking effects voluntarily produced by it, he believes it his duty, in accordance with the saying "that a grain of experience is of more value in medicine than a book full of reasoning," to persevere with a certain self-sacrifice and constancy, of which not all

are capable. He considered his first necessary task to be the making experiments for the discovery of a fixed law for these phenomena. As it soon appeared that such regularity really existed, the next thing required was to search in history for those similar mysterious phenomena which shew a greater or less relation to those of magnetism. General accordance is now found everywhere and at all times, and thus common laws may now be assumed for all those wonderful phenomena and problems. This justifies the axiom, that all such remarkable phenomena as are in accordance with magnetism are in general true. Many other unsolved problems, of which a variety will be collected and compared in this book, appear by its means to solve themselves, or at least to be brought to a nearer comprehension. The author feels now with a certain joy which none can repress, that he has at least done his duty, perhaps thrown some light into the obscurity, and thus given the most necessary hints for proceeding with a cautious, firm step, and offering a helping hand to human weakness.

If natural philosophy has of late represented magnetism not only as tellurian but as a general cosmical power of nature, and if she confirms this by physical reasons founded on observation, and not mere metaphysical speculation, the assertion of that magnetic seeress is no longer so absurd when she calls Magnetism something more universal and higher than what is generally understood by it. "Magnetism, she said, is even capable of setting free the original bright nature of man, in its various parts, powers, and relations, which can then express itself in many ways and in different degrees: the power of magnetizing lies in everyone, but there must exist the power combined with the wisdom to apply it. Meanwhile men speak of it as they do of the wind, of which they know not whence it comes nor whither it goes. Man can also make wind, but only such as has no life in it." As the author had the opportunity of hearing such decisions of magnetic seers, and of making himself acquainted with the higher natural philosophy, he has endeavoured to collect in this work everything that appeared to him to belong to the province of magnetism, and to be susceptible of enlightenment by the torch of natural philosophy. The reader must, therefore, be requested to

follow with a certain tolerance and resignation into the magical land, even if he should sometimes be led too far, and into strange places. Who can invariably, and especially on such unknown ground, always attain the right goal? On the other hand, instead of a complete systematic filling up and philosophic enlightening, often only hints of the probable direction are given. The author has allowed himself a certain freedom, because self-instruction was his principal aim. After having proceeded a certain distance, however, and being convinced of having acquired a useful scientific fact, he considered it a duty to communicate it to others, remembering the passage of Phædrus,—"*nisi utile est, quod novimus, stulta est Sapientia.*"

The reader will not find industry and a certain circumspection wanting. By patient devotion, something at least has been done, as much at least as one individual, with other necessary occupations, has been able to accomplish. An ample library was necessary for the completion of the work, together with years of research and the aid of friends; and without the rich treasures of the royal library of this place, and the gratefully acknowledged readiness of its superintendents, it could never have appeared in this extended form. Copiousness, however, in a work of this kind is necessary in more than one respect. Sufficient matter must be collected to enable us to reject what is superfluous and useless. In the representation of facts brevity is not the very first law, but rather brilliancy and distinctness, inasmuch as the narrator has to separate reality from fiction, what is known from what is merely invented, and to make way for conviction in the place of doubt. The author readily admits that he may at one time be too prolix, at another too concise; here have omitted or underrated a master, there have introduced or overrated an assistant; a man may have many good intentions but few good actions. The principal endeavour is to afford the reader the means of testing the proofs for himself, and protecting himself against the prejudices of history or those of the author; of course he must not, chilled by these, have lost all docile susceptibility. Neither will a reasonable reader require complete infallibilty, or be as-

tonished at a possible number of paradoxes which he may perhaps find in a man who is his own guide in these singularities; who, though unprejudiced, condemns neither party if they afford ever so little support, but who follows no standard or authority, and is always cautious "that no name deceive him, no dogma confine; nor that life's pressing crowd change his human nature."

The phenomena of magnetism are acknowledged to be of great importance to anthropology and natural philosophy, and even to moral philosophy; they are becoming so to history, and even, as the reader will perceive, partly in the mystical olden time.

If the world is a miracle, the history of life is a dream; we know not whither it goes, nor do we know its beginning and end; all humanity plays to a certain extent a blind game, and is kept together less by clear knowledge than by the instinctive dream-pole. An internal, hidden poet leads them by a secure thread through the labyrinths of time and space. Hidden in the breast of man lie the everlasting messengers of Heaven and Hell, who step forth, now as glorified spirits to console, now as terrific monsters on his path. Hegel said somewhere, "all History is a book of dreams, a collection of dreams;" and if the dreams had been collected which men had dreamt during a certain period, a true picture of the spirit of the time would have been given.

By far the greater part of mankind lives on Imagination; not only the less instructed natural men of feeling, but even those who boast of knowledge and a higher mental cultivation. How few, in their feelings and sufferings, in their doings and aspirings, raise themselves in the sea of life above the world of Imagination! In the literary hero of romance, among the scenes of the stage, there is no more original thought than in the persevering church-goer. The great mass wishes to be devout, and thinks that the glorification of God's name lies in miracles rather than in natural action. Dignity, riches, and power, are only too much the springs of even great and eminent minds.

Thus mysterious feelings always lead man, like the dreamer and somnambulist, through the world, rather than the clear consciousness of open daylight; and as the

dreamer is only struck by the momentary liveliness of the appearance, undisturbed by its causes or effects, so mankind knows no more of the dreams of the first period of its childhood.

But, now, magnetism gives us information about the existence and action of the life of dreams, and the power of creation, and in general about the sports and whims of fancy. It is also the best means of breaking the seal which closes the mysteries of antiquity, rich in fancy, whilst it discloses the similarity and depth of man's capacity, and shows an accordance of phenomena which formerly in magic was attributed to enchantment and to deceit, or to those supernatural wonders for which the philosopher could not account, and which an external religion and an inherited faith found not in their Catechism. In fine, Magnetism is able to give the meaning of the symbolic enigmas of ancient mysteries, which were considered quite insoluble, or which appeared matter for the most varied explanations. In the same manner, the manifold declarations of ecstatic seers and mystic philosophers, which are treasured up by persons initiated into the mysteries, will now become more intelligible by means of magnetism. The reader who is so inclined, may convince himself of this, if he will follow the author on the wide field of magic, whilst he collects and compares the testimony and monuments of all ages. If he has not succeeded in exhausting everything and completely clearing away all darkness, bridges and windows will appear to lead us to new views, which time and the constantly increasing dexterity of Magnetism will enlighten more and more, and thus, after a real search, according to the command of Olympiodorus, we shall at last attain to a knowledge of heavenly things.

There occur in the history of man great questions regarding the world of miracles, on the subject of which both philosophers and the religious have occupied themselves. What are miracles in nature and in the mind of man? How is the world governed? what was the inspiration of the prophets and oracles? Do these go on of themselves like clockwork, or are they governed by supernatural influences? does the divinity descend into the heart of man, or does the

latter raise itself with innate strength from the dust of natural life into the high spheres of spirits?

Men are astonished at unusual appearances and signs which they do not comprehend; but does such astonishment always imply a real miracle? Most men have the miracle in their mind, and worship it, because it is enveloped in a sacred obscurity. They only admire nature because they are of opinion that she is an inexplicable enchantment, whilst they set but small value on what they consider intelligible. On the other hand, there are even philosophers who admit of no miracle, and who pass their lives in believing nothing,—not even believing what they see, especially if they do not understand it. The most wonderful point about these is, that their own brain is not a miracle to them!

In nature, as well as in the mind, regular phenomena occur, which are looked upon as wonders only on account of their rarity, and because it is not known how they come about. The best thing that can be said of miracles is the answer given by Christ to Nicodemus:—

"That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.

"The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth."

Like the Fathers in Israel, the new fathers do not willingly take cognizance of things which are not part of their faith, and which are out of their horizon, whether temporal or heavenly things be in question. A seeress expresses herself remarkably well on this point: "If anyone seeks miracles, he will find them in everything that would appear very natural to him, if he had more knowledge of himself, of nature, and of the providence of God. Another, who thinks highly of his reason, does not admit anything miraculous; he must understand and explain everything by his reason, even if it cannot be so understood and explained; and whenever he fails in this, he contradicts and denies."

It is certainly very difficult always to decide what are natural and what are directly divine operations; and thus one can understand that most persons unacquainted with the laws of nature call everything a miracle which they cannot measure

by their own standard. On the other hand, miracles often consist of reports, magnified by lies, and propagated by superstition. Thus it happens that even by the more educated, certain uncommon phenomena are ignored, or even denied. For the knowledge of the regularity of all unusual phenomena is attained not so much by ideas as by profound tranquillity, by observation and labourious experience, which require long to strike root and to bear fruit. A certain religious sect is of opinion that one must not infringe too much on the faith in miracles, without reflecting that by Christ and the apostles we are not referred to signs and wonders, but to the research after truth, retaining what is good,—and to the active spirit of love. Another sect thinks that a prophetic illumination would decide only for the good ; that man has no natural impulse to prophesy, and that where a prognostication appears, except among orthodox devotees, it is a false prophesy in league with evil spirits,—a kind of supernatural lightning called enchantment.

The reader will in this work be led into the great ill-famed land of the marvellous. He will be faithfully informed how those magical prophecies of the heathen oracles, and then how the demoniacal powers of necromancy and of Christian witchcraft, at different times and among different nations, were brought about. In these days a kind of twilight shines on those hidden performances, which philosophic poets, poetical philosophers, and enthusiastic theologists, are emulously stirring up by Imagination, Symbolism, and Mysticism. Not merely the bare facts will be here recorded, but as much as possible the natural progress of them explained, in order that the miraculous prophecies of the oracle be no longer ascribed to the gods, but the causes be found in human nature itself and in its inborn attributes. Man possesses a susceptibility dependent on natural and mental stimulus, from which arises, sometimes, from an innate disposition, a low, imperfect, or even, through divine impulse, a higher and more complete prophesying—prophetic inspiration. The pathological condition of the demoniacal enchanters and sorcerers may also be explained as natural events; they are abnormal, unusual affections of the mind, which often resemble illumination. Thus the usual mental powers of man arise from the depths of the spiritual world, over the

smooth mirror of the soul, through time and space, and the unusually excited senses palpitate like the lightning which casts its flashes and waves often on the most distant shores, sending a magic brightness, which one is more willing to consider supernatural than to ascribe to a fixed law of nature. Psychologists have had still less success hitherto in explaining the spiritual, than physiologists the natural lightning, which formerly was also ascribed to Jupiter and the symbolic gods. The intensity and vastness of the human mind are not fathomed by the most faithful observations of physiologists; and these psychological wonders are still frequently enough ascribed to the gods.

The mind of man is simple in its character, like the spirit of God and of nature, but manifold are its powers and action. And thus the spirit of prophecy pervades all history, and springs from the lawful power of humanity itself, in which the impulse alone is occasional, proceeding either from nature or directly by God's choice. One must not be enamoured of prophecy, either on account of its show or for its importance; neither must one undervalue it, for it affords always a sort of intimation of truth, and some proof of Divine Providence, which strengthens faith and awakens the hope of a future.

That such revelations and unusual action take place, even in sleep and in abnormal conditions, is even less to be wondered at; for the spirit itself has eyes before and behind, and sleep is only action checked by the heaviness of the exhausted natural body; for the spirit, freed from this weight, has no peace day or night. The unusually developed powers of the mind do not certainly admit of being so exactly defined in their source and tendency, as is the case with the elementary powers of nature, with Magnetism and Electricity; yet the strength of the mind is on that account no less certain, as is proved by the power of the Word, when one can neither weigh nor measure it.

"Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit.

"And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

"But the manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal."—I. Corinthians, xii.

Nothing is better calculated to furnish examples of the misapprehended magical state, and of its miracle-faith in supernatural agencies, than the history of witchcraft. That man was only a passive toy of demoniacal powers was universally acknowledged, and even defended by positive divinity and polemics. I have treated this subject more especially according to its historical origin and anthropological causes, and with regard to time and place; whereas up to this time it has been represented very imperfectly, and in fragments, and without regard to any scientific explanation. In order to find the origin and progress of the idea of witchcraft, I certainly had to return to remotest antiquity,—in fact, to the physical and mythological foundation, and perhaps the reader will sometimes think my proceedings hazardous, as on this somewhat unstable ground deductions from similar modern phenomena are introduced.

I regret not being able any longer to make use of the excellent work of Dr. Wilh. Gott. Soldau, "History of Witchcraft Represented from its Sources;" Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1843. Soldau also shows circumstantially that the history of witchcraft is not only a national but a magical human history; "That witchcraft is a phenomenon of Christendom, which, if it is to be understood, must not be represented as belonging to a single people, nor as beginning from that period when it appears as something already complete. The phenomena of sorcery are not isolated facts,—they are not only in close connection with the general state of cultivation, but branch out into innumerable points of contact with church history, with the history of crime, of medicine, and thus of natural philosophy."

Soldau also shows from church history how enchantments and heretical abominations proceeded from religious views, and from previous accusation, how they were progressively cultivated, and led step by step to a point whence it appears but one leap, if to tales of heresy were even added the disgraceful, pernicious magic arts, as realities; so that in the 13th century these heretical vices were even included in magic.

He shows further how in the first centuries of Christianity the fathers of the church, rabbis, and heathen philosophers, lost themselves, and rivalled each other in demonological

speculations and beliefs, represented miracles and sorceries, so that everyone looked on what was agreeable as a miracle, and the reverse as a sorcery. "Sorcery was illegal miracle, and miracle legitimate sorcery." The Fathers of the Church looked upon the heathen oracles, and the heathens on the Christian miracles, as sorcery. Thus by degrees the foundation of a system was laid, which, projected under many contradictions, formed the indictments in the famous witch-trials, of which its commencements and resting points are to be found in the East, among the Jews and Greeks, and also in northern mythology; so that sorcery has always existed, if not in the world, at least in the minds of men.

Some readers may perhaps be surprised that I have taken so little notice of a new work of J. Görres—"Christian Mysticism," 5 vols. Regensburg and Landshut, since it at least moves in similar mystic regions, and treats more in detail several subjects,—such as the reciprocal connection between men and the extraordinary alternation of effects, the visions and ecstasies, the abnormal affections of sleep and of the senses, &c. The work will be very instructive to the reader in every respect, and especially as completing the history of magic; but my present object is neither the nature of mysticism nor its history; consequently the ground-work and the subjects of this book are very different, as well as its tendency and aim. I start from personal observations, wander about on the vital and productive field of nature, seek everywhere the analogies and relations of phenomena, and the laws which govern them; descend then, as well and as far as I can, into the deepest and darkest pits of history, place them in rows side by side for inspection, in order to make prominent the character of the harmony or contrast according to its principles. The most active principle, however, of these magic phenomena, I have found mostly on anthropological ground, where nature and the action of fancy produce the wonders which transport the supernaturalist completely into the transcendental and supernatural, but the rationalist absolutely denies, if he does not understand them.

The above named work treats of the history of mysticism, in tales and traditions, where criticism exercises no great severity. Now the purport of all mysticism is the wide

flowery field of all sensuous images and of religious metaphysics—generally whereby the connection and union with God shall be assured more by feelings and faith than by the free conceptions of the understanding. Christian mysticism is only a single form according to its doctrine, and the elaborations of its history represent it again according to its confessional and spiritual point of view Thus Gorres seeks to cover mysticism with a glittering poetical web—"Mysticism is, according to him and to the Catholic doctrine, nothing more than a gospel reflected in the saints, an undulation and vibration lasting for ages, and moving in increasing circles, of the movement originated by Christ." Mysticism is according to Gorres a contemplation assisted by higher light, and action through higher freedom; the singular phenomena of contemplation and action which occur among pious Christians are miracles of a higher unseen power.

As most, if not all, unusual phenomena belong to the realm of magic, and are found not only among Christians but also among the heathen, they must follow a general law, and such uncommon physical natural phenomena can be no miracles; certainly much less so, than the Christian regeneration of the spirit itself. Even to the agency of a strange objective spirit-world is attributed much which certainly belongs to the subjective fancy of man. Religious visions and ecstasies are related to those of magnetism, and in their principles differ perhaps only in the rarest instances. From physical pathological conditions, from the exaggerated ascetic, and ecstasy-reaching exercises, from subjective illusory chimeras, many saints have obviously not been free, and the separation of the natural-sensuous and the supernatural divine leads us into a field where doubts and contentions about miracles begin, where it can no longer be apodictically decided how much is natural phenomena, and how much the agency of divine grace, if one permits supernatural influences to outbid the natural powers. For man possesses a completely incomprehensible, positive, innate (generally latent) vital power, which in proportion to its power of extension pervades the immeasurable. Nature rests on such an inborn basis and order, that so her most entangled and abnormal effects proceed rather from her own

regularity than are the consequence of supernatural spiritual powers, which only *fortuite et fataliter* make game of her as a passive tool. There is in the conception of life more than Supernaturalism believes, and less than Rationalism admits. Divine qualities already exist in the substance of natural life, but even divine influences are not on that account excluded, because everything receives life from God, and through God. The mutually influencing causes and effects of divine and natural, spiritual and physical power, are mostly concealed in obscurity impenetrable to the understanding: thus fancy retains the power voluntarily and at pleasure of ascribing every unusual appearance to a transcendant principle, in correspondence with a religious feeling and a national point of view. This was the case with the mythological elementary powers, and thus it is still with the inexplicable physiological enigmas. A pathological phenomenon is frequently erroneously regarded as a divine revelation, and degrades the objective outward cause among living beings, where only subjective powers proceed from their singularity.

It appears to me, therefore, most prudent, in the contemplation of the world and history, to render the mystical scientific, rather than science mystical, by which means we shall observe the powers of nature and of the mind by their phenomena and reciprocal action, and thus discover their mutual conditions. Above all, we have to hold fast by nature's point of view; without however mixing up God and the world, or amalgamating them in a pantheistical unity. Thus it seems advisable neither to take refuge too much in the sublimities of transcendentalism, nor yet on the other hand to stagnate in spiritless matter; not alone to trust to the prevailing feelings and the lustre of phantasy, nor yet blindly to follow the power of faith as a load-star, and at the same time just as little to accept everything as unrefutable truth, which can only be decided by reflection and cool understanding, which everywhere affects a defiant self-will, and a faultless independence. Both the extremes, Pietism and Rationalism, are the farthest removed from nature and from God, and their fruits have never yet brought a blessing or a comfort into the world.

True magic lies in the most secret, inmost powers of our

mind, but our spiritual nature is not yet revealed to us. All spiritual wonders are lost at last in the wonders of our own mind.

Mysticism is common property; all men are mystics; but true mysticism consists in the direct relation of the human mind to God, in the idea of the absolute, in which, however, objective revelation contains no more than corresponds with the subjective powers of man. My criterion of false mysticism is, that it accomplishes no true community and propitiation between God and man. True mysticism must include the idea of truth and goodness, of beauty and virtue, as beams of all spiritual perfection and religious self-consciousness; as a universally illuminating centre must penetrate the whole spiritual organism.

Magnetism introduces us to the mysteries of magic, and contains on one side a key to the most hidden secrets of nature, as on the other it is adapted to exhibit mysticism and the wonders of the creative spirit.

IMAGO, MAGIA, MAGNES!

Munich, 21st Oct. 1843.

THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

PART I.

OF MAGIC AND ITS BRANCHES IN GENERAL.

Magiusiah, Madschusie, signified the office and knowledge of the Priest, who was called Mag, Magius, Magiusi, and afterwards, Magi and Magician. Brucker maintains (Historia philos. crit. t. i. p. 160), that the primitive meaning of this word is "Fire-worshipper"—"worship of the light," to which erroneous opinion he has been led by the Mohammedan dictionaries; neither is Magic to be derived directly from the Magi; which was an error on the part of the Romans. The word Mag was used by Jeremias to indicate a Babylonian priest. In the modern Persian, the word is Mog, and Mogbed signifies High Priest. The high priest of the Parsees at Surat, even at the present day, is called Mobed. Others derived the word from "Megh;" Meh-ab signifying something which is great and noble, and Zoroaster's disciples were called Meghestom. (Kleuker, Wachsmuth.) Among the Parsees, the Medes, and Egyptians, a higher knowledge of nature was understood by the term Magic, with which religion, and particularly astronomy, were associated. The initiated and their disciples were called Magicians—that is, the Wise—which was also the case among the Greeks. It is thus that Plato praises the θεοσέβεια; Lucian calls them

"genus *μαντικὸν καὶ θεολογον*, &c.;" and Cicero, "sapientium et doctorum genus magorum habebatur in Persis."

That renowned wisdom of the Magi in Persia, Media, and the neighbouring countries, therefore, contained also the secret teachings of philosophy and the sciences, which were only communicated to priests, who were regarded as mediators between God and man, and as such, and on account of their knowledge, were highly respected. It is easily to be imagined that, as the subtle workings of nature, and the movements of the heavenly bodies, were perfectly unknown by the people, the idea of magic, which was always connected with astrology, should be readily formed.

The Magi are to be met with in the most ancient traditions of the Old World. India, Persia, Chaldea, and Egypt, were the cradles of the oldest magic. Zoroaster, Ostanes, the Brahmins, the Chaldean sages, and the Egyptian priests, were the primitive possessors of its secrets. The priestly and sacrificial functions, healing of the sick, and the preservation of secret wisdom, were the objects of their life. They were either princes themselves, or surrounded princes as their counsellors. Justice, truth, and the power of self-sacrifice, were the great qualities with which each one of these must be endowed. The neglect of any one of these virtues was punished in the most cruel manner. Cambyses, for instance, commanded the execution of a priest who had allowed himself to be bribed, and had his skin stretched over the chair in which his son and successor sat in his judicial capacity. That magic was very early associated with medicine is shewn by Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1), who even traces its origin to that science: "natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat magiam." However, this idea was not always connected with it. Plato understood by wisdom nothing less than a worship of the Divinity, *θεραπεία θεῶν*, and Apuleius says that "Magus means, in the Persian language, a Priest,"—"nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est, qui nostra sacerdos; sin vero more vulgari eum proprie magum existimant, qui communione loquendi cum diis immortalibus ad omnia, quæ velit, polleat." The common belief, however, was that which included all occult science under the name of magic. Later, under this title, was understood enchantment and any ex-

traordinary operations, such as making gold, exorcising spirits, &c., so that magic was divided into white and black: to the latter belonged, reading the hand, evil-eye, power over the elements, and the transformation of human beings into animals.

Magic has often been erroneously considered as exclusively of Persian origin, which error Plato appears to have originated. He says, "When the boy is fourteen years of age, those take charge of him who are called Royal instructors. These are four of the oldest and most distinguished men; one the wisest, the second the most just, the third the most moderate, and the fourth the bravest. One of these instructs him in the magic of Zoroaster, the son of Oromazes, which is the service of the Gods." It is certain that Plato did not understand by this the present acceptation of the term; for he could not include, among the services of the gods, the power of changing men into animals or demons. This meaning was only given to it by the New Platonic theory, which, with the Cabbalah, became the principal source from which the theosophic and theurgic teachings, as well as the later belief in magic, have sprung. So says Hierocles (in Aur. Carm. p. 306, ed. Lond. 1742.) "The customs of religion are means to obtain the telestian virtues, by which men became demons." The theories of spiritual apparitions, and the transition of demons into the human body, take their rise in the philosophy of Heraclitus; according to whom, demons are attracted by matter. It was thus that, later, the commonly received idea of magic arose; the possession of supernatural powers, such as belong to the higher spirits, and which they occasionally impart to men, under certain circumstances.

Among the supernatural powers was reckoned that of predicting the future, and that of acting directly upon others, even at a distance; and on this account magic may be separated into seeing and acting. The original, and the higher description of magic was, in fact, grounded on this aphorism: "Man may become, by the assistance and co-operation of spiritual powers, and the capacities of his higher divine origin, capable of a higher sphere of activity, as well without as within himself, which gives him dominion over his own, and over surrounding nature." Taken in this sense,

we find magic, in the earliest ages, as one of the prominent, universal properties of man; not alone in Persia, but throughout the whole East, although Persia and Chaldea may possibly have been its most fruitful and congenial ground. In this sense, Pythagoras and his disciples were, at a later period, considered as teachers of good or wise magic. The lower, or black magic, however, originated in the early times; and man, becoming conscious of his unusual powers, and without knowing their boundaries, was easily inclined to ascribe them to foreign and supernatural influences—to demons; and, according to his nature, he would use them for good or evil purposes, either deceived himself, or, as a magician, deceiving others. Everything which could be considered as wonderful,—as the incomprehensible workings of natural powers in the magnet, or the divinatory wand, or any surprising action, was considered, at a later period, as magic, and particularly as black magic, or the black art.

We will now regard ancient magic more closely, and that from historical sources; afterwards its more important branches, particularly visions, soothsaying, and influence through the mind, through words (verbum mirificum), and by means of amulets.

That magic descended by tradition from the early ages, is shown everywhere by the primitive records of the human race. It is so intimately connected with the nature of man, that we can only feel surprised that the learned should doubt it, and think it requisite to ascribe everything to Mythos; as if tradition had no deeper or firmer foundation. Thus it was that Eberhart maintained (Berliner Monatschrift, 1787) that he had discovered the sources of magical art, and its theory, in the Platonic Mythos of Timæus, and that no tradition reaches any higher. According to him, the germ of the New Platonic theory, of the Cabbalah, of Theosophy and Magic, even down to the time of Mesmer and his adherents, may be discovered in it. According to Eberhart, a fiction is a myth, "which is accepted on account of its supernatural teachings, or its antiquity, and which is therefore regarded as an undisputed fact, because its real origin is far beyond the perception, or circle of vision, of those who believe in it." By such a course of reasoning, it would not be difficult to understand everything,—and even

if any one fact defied explanation, it might be pushed back upon Mythos, till any one chose to bring it back again to daylight.

In the same degree that Eberhart gets rid of magic with the greatest ease, so does another writer extend its bounds till it includes that which never had any connection with it. According to Tiedemann (Disputatio de quæstione, quæ fuerit artium magicarum origo, Marb. 1787, p. 7), "The powers of magic are expressly these:—to cure sickness with very little medicine, or without any; to know future and hidden things; to find buried treasure of gold and silver; in short, to understand all nature, and to do everything that is great and magnificent. It is easy to see, from this, how magic may be divided; wherever a boundary is reached, and wherever a new fact is met with, there will also be a new class of magic: the most important, however, are the various kinds of soothsaying, the power of causing and curing diseases, of exorcising spirits, and understanding alchemy."

Although we do not associate with magic the gipsy art of reading the hand, and the science of making gold, or discovering the philosopher's stone, yet it comprises much more than that which the reason of a sensible person might allow to pass unquestioned, or reject as pure nonsense and absurdity; and this is that wonderful power of the human mind, to look into the future, or influence others without material means. This natural power of man is, however, not frequently met with, and is not of that kind which every mind is able to appreciate according to its value and power. The knowledge of such rare phenomena, and their causes, could, therefore, in remote times, only be known to the highest sages and rulers, who preserved it among their secret learning, and transmitted it to their children under that cloak of religion with which all their secrets were covered. As we have original, though meagre, records of the mythological belief of the oldest nations of Asia, it will be necessary to see where and of what kind they are.

The Grecian mythology is a later and certainly mixed source, and if we received it as contained in the Platonic Mythos, we should be far from the light of truth. Plato, in his Philosophical Dialogues,—as, for instance, in that on the

various states of the human soul, &c.,—does not treat of the subject from a mythic and historic point of view, but rather endeavours by his investigations to make a beautiful whole, to leave no portion of his theory, and to make it agreeable both to probability and popular belief.

Just as little need we look for the source of magic to the new Platonic philosophies, which derived the ideas of the macrocosm and the microcosm from Plato's Timæus, the Pythagoraic Philosophy of Demons, that of Heraclitus concerning spirits, and maintained the sympathy of the human body with the earth and with the miraculous powers of pictures and statues, and ascribed great virtue to certain words for raising spirits. Neither from the later Christian history of magic, and the middle ages—the Sylphs, Gnomes, Nymphs, and Salamanders of Paracelsus, borrowed from Plato's Phædrus, or Agrippa's *Occulta Philosophia*, or Faust's "Compulsion of Hell," or Petro de Albano's *Heptameron*,—shall we have any aid. It is, however, certain, that in all the later as well as in the earlier Platonic-Pythagorean mythical speculations, some truth formed the basis, while beyond that everything is but the empty fancy and dreaming of superstition. To convince ourselves of this we will return to the earlier ages of the East—to the nations of Egypt, and seek in their records, as well as in the Israelitish history, for traces of magic, of mental vision and activity. The subjects which will be discussed I shall endeavour to arrange in historical order; that, as a whole, they may firstly have reference to the nature of our magic; and secondly, that each fact may throw as much light as possible upon the others.

We have no immediate and authentic source to which we may refer for the myths and mysteries of the ancient nations, and yet the study must be carried farther back than it is at present,—to the Fathers of the Church, and the Gnostics, or even to Plato. Among the Egyptians and Orientals, we find but fragments, though in such numbers that we are able to decide that it is among the nations of the East that we must search for earlier traces, and even for their origin. We shall subsequently endeavour to prove more fully this proposition. According to the latest investigations, the very earliest records are to be met with in the Zendavesta, the

laws of Manu, and the Jewish traditions of the Cabbalah. As I shall have to refer at a later time to the above-mentioned oriental records, we will now take a somewhat nearer view of the Cabbalah, and examine some of its principal teachings, which are not alone of great importance to theology, but to philosophy in general, and magic in particular.

We will let the opinion that the earliest philosophers, as Pythagoras and Plato, drew upon the Cabbalah, although possibly indirectly, rest upon its own merits; and the latest inquiries have shown, at all events, that the traditions of Judaism belong to the earliest sources of the mysteries. Schelling says, in his work on the Divinities of Samothrace, "how, if in the Grecian mythology, the ruins of a superior intelligence and even a perfect system were to be found, which would reach far beyond the horizon which the most ancient written records present to us!" And at the same time he suggested that possibly some portions of this system might be discovered in the Jewish philosophy, or the so-called Cabbalah.

Franz von Baader even says—"not only our salvation, but our science itself, came to us from the Jews." At all events the Fathers of the Church and the Gnostics had their allegorical interpretation of the Cabbalah; for Origen says, and Hilarius repeats, that "although Moses committed the contents of the Covenant to writing, yet he also communicated some weighty secrets from the hidden depths of the law to the seventy Elders, ordaining them to be their repositories and perpetual teachers." Jerome turned to the Jews of Tiberias and Lydda, more especially to a certain Barabas, not alone for aid in the Hebrew tongue, but to learn their mystical manner of interpretation. The writings of Dionysius Areopagita have palpably been grounded on the Jewish Cabbalah.

In the Christian middle ages, the greater part were probably but continuations of that which had already been borrowed from the Cabbalah; although Johannes Scotus Erigena, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, and others, appear to have prosecuted individual inquiries. Later, however, when the study of the old classics was held in great esteem, Johann Reuchlin devoted himself with great ardour

to the investigation of the Cabbalah, and has embodied the result in his works entitled "De verbo mirifico," and "De arte cabbalistica." Buxtorf, Schickard, Hottinger, Athanasius, Kircher, and many others, followed in his footsteps; and with Knorr von Rosenroth, whose work, "Cabbala Denudata," is of great merit, endeavoured to unravel the mysteries of the Cabbalah. The philosophies of Agrippa von Nettesheim, of Paracelsus, of Van Helmont and Jacob Böhme, all bear striking resemblance to the Jewish teachings; and of all those, Jacob Böhme, the shoemaker of Görlitz, possessed the deepest and most comprehensive knowledge of the Christian mystics and theosophers; and probably was made acquainted with the Cabbalah by his friend Balthazar Walther, who was thoroughly versed in oriental knowledge. To the above may be also added Porläge, Martinez, Paschalis, St. Martin, and Henry More, who were all acute and skilful searchers into the mysteries of the Jewish esoteric doctrines.

No one, however, has rendered greater service than Professor Molitor, in his "Philosophy of History," and "Traditions." Although Molitor's researches were principally directed towards the wonderful revelations of religion and philosophy, yet the Cabbalah does not the less contain many facts which bear great reference to natural philosophy, and possess deep interest for us. In it we find the principal outlines of the later magic, and more especially witchcraft, which is perfectly represented; on which account we may be excused for entering somewhat more at large into the subject.

"The age of inconsequence and shallowness in theology as well as in sciences, is past," says Molitor, "and since that revolutionary rationalism has left nothing behind but its own emptiness, after having destroyed everything positive, it seems now to be the time to direct our attention anew to that mysterious revelation which is the living spring whence our salvation has proceeded. Such an investigation, carried out with an elevated spirit, into the mysteries of ancient Israel, which contain all secrets of modern Israel, would be particularly calculated to rouse the elements of Christianity, to found the fabric of theology upon its deepest theosophical principles, and to give a firm basis to all ideal

sciences. It would aid in opening a new path to the true history of mankind, and would serve as the first step to a more complete understanding of the obscure labyrinth of the myths, mysteries, and constitutions of primitive nations."

The Cabbalah appears to consist of patriarchal traditions, and to embrace more particularly the following subjects:—the sacred idea of God and of divine natures; the primitive spiritual creation and the first spiritual fall; the origin of darkness, chaos, and renewed creation of the world in the six days of creation; the creation of material man, his fall, and the will of God for his salvation, and the restoration of the primitive harmony, and the ultimate bringing back of all creation to God.

Molitor continues to say that the writings of the ancients had not the intention of explaining the whole depth of a subject, but rather of giving its most important essence; that on this account they were short and simple, but of weighty importance, and unintelligible to every one who wished to study them without a teacher, and that even the whole spirit of knowledge was only imparted to the scholars verbally in that degree which their capacities enabled them to receive, and that especially in the highest and holiest interest of humanity—in religion—the written laws were accompanied by unwritten explanations. He also gives the criterion by which to distinguish the true from the false traditions, and then says—"That in this tradition was contained the system of the schools of the prophets, which the prophet Samuel did not found, but only restored, whose end was no other than to lead the scholars to wisdom and the highest knowledge, and, when they had been found worthy, to induct them into the deeper mysteries. Classed with these mysteries was magic, which was of a double nature,—divine magic, or the true inspiration of the good and evil magic, or the black art, which endeavours to raise the obscure earthy to an unfettered existence. Each of these is again divisible into two kinds, the active and seeing; in the first, man endeavours to place himself *en rapport* with the world—to learn hidden things; in the latter, he endeavours to gain power over spirits; in the former, to perform good and beneficial acts; in the latter to do all kinds of diabolical and unnatural deeds."—p. 285.

The Kischuph, or higher magical influence, is divided into two principal classes,—an elementary and a spiritual; the latter proceeds from below upwards, from without inwards, from the material to the spiritual; the former comes from above to within, from the spiritual to the physical. With the former evil spirits are the agencies, and they lend their aid as they do in every bad deed; the Kischuph consists also in exorcism, by which things are hindered in their principles, and actions are turned aside, or bound and given into the power of Satan. According to the teachings of the Cabbalah, laying a curse upon men; creating hatred and enmity; causing pain and illness, or death, in men or animals; producing storms and hail, are all of this nature. Many sorcerers are said to change themselves into the semblance of animals, and to journey great distances in a short time. Magic also made use of outward means, particularly of salves, and oils, and metals, each one of which had a particular property, and the strangest things could be done by mixing them. It says further, "there are women who make a contract with the Schedim, and meet them at certain times, dance with them, and visit these spirits who appear to them in the shape of goats. In many countries such women are killed (a foreshadowing of the witch trials of modern times), for although their crime is no outward one, yet the penalty of death is awarded to them in Exodus xxii. 17; for such have given themselves wholly to Satan." —p. 287.

The material Kischuph consists of disturbing influences upon the elements of nature by means of the excitement of false "*rapports*" in various substances. By such sacrilegious encroachments of the natural elements, life is not only made miserable, but the laws of nature are distorted and wronged. The first class is called sorcery, in the narrow acceptation, and is alone practised by masters of the black art. The second class, on the contrary, under the name of the evil sympathy, is found to be very widely spread among all oriental nations. "But all kinds of sorcery proceed from the serpent, on which account they are called arts of the serpent."

The magic sight is also of two classes,—when man either places himself in immediate connection with an evil spirit, or by means of such a spirit communicates with the dead,

"for spirits have knowledge which is unknown to man." Often, however, they pretend to know future things, for the purpose of deceiving men with lies, or intentionally distort truth. The exorcists must prepare themselves before they commence their labours, and the best time for all sorcery is from half-past ten to midnight, when the world of darkness has the greatest strength; yet powerful sorcerers have the power over spirits after two o'clock in the afternoon. The conjuring of spirits can either take place inwardly, or the spirit may be made to appear visibly (as in magnetic somnambulism). In the inward method of exorcism, the magician produces unconsciousness by outward means, and the spirit enters into and speaks from him (possession). This kind is called Idoni (the forbidden sorcery and witchcraft, 3 Moses, 19, 21.) "In the second class or the regular citation of bad spirits, the magicians spread a table with food and drink, burn incense, and the spirits then assemble and answer questions. Sorcerers often use staves, with which they strike upon the earth to rouse the spirits, and often also creep about upon the ground. Generally they rise with dishevelled hair, their limbs are convulsed, make strange movements, or cut themselves to attract spirits."—p. 289. (In every respect a perfect description of Virgil's Sibylls and the convulsive movements of magnetic sleepers.) The incense must never be omitted (as in the case of the Egyptian and Greek oracles), for it has great power of attracting those dark forms, and partly it helps to prepare the atmosphere, so that the spirits may become visible, as every spirit must attract matter. "Not less do magicians use blood, particularly that of human beings, as it is the seat of life, and a delight and nourishment for the Schedim; and when the sorcerer gives himself up to Satan, he signs with his blood."

In the black art man does not remain a passive instrument of evil spirits, but is an active and working agent; we find that "many practise sorcery and succeed, while others do the same and fail,—so that to do such things one must be naturally inclined." (As every one has not the same magnetic powers, and not all magnetic subjects present the same phenomena.)

According to the Cabbalah, man is enabled by his nature to look into the realms of the supernatural and the invisible,

as well as to act magically above and below (according to Jacob Böhmen, into the realms of light and darkness). "As the Almighty fills the whole universe, beholds and yet is unseen, so does the soul—N'schamach—fill the whole body, and itself sees without being visible." The soul looks also where the bodily eye is unable to see. Occasionally a sudden terror falls upon man without his being able to divine the cause (presentiments), from the fact that the soul foresees a misfortune. The soul also possesses the power of acting upon the materials of this world, to destroy one form and to create another. Man is even able to injure other things, or to destroy men by his imagination. (The New Platonists, Paracelsus and others, make the same remarks.)

There have always been men, says the Cabbalah, who have been furnished with greater or lesser powers for good or evil; for as a preeminence in good or evil requires a peculiar strength of mind, we find that such men are the heroes and priests in the kingdom of Tumah (that is, of the pure or impure.) When, therefore, man directs his strivings towards the divine, he is, in the degree to which he does not act egotistically, but looks unswervingly towards the heavenly, filled by divine grace with supernatural power. And if such a man has the natural disposition, he may by the power of his soul communicate with the divine and angelic world, (religious mystics, Swedenborg) and then, according to his greater or less capacity and the divine intentions, receive impressions and revelations, and at the same time, according to the strength of these circumstances, be filled with a higher spiritual energy. "For it is the highest and last end of our existence, that man should again be placed in connection with his original source, and raised from the material earthy to the highest step of spiritual existence. This higher step of spiritual existence is called especially the *pure divine mania*. An insufficient disposition for higher impressions may, however, be remedied by the divine pleasure; for we often see that God calls those to him who were straying from him, and endows them with extraordinary powers."

A difference must be drawn between that gift of the seer which perceives things concealed from the senses by the material obstacles of space or time, and that higher species

of divination which recognises events to be brought about in the future through man's free will. It is true that, by means of the inner sense, man, when he is freed from the outer senses, becomes easily influenced by spiritual powers, and thereby is enabled to look into hidden things, and foretel their intrinsic qualities,—their consequent results. Therefore, the Cabbalah teaches, that not alone does every human action produce its consequences, but that each event since the beginning of the world inscribes itself in a higher sphere, and that thus future events may be foretold through the reading of the past.

But there are limits to this species of vision; since the inner man is alone affected by that to which he is kindred. The freer, purer, is the inner man, the wider is his immediate sphere of vision and sphere of action. When his own power no longer avails him he requires the assistance of foreign spiritual influence, in order that his inward vision may be extended. Thus it becomes clear why, either under natural or induced circumstances, foreign spiritual agency is generally present.

But the decrees of God can never be fathomed by man, unless God deigns to vouchsafe a revelation. Otherwise the power of prophecy would be no operation of the divine power, but simply the natural consequence of the exaltation of mind which momentarily has penetrated into the sphere of eternity, and there recognised the far distant future—and such is the belief of the Indian seers. This view of prophecy would be entirely opposed to all religious fath.

The divine power reveals itself both in an inner subjective, and in an external objective manner by means of the first.

Although this power of vision and divination is a universal one in human nature, it is found, however, in very various degrees of intensity. In order to produce magical results, according to the Cabbalah, a very firm will is requisite—as Paracelsus teaches—so as to attract the very highest spiritual influence, and to react upon it. The will of the operator must also be completely in harmony with his object, and alone be directed towards it. A very powerful and vivid imagination is also requisite. The same qualities are required in the seer. The seer's spirit, body, and soul, must

be in the most harmonious accord with the objects of his vision. The soul must not, therefore, busy itself too much with external matters. The imagination must be strong, lively, and clear, in order that the impression of the spiritual world may remain clear and sharp, and be not destroyed by foreign images. It is on this account that enchanters love solitude, and seek in every way to withdraw themselves from the outward, and to cultivate their imagination.

Especially does the Cabbalah teach that "the man must be fitted for such things:" Balaam was so, but with a false power, for he had a defect in his sight, which, according to Sohar, is to say that he had an imperfection in his spirit, of which the external imperfection was but the objective expression." In this sense the Cabbalah maintains that every follower of the Black Art must have something imperfect or diseased about him.

Very remarkable are the teachings of the Cabbalah regarding the weak points at times offered to Satan through the actions of man, regarding citation of the dead, and uncleanness, especially in the case of the woman. With regard to the latter, man is the positive and operative principle, and therefore compared with the sun and light. Woman stands opposed to him as a restraining power, without whom he would be lost in an immeasurable and boundless speculation, forgetful of his highest relationship. Woman is man reversed, his mirrored image: whilst he is a self-acting principle, productively striving outwards, and ever seeking the universal, the infinite, the woman is the negative principle, acting from without inwards, from the circumference to the centre, receptive, ready from man's expansive energy to reduce concrete forms. Thus by the Jews is woman called the house of the man, and the Talmud designates woman as the wall which is created around man.

Man and woman are an inseparable whole,—one forming the ideal, the other the real. In man the ideal has sway—in woman feeling: thus she adheres more to the concrete and external, and has an innate living sense. She is possessed of an inward presentiment of the world: thus she is endowed with unerring tact, and arrives at maturity sooner than man, who desires to attain all knowledge through his own exertions.

The aspiration of woman is towards the pure and the noble; and she attracts to herself man, who is ever seeking after that peculiar nature with which she as woman is endowed. And this she does, not in order to retain him in a lower sphere, but to ascend with him into a higher. And if on one hand woman is an encircling wall to man, on the other she is his guide, wandering by his side through the labyrinths of life, and by her gentleness, patience, and love, softening and restraining his fiery impatience of character. In this sense woman is called "the crown of man."

High as is the destiny of woman, yet she has a closer affinity to the night-side of nature than man, and is especially exposed to the temptations of Satan. Deceit, curiosity, indiscretion, the desire to enslave man by her charms, and to see the creations of her imagination realized, are the shadow-side, and incline her to the study and practice of forbidden knowledge.

Night, sleep and dreams, affect woman also more than man, and therefore the power of the seer is of commoner occurrence with her than with man.

According to the Cabbalah, besides angels there are intermediate spirits—the spirits of the elements—the *Schedim* of the Jews, and divided into four classes, the chief of whom is Asmodi. The first class contains the spirits of the fire; the second, of fire and air; the third, of fire, air, and water; the fourth have a mineral ingredient. This is completely the doctrine of Paracelsus. The spirits of the two last classes are possessed mostly of evil natures, and are fond of causing injury to man. The other two are possessed of greater wisdom, and knowing many of the secrets of nature willingly disclose them to man. The lower class of element-spirits, coming into frequent contact with man, are at times dangerous and spiteful, and thus man sacrifices to them in order to gain their favour.

According to the Cabbalah, everything that exists, whether great or small, stands in a magical union with the rest of nature. Everywhere is the external the operation of the internal, and the external reacts upon the internal.

Magic, as well as seeing, is directed towards the earthly as well as towards the supernatural. External magical vision consists in reading the future through the aspects

and changes of objects, and which is subdivided into earthly and heavenly objects. The one is called *Monen*—computation of time, and comprehends astrology; the other is called *Nichusch*—prophetic indication.

Secondly, soothsaying teaches that nothing occurs accidentally, but that events and all nature stand in secret connection with each other. Thus the career of clouds, as well as the flight of birds, and the cries and movements of animals, become objects of soothsaying, and it asserts that the animal sees more than the external eye of ordinary man. Birds especially standing in connection with the spirits of the air are prophetic—birds of prey being peculiarly adapted to *Nichusch*. All events occurring to man, and which produce agreeable or disagreeable impressions, belong to the same class. Man can convert himself into *Nichusch*, by saying, if so and so happen to me it will be either a good or bad omen.

The inward visionary natural magic consists in man being brought into connection with the spiritual world through artificial means: and here also are various degrees. The lowest degree of this magic is the withdrawing the soul from the outer world through external means and manipulation: the means are various. According to Maimonides and others, to this species of magic belong digging in sand, the casting of lots, reading cards, gazing in mirrors, in polished blades and arrows, or in anything that is bright. This diving by lots is only brought about through the correspondence of the external art with the inner arrangement of things.

A second higher degree is necromancy, questioning of the dead, for which the preparation of fasting is necessary. It is also customary to sleep upon the graves, or to burn incense upon them, repeating certain formulæ the while.

The third and highest is when man, after necessary preparation and the withdrawal of himself from external objects, unites himself with the spirits of nature to receive revelations from them.

Active magic is divided into a lower natural and a higher spiritual magic. The first consists in exciting magical *rapport* by physical means. To this belongs first sympathetic healing.

The spiritual magic proceeds directly from the inner being, and may also be divided into two kinds. In the first, man operates principally through his innate power, but not without the assistance of the element-spirits. In the second the operation depends almost entirely upon the element-spirits. To this species belongs the binding by words, of animals especially, in order that they do no damage; also the conjuring for the sick.

To the second division belongs solicitation from the element-spirits for rain, cold, &c. To obtain the end required, the object for which the solicitation is offered, whether a newly-born child, freshly sown seed, or newly-grafted tree, must be placed *en rapport* with the spirits of nature; and this is to be done by certain ceremonies. To call forth magical influence, peculiarities in food, dress, and demeanour must be observed: armlets of metal bearing the names of angels must also be worn. Then, with the entire strength of his will, must the magician, offering his sacrifices, especially incense, call upon the name of the spirits. The mixture of various metals increases the influence.

This so-called soothsaying widely differs from black magic, although it cannot be denied that natural magic borders upon the world of night, since, through worship of nature, it more and more removes man from worship of the Divinity.

The worship of nature among the heathens, so long as it does not become dark and Satanic, being simply a materialized worship of the Supreme, does not prevent revelations reaching them from a higher world. The Cabbalah teaches that the heathen receive revelations and true dreams. It even maintains that, in general, the heathen are as capable of receiving the Holy Spirit as the Israelites. All depends upon the hearts and actions of men. According to the teaching of the Cabbalah, the heathen were not absolutely cast off by God, but rather conducted by Him unto these frontiers of nature. As we read in the words of Moses, "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." Deuteronomy, xxxii. 8. "And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun,

and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven,"

Molitor adds, "that severe as is the Jewish law against the heathen, its severity is directed, not against the heathen who worship God under the form of the powers of nature, but against such as even without better knowledge have devoted themselves to diabolical services, and to the black art connected with it."

And severer still was the law against the Israelites who, as the chosen people, redeemed from the bondage of external nature, should fall back again into their blindness. It was even forbidden to the Israelites to plant trees around their Temple, because, according to Maimonides, trees attract the astral influences, and thus might lead to false exaltation.

The Cabbalah also teaches much regarding physical uncleanness—*Tumah*—which it maintains to be a consequence of the Fall. Tumah is divided into two principal classes. There is coarse uncleanness, which is an abomination before God, and a yet subtler one which causes a dimness in the soul. The nearer that man approaches sacred things, the more lively becomes his sensibility to this dimness, as may be seen in the instance of the priests. With external things it is also the same. The more closely man assimilates himself to them, the more susceptible he becomes for the *Tumah*. Those organic things which come most into contact with his physical frame, are more liable to become unclean than objects which are more remote and have less affinity with him. The human corpse, according to this law, is far more unclean than the dead bodies of beasts. Man being the most highly organized creature, in his decay the most revolting decay takes place. The later Talmudists, therefore, declare that a far higher degree of uncleanness exists in the corpses of holy men than in the corpses of unholy.

Still more important conclusions may be drawn from the spiritual Tumah. Sin, says the Cabbalah, causes, not alone imperfection in the image of man formed after the divine image, but extends itself throughout nature, and even ascends into the region of angels, and to the divine presence.

Thus is the Sch'chinach violated (Plato's Divine Ideal-world—J. Böhme's Sophia) and transformed into gloom and severity. The Divinity turns aside His countenance from such of His children as are unadorned with good works: the divine influence reaches them but rarely, and they must be punished by severe suffering. This causes sorrow and suffering, even to the Divinity, as was already prophesied of the Messias, who, in order gradually to re-animate the fallen, let his light shine in the darkness, and raised up men even against their wills, and prepared them for inward freedom, but in no sudden or violent manner.

Through sin, man not alone has caused suffering to the Divinity, but throughout the universe,—especially in this our world, Asiah—where nature is become full of dissonances, and all creation sighs beneath the curse of Adam's sin.

Man returning in penitence, God, together with the guardian angels, is ever ready to aid him in the contest with sin, and in the same degree that man desires goodness does he attract God's influence, and the darkness is changed into light, and severity into mercy.

Idolatry, murder, and immorality, are the three chief divisions of moral uncleanness. Those unnatural unions which are spoken of in the Old Testament are to be regarded as belonging to this species of uncleanness. Seething the kid in its mother's milk; the yoking together the ox and the ass; the planting near to each other of trees of adverse natures. The Cabbalah observes, with reference to forbidden marriages between near of kin, that in such unions an unnatural evolution takes place, the branches being as it were bent back towards the root instead of spreading widely from the tree.

Speaking of the contagious power of evil, the Cabbalah says, "as physical disease streams forth from men, so does the uncleanness of the soul ever magically stream forth, possessing a power of contamination, not alone for men, but for external things. From this proceeds the repulsion felt by the pure in the presence of the wicked; a repulsion the more keenly experienced, the higher is the purity. Each evil deed, each impure word, is thus possessed of a magical existence, which renders unclean all around it. In a land

where great crime is rife, all things, houses, furniture, beasts, plants, the very earth and air, are corrupted." Thus, when a city gives itself up to idolatry, must it be utterly destroyed with fire and sword, man and beast, and never more be rebuilt.

Equally strong with the laws against *Tumah*, are the laws against magic. According to the Bible, the Talmud and the Cabbalah magic is divided into three classes: the first as an abomination to be punished, like idolatry, with death; the second, with scourging; and, for the third, no punishment is ordained, but it is pronounced wrong, as leading from reliance upon God.

The first class includes all evil enchantments and magical cures, the citation of evil spirits, and the calling forth the dead through the aid of demons. The invoker of the dead is alone condemned to death; the questioner of the dead to scourging. According to Moses, it is simply forbidden to *practise* magic, not to be acquainted with the art, or to study it; since the members of the Sanhedrin (Molitor, p. 328) must have been acquainted with magic before being able to pass judgment upon it.

The second class includes that magic which is produced through the agency of the lower and evil spirits of nature, by which means man is often led astray, and sunk into eternal darkness.

The third class, although not so strictly forbidden, is nevertheless pronounced unfit for the pious Israelites; and this is astrology. According to the Talmud and Cabbalah the stars have as great an influence upon man as upon the whole of nature: for the constellations presiding at the birth of a child determine its physical and mental qualities.

Intercourse with the so-called spirits of nature belongs also to this class. And these spirits were all designated Schedim,—a name also borne by evil demons; but these spirits must not be confounded with Satanic beings.

These extracts from Molitor's writings are sufficient to give the contents of the Cabbalah with regard to magic, which it treats of in all its ramifications, containing that which became Christian mysticism, and the magic of the Middle Ages. Also it contains much regarding what we now designate animal magnetism.

In conclusion, I give, from Molitor's Appendix, a story regarding a Jewess who was possessed by an evil spirit.

"In the time of Loriah there was a widow, into whom a *Ruach* (spirit) had entered, and to whom he had occasioned much distress. People went to her and received answers from her to the questions which they asked. The relatives of the woman went to Loriah, and besought him to drive forth the spirit from the woman. Loriah despatched his scholar, R. Chaim Vital, giving him certain holy names by which to cast forth the spirit, and instructing him what he should do. Also he commanded him to speak *Nidui* and *Cherem*, the lesser and greater ban, and to drive forth the *Ruach* with violence. When R. Chaim came to the woman, she turned away her face. R. Chaim asked "wherefore dost thou turn away?" The *Ruach* gave answer: "I cannot look thee in the face!" Then commanded R. Chaim that he should turn round. Vital demanded "who he was?" And the spirit related his evil life, declaring that he had been a Jew, had wandered five-and-twenty years through the earth, and was pursued by three angels of destruction. Vital demanded "who had given him permission to enter into the woman?" The *Ruach* answered, "I was in the house when the woman arose, and was about to kindle the fire. The tinder would not catch, and she became angry, and in rage flung the flint and steel out of her hands, crying 'Go to Satan!' This word *Satan* gave me permission to enter into her." Although the woman had sinned in unbelief, and did not believe in the Flight into Egypt, still the *Ruach* had no power over her until, in her anger, she pronounced the name of Satan." Vol. iii. p. 646.

OF VISIONS.

Visions have always been considered as an essential part of magic, without the visionary being of necessity a magician, or the magician a visionary. These visions are commonly the seeing of spirits, and are perceived in an especial manner by the inward sense independent of the outward organs: frequently in the absence of visible objects scenes will be presented which are true, and correspond with the reality, or false, and correspond with no outward object whatever. Extraordinary is it that people are disposed to explain all visions by supposing them mere phantoms of the air, imagination, or lying tales. Is not man, after all, a being which does not alone exist in the outer world? is he not much more a spirit which thinks and perceives without reference to the objective world around him, which can ascend into a higher world, invisible to the outward eye, and possessed of other powers than those required for his more outward life? Is not man descended from a higher, invisible line of ancestry? "Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri," —that is to say, the human being by his erect position on the earth can reach into a higher sphere where the outward senses avail nothing, but which, even in this his upright position, he can only enter to a certain extent, but which he could not enter at all if like the beasts of the field he went on all fours,—"prona cum spectant cætera animantia terram."—(Ovid.)

We certainly are now verging on that undefined region which, even at the present day, we are unable to explain, as little as the ghost-seer himself, who often supposes himself to be hovering in a higher world when he is in fact creeping on the earth, or mistakes earthly things for spiritual. Many highly esteemed and learned men yet maintain that magic has probably never advanced farther than to the illuminated apparition of that which the imagination has long sought and bordered upon in darkness. Is it that that particular spirit which, during all its searching, the fancy has seen dimly visible in its horizon, really appears illuminated; or, as is most probable, does this vision belong to a state of sleep? if so, the magic ends here." Here, dear

friend, it but commences! for the vision is not always merely the effect of a purely physical process of the fancy and the senses, but often governed by hyperphysical influences, and certainly in many cases by such as lie totally beyond the reach of the fancy or the senses. "In so far," says another writer, "is man a seer, that he not only discerns the outward and visible, in which life may die and become extinct, but the inner commencement of the real being, the imperishable fountain of life. He is so far a seer that he does not only perceive the divided and unconnected parts, but the invisible threads of an eternal harmony, in which all apparently dissonant portions explain each other and become a pleasing and harmonious whole. The power of perceiving in the visible world the invisible traces of that which is to be, and of participating in the great unity of creation, exists, although usually dormant, in every man. That power which gives him reason and understanding is the soul."

Visions arise from more than a mere introversion, or from groundless appearances, as is generally believed. They arise from a direct inward seeing, and, in a more extended view, an activity of the fancy independent of the outer senses. The difference between a seer and a poet, who often mutually exchange characters, is this—that the poet not only sees and understands that which is before him, but that, carried away, he enters fully into that which is before him, and creates harmonious forms: this occurs at will from the recollections of his mind. No true poet is wanting in this power of the seer, which is created in him as a gift from heaven, and cannot be gained by artificial means. Quintilian expresses this perfectly in the following words,—"Concipiendis visionibus quas Phantasias vocant;" and Goethe says, in his "Morphologie," vol. ii. p. 114,—"One can clearly see what is meant by the saying that poets and true artists must be born such. The inner creative power must put forward those shadows which lie in the memory of imagination, freely and without design or forethought; they must unfold, grow, expand, contract, so that from being mere undefined shapes they become truthful and well defined pictures. The higher the genius, the more mature is the idea in the first instance. In drawings by Raphael and Michael Angelo the idea is at once clearly and firmly shown;

and in many later although excellent painters a species of trial is to be perceived, as if they at first wished to create an element by light and uncertain touches, from which, afterwards, heads, figures, and draperies were to be formed, as a chicken gradually grows from an egg."

In the infancy of the world no difficulty was felt in explaining these most remarkable of all phenomena of human existence: the oriental nations ascribed them to celestial spirits, and the Jews to angels and devils, who lived in social intercourse with men, divided according to a certain gradation of the soul, and provided with various good and evil powers: the Egyptians entertained a similar belief, and the Greeks and Romans supposed them to be demons, or even in occasional instances their gods. According to Democritus, visions and dreams are passing shapes--ideal forms which proceed from other beings; so that even in sleep the soul has an equal activity as in the waking state, but with this difference that in the latter only the usual and every-day shapes appear,—whilst in the former those alone are visible which a soul is capable of observing, and for which it is in a state of expectation. Heraclitus entertained a very similar theory; according to him the activity of the senses arises from a participation in the surrounding (περιέχον) celestial ether. The difference between sleeping and waking, he says, is that in the latter the divine portion is drawn in, not only by the act of respiration, but also by the organs of sight and smell, while on the contrary in sleep the communication with the celestial ether is confined to respiration alone: but that this is only a dim light which illuminates man by night and causes him to see thing in dreams. In death alone is this light entirely quenched. (It seems here as if he referred to the oxygen as a principle of light, which by respiration enters the blood and thereby the brain.)

Plato is the first who gives a physiological explanation of the activity of the organs of the senses in visions and dreams. "The eye is the organ of a fire which does not burn but gives a mild light. The rays proceeding from the eye meet those of the outward light. With the departure of the outward light the inner also becomes less active; all inward movements become calmer and less disturbed, and should any more prominent influences have remained they become in

various points where they congregate, so many pictures of the fancy." Aristotle declares more plainly, in his Dissertation on Dreams, that all visions of the sleep are produced by the senses and the imagination. It would not have been difficult, starting from the ground which these acute observers occupied, to have arrived at the true origin of these appearances, if the ideal pictures had been regarded as outward influences through which the soul calls forth the fancies contained in its comprehensive power, which lose themselves in the ocean of the feelings or in the celestial light of the imagination.

The followers of the New Platonic theory strayed again to the idea of foreign influences, through a fusion of the Platonic philosophy and the Cabbalah, as we shall see; and thus it continued during the middle ages, and, even at the present time, religions and the sciences have not wholly freed themselves from this influence,—so that it is seldom that we are able to regard visions from a perfectly unfettered point of view.

Visions may be classed as extatic and inspired. Fugitive illusions, and dream-like appearances, belong to the lower kind of visions, and fade from the memory intangibly as they come. Few are entirely free from these, the most frequent and common, as little in the waking as in the sleeping state; and there are men who not only are dreamily sunk within themselves when awake, but, like the somnambulist, have visions even in the turmoil of every-day life. In others, this takes place when, in the twilight, their minds become disturbed, and when the shadows of the forest, the sighing of the air, and the rustling of the leaves, become embodied forms. Rocks and trees mock at them with their giant faces.

Ghost-seeing must be classed with these visions, in which, however, every one sees through his differently constituted eye; for this, as well as for the deeper insight into the invisible world, a peculiar temperament is necessary, though a weak fragile constitution is by no means necessary; for it often occurs among strong and robust men, just as loadstones are not equally powerful, although each, according to its nature, has a strength of attraction; they have these properties in a greater or a less degree, according to the admix-

ture with sand and pebbles, and their frequent use. Visions also play their part in the waking existence, when the outer impressions of the senses are still felt, when visions are outwardly impressed, or arise from the inner senses: these are hallucinations.

Extasy is a higher class, to which particularly contemplative and religious minds are liable when they are placed in circumstances favourable to it. In this form the activity of the mind is augmented, especially the fancy and imagination, to such a height that one is often tempted to believe in a change of individuality, or the possession and influence of other powers. This form is that which plays the most prominent part in the whole history of magic among the ancients, and also that which, in magnetic phenonema, excites the greatest interest at the present day. The various ways in which it is manifested will be explained in the sequel. The principal feature, in most instances, is a certain poetic flight of the imagination, and a species of religious enthusiasm. These visions either proceed from an intense fancy, or from overflowing religious sources. It does not, however, follow from this that, in extasy, the augmented powers of the mind are constant, or that a uniform and perfect state is produced. The visions vary as much as the convulsions with which they are usually associated. Neither are the religious manifestations certain. At one time the subject may sing hymns, at another he may curse, and exhibit the most frightful contortions of visage. It is only in the inner form and constitution of the imagination that he may be compared to the poet.

The ideas of glorious creations float before the poet and the true artist in the utmost luxuriance. Who could paint Madonnas like Raphael, if they did not hover before him in a species of extasy? The painter, Angelico da Fiesole, often fell into such extatic states during his artistic labours, and, in them, saw ideal pictures; and, according to Görres (Mystic 1, 155), Michael Angelo is reported to have said that "no man could have painted such pictures who had not seen the original."

Religious visions take place at longer intervals, and are often confirmed, or even produced, by an ascetic life, by national disposition or education. To these belong the

estaticas of every age and every description among the Brahmins, the Israelites, the Pagans, and the Christians, whose revelations overwhelm the masses either as startling prophecies and divinations of every kind, or as warnings, exhortations, threats, and promises conveyed in poetic allegories. A certain difference is, however, produced by their national and historic positions as well as by the various forms of religion. Görres in his "Mystic" furnishes many and impressive examples, particularly of Christian estaticas. Such, for instance, are the visions and extasies of St. Catharine, St. Hildegard, St. Theresa, and others. One instance is given by Kieser, extracted from Orlandini, of St. Xaverius, a Jesuit. In the 17th century, Xaverius had urgently recommended a crusade against the pirates of Malacca. During the preparations, and even at the very time of the battle itself, Xaverius fell into an extatic state in which, at a distance of two hundred Portugese miles, he was, as it were, a witness of the combat. He foretold that the victory would be on the side of the Christians; saw that one vessel which sank, before the departure of the fleet, was replaced by another; described every minute particular of the battle, stated the exact hour, imagined himself in the midst of the struggle, and announced the arrival of the messenger on a certain day. Every particular of which was fulfilled in the most perfect manner.

This is a specimen of clairvoyance in a Catholic priest. Another instance of hidden circumstances being seen, is given by Schubert (Berichte eines Visionärs, &c., 1837, p. 30), which took place in a simple, but very religiously inclined, gardener's daughter.

He says, "I know the history of a gardener's daughter who had the power of seeing visions; she was betrothed, but many obstacles stood in the way of the union. The continued anxieties, the long interval of uncertainty, made her very excited and delicate. When she was occupied with her work in the garden, it seemed to her as if she saw a pillar of smoke, in which stood a human form. This figure also appeared to her at night, when she was at rest and felt no dizziness in the head. It may, perhaps, be said that this dizziness, which arose from the blood, produced these phantoms. But the figure was not solitary, others came who

spoke to the girl, and led her to a meadow, and to the hidden and even long past world, as no human being could have done. It may again be said, leeches would have been a remedy, and would have banished all such phantoms. But the girl was made a confidant by her invisible associates of many long-forgotten events and family circumstances, which were substantiated by reference to deeds and papers, of which many lay in Vienna; documents of which no one then living, and certainly least of all the gardener's daughter of the suburb, could have known anything. Perhaps people may call this imposture, or chance. For my part, they may say what they will; the communications which the girl made were such as a man might be supposed to make to one who approaches him in his last moments, for the benefit of his distant family. The gardener's daughter saw such things as were seen by Concorde in the Castle of Belfont."

Lastly, one step higher than extasy is clairvoyance and true inspiration. In both of the last named states, man shows that by his erect position, which raises him partly into a region above the earth, he is enabled to see and comprehend more than the most acute senses of the mere animal; we perceive in him a velocity of the mind to which the tornado, or lightning, is not to be compared. But the true completeness, and the most perfect freedom of the human mind, is only shown in clairvoyance and real inspiration. The working and activity of religious inspiration, in particular, is the higher self-consciousness without the recurring changes and retrograding interruptions which are still seen in the lower stages. As the end is nobler than everything earthly, so does a weak body often exhibit, in such inspirations, a superhuman power, in which things of this earth are as mere playthings. The stammering tongue, by the holy enthusiasm, becomes a fiery organ of speech, and outward works of love and virtue follow the inner humility and self-sacrifice! Fisher divides the phenomena of the inner senses into somnambulism, visions, and the higher clairvoyance. Dreams form the lowest state, then the half state of consciousness in the somnambulist, who either talks or walks, or does various actions in his sleep as when awake. Clairvoyance is itself the highest stage of somnambulism.

These visions, which do not alone refer to the sight, but

which also appeal to the organs of hearing, smell, taste, and feeling, will be treated with under the various sections to which they belong. We have already spoken of the poetic power (Phantisticon) according to its causes. Ghost-seeing is particularly distinguished by a very sensitive organization, a sensitive heart, and a delicate constitution, as well as a mind which accommodates itself rapidly to all circumstances. Secondly, a diseased state of the circulation and the nervous system, and often also of the stomach; inflammations and irritations of the brain and the organs of the senses: these are the principal sources of visions. Among these may be recounted delirium and monomania, where the intellect is entirely subject to the imagination. Thirdly, religious education and an inclination for deep reflection, an ascetic life and fasting: these are all favourable to visions. In many saints of the early Christian ages, and of many nations, these circumstances are evidently to be regarded as assisting causes. Fourthly, outward irritations and artificial means have continually been used. Among the former may be named the narcotics, wine, opium among the Orientals, the Soma of the Brahmins, the vapours arising from the Delphian chasm, which, according to Davy's investigations, was oxydized nitrogen gas; fumigation with incense in temples, sandal-wood, aloe, mastic, saffron, sulphur, &c., and anointing the body with narcotic salves (witch-salve). Fifthly, we may also include the peculiar ceremonies, and inclination to fear and expectation, aroused by preparatory words, songs, and prayers.

According to these causes, visions may be placed in various classes. Those originating in an inner disposition of the mind towards veneration, belong to religion and the histories of the Saints already mentioned, and arise involuntarily without any outward application; but in magic visions, Demons are invoked by means of assisting substances. The sorcerer raises and lays spirits, while to the religious enthusiast they appear voluntarily; in the latter it is rather a pleasant communion with a divine being, with which the Brahmin associates as with a friend; in the former, a species of hellish compulsion.

> I feel that all my heart to thee is given;
> Thou shalt appear, even though it cost my life!

To the timid, every mist rolls into a terrific giant shadow. To-day Venus appears to the lover as the majestic daughter of Jupiter, full of radiant beauty—

"Quisquis amat ranam ranam putat esse Dianam;"

To-morrow the Son of Erebus stands before him with the servants of darkness, with pain and sorrow, with enmity and contention.

When the outward senses are lulled to sleep by ceremonies and incense to give space to the inward extasy, their activity gradually flows to the latter.

Petrus de Albano (Elementa magica) describes the spirits appearing after an incantation, as shadows of the twilight and half-sleep, and as ideal forms of the sight and hearing under the shapes of men and animals—"quibus rite peractis apparebunt infinito visiones et phantasmata, pulsantia organa et omnis generis instrumenta musica. Post hæc videbis infinitos sagittarios cum infinita multitudine bestiarum horribilium." Opium produces visions of paradise and its pleasures, and it as well as other narcotics also occasion a sensation of flying, and being raised through the air. Such narcotics were mixed with the salves after anointing with which the witches rode to the Blocksberg on broom-handles and goats. Nitrogen gas produces delusions of all kinds of animals, frogs and fiery shapes; as, in intoxication, phantom worms and insects are seen. The northern seers produce extasy by noisy music and drums; the African savages by dances which produce dizziness, and in that state the former foretell the arrival of foreign ships, and the fortunes of their friends and relatives, and the latter behold all the houris and angelic hosts of the Mohammedan paradise.

A certain difference of form arises according as the visions are produced by subjective impressions of the inner senses, or by outward objects. Such are the visions of common dreams, of sleep-walking, of fever, of nervous affections, unstable and intangible; more regular are those of magnetic clairvoyance and the higher inspiration.

All visions which present themselves to the vision-seer may be classed as subjective expressions of the inner senses; for when the visions have a common and objective cause, many persons, though not all, may behold the same ideal

pictures, which will mutually resemble each other: this does not occur by infection, just as many people may be attacked by the same disease at the same place and in the same atmosphere, without it being caused by infection, as in cholera and the yellow fever. It is, however, certain, that visions may be transferred to others; and this is one of the most remarkable psychological phenomena. It either takes place directly, as among contemplative enthusiasts (the Philadelphian Society of Pordage), and occasionally in magnetic clairvoyants; instances are even known of dreams being transmitted to others; or it takes place directly, as by the laying on of hands, or by the touch in second-sight. To this class belong the remarkable narratives of spiritual appearances when at first one person, then several, saw the same visions, which is even said to have been extended to animals. Whether it is possible or not to consider it as an objective reality, is difficult to say; but such cases are told of every age and of all nations. This remarkable outward appearance of visions of a higher or lower class, does not, however, take place by means of the outward organic senses acting inwardly; for the manifestation in every case acts directly upon the organs of the soul, by means of which the visions are transferred to the organs of the senses. Every mental perception of the ideal, of the divine, and of the higher language of the soul, is certainly always a direct inner spiritual picture; and the divine therefore manifests itself according to the nature of the organ on which it falls,—to the rich poetic imagination as the ruling power of his fancy, to the philosophical understanding as the scheme of a harmonious system,—it sinks deeply into the religious mind, and raises the strong, active, working productive will into a sacred power: it is thus that the divine is venerated by every one in a different manner.

Visions are very various in their nature, as for instance those of the half-waking, even the waking state; the visions which certain persons can call up at will, as in the case of Cardanus; the visions of Nicolai and Bazko, who considered them to be phantasmagorias; the power of self-seeing as well as a double or manifold personality; the second sight of the Scottish isles, and many others. Classed according to their

natures there are religious visions, appearances of saints and gods of old, and according to popular belief, apparitions of ghosts, spirits, and devils.

In the history of magic, visions are almost always of a religious nature. The Israelites, from the time of Abraham, lived in constant communication with the Almighty and the angels, and very often made use of symbolic pictures.

The Indian seers communicate with the sun and moon, who as their divinities raise them up to themselves or descend to them upon the earth. "The senses are collected in the Manas (the Universal Spirit), and the seer sees nothing with the eyes, hears nothing with the ears, feels nothing and tastes nothing; but within the city of Brahma the five Pranas are radiant and watchful, and the seer beholds that which he did and saw when awake,—he beholds the seen and the unseen, the known and the unknown, and because the Athma (spirit) is the cause of all actions, therefore he is even active during sleep, and resumes his primitive form of light, and is by nature radiant like Brahma. The inwardly collected spirit clothes itself with the coverings of the heavenly bodies and of the elements, and speaks from the seer as if the voices came from without; the voices which reveal themselves to him from the sun, moon, and stars, from plants and animals, and even from the unbending stone." Extatic states are no where so frequent as among the Hindoos.

Among the Greeks extatic visions were certainly more rare, from their youthfully powerful imagination, and yet among them these visions appeared under the objective forms of their gods. The demon of Socrates, who accompanied him through his whole life as a counselling voice, is well known; Ulysses was guided by Minerva, and Apollo appeared to the Pythia.

The followers of the New Platonic doctrine had, like the Hindoos, many extatic visions. The ultimate end of their philosophic strivings was to gain an immediate and direct view of the Divinity, who as a pure light was to reveal himself to the inner eye. Purification of the soul from everything earthly, and fasting, were to be the preparations for contemplating this overflowing light. Demons appeared to them, however, in many shapes as intermediate beings between the divinity and man.

In the Christian ages the Israelitish visions were revived—of spirits, of angels, and devils, and the saints, who themselves have in general been the subjects of remarkable visions, maintained almost an uninterrupted spiritual communication with the faithful after their decease. The Jesuit Joh. Carrera lived with a guardian angel almost as with a bosom friend:—"Cum angelo suo tutelari erat tanto et tam familiari conjunctus usu, ut, velut intimo cum amico suo consilia sermonesque conferret, sæpe ad eum de suis rebus dubiis arduisque referret; vicissimque ei angelus ad omnia notis hisce usitatisque vocibus responderet." The angel woke him for his matins, and admonished him when he overslept himself. (Orlandini Historia Societatis Jesu, Colonæ Agripp. 1615 lib. ii. Nobl.)

Visions were most frequent in Convents, where solitude, ascetic practices, fasting, uncared-for diseases, as spasmodic convulsions, the unoccupied, often dreaming and overflowing imagination, gave numerous opportunities for the formation of these objective pictures. The history of the middle ages, even as far as the sixteenth century, is scarcely more than a history of magnetism and a universal system of so-called witchcraft and magic. Visions were so common that rules were given to distinguish those of divine origin from false delusions and the temptations of the devil. Theologists made this distinction, that the false visions resemble those apparitions which present themselves in convulsions, particularly in epilepsy and in mania, and raving insanity. More explicit directions are given by Cardinal Lambertini, afterwards Pope Benedict XIV., in the third volume of "De servorum Dei beatificatione."

SECOND DIVISION.

DREAMS.

Dreams are often so vivid, that on awaking they outshine surrounding objects, and are long before they vanish. Cardanus (De subtilitate, c. 18) relates that between the ages of four and seven, when he awoke from sleep during the afternoon, all kinds of pictures appeared on the cover of his bed, in the shapes of trees, men, animals, towns, and armies. He was so delighted with them, that his mother often asked what he was looking at; but although very young (parvulus) he considered them to be delusions (non ignorabam hoc esse portentum quoddam), and denied that he saw anything, fearing that they might vanish. Spinoza relates of himself that one morning he awoke from an oppressive dream, when it was already broad daylight, and that the dream was still as vividly before his eyes as if it had been formed of material substances. He was particularly haunted by a dark, miserable-looking Brazilian. This phantom vanished when he fixed his eyes upon a book or any other object; but as soon as he turned his eyes away the Brazilian reappeared with the same distinctness, till at last the phantom vanished over his head (Opera posthuma, epistola 30). Jean Paul (Museum, p. 322) often saw, when awoke suddenly, shadowy forms beside him,—once during the night a great reflection as of dawn or a fire: returning from a pedestrian journey, he saw an infantine girl's face looking down from his window, but no child had been in the house. As, therefore, the identity of visions, dreams, and the magnetic somnambulism, arises from an inward property of the human mind, so is it

clear that in the infancy of nations as well as the childhood of man, these visions must arise partly from the want of a power to discriminate between the various pictures of the imagination, and partly from objects in the outer world: and it is also from an entire ignorance of humanity that such appearances and predictions are believed to be something perfectly new,—just as much so as when Plutarch could say of the oracles that the divine power would cease to actuate them.

If the psychological relationship of dreams and visions has been explained by the above—and little doubt remains of their similarity—the physiological explanation cannot be far off; for it is impossible that there can be any one who has not at least observed traces of visions, or at least dreams, in himself. "*Dreams, like visions, are phantoms of the inner senses.*" If all these various forms of visions, ecstasy, spectres, and clairvoyance, have not physiologically similar causes and manifestations, how is it possible that all these phenomena, and those of delirium and fever, the hallucinations of insanity, hypochondriasis, and catalepsy, bear so much mutual resemblance? As, psychologically, a powerful imaginative spiritual influence is at the foundation of all these, and as the mind, by night as well as by day, in sleep as in waking, continues its spiritual activity, and often more freely in sleep than when it is occupied with outward and material objects; so is it physically an instrument of the senses receiving impressions, whether received upon it by the so-called inner senses, by the imagination, or arising from an outward activity: the image of the senses forms itself in both cases according to the nature of the organ: objects, with their outlines and colour, from the eye; voices and sounds through the ear. The organs of the senses may also become active without outward influences or inner psychological impressions; through the sympathies or antagonisms of the juices and powers of the body to the organs of the senses, which in every case only excite the activity of those organic functions which are peculiar to themselves.

The inner senses become gradually active: for instance, the field of vision is impressed in a greater or a less degree, for a longer or a shorter space of time, and the im-

pressions are of a temporary or of a durable character. If the whole field is illuminated, the visions are as clear as in daylight, and might often be considered as reality. The imagination shines upon individuals and countries, and the dreaming soul finds itself in distant times and places. In short, it is in this that the common cause of all these various phenomena must be sought for. As it is extremely difficult for the unformed infant mind, either of individuals or of nations, to separate the subjective images of the senses from the objective reality, which requires a higher development of the human mind and a more extended knowledge, I shall endeavour to lay before the reader the various explanations, views, and theories, which have been founded on these subjects.

If, therefore, it is clear from the foregoing that a dream is a condition of the inner senses, and on the whole of the same nature as visions and magnetic sleep-walking, a faithful and comprehensive history of dreams ought, therefore, to throw considerable light on all these and similar conditions. The natural philosopher has, therefore, to distinguish and investigate whether dreams proceed immediately from the mind (*νοητικὸν*, *φανταστικὸν* of Aristotle), or from the body and the organs of the senses (*αισθητικὸν*). For this purpose it is necessary to observe all phenomena connected with dreams. To these belong—the language of dreams, with its meaning; the imagery, allegories, and symbols of dreams; the occasional poetic inclination; irony; insight into future things, and prophetic divination; the production at will of dreams in distant persons, and mutual exchange of dreams. These conditions may all be equally observed in magical visions and in somnambulic phenomena, which must, therefore, naturally be subject to the same laws. As in ancient times these various forms of dreams were considered equally prophetic with the predictions of soothsayers, and were even called Dream-prophecies (in Denmark they they are still called First-sight), it will be necessary to review these various phases of the dream with an historic eye; and lastly, to consider various views of the ancients regarding it, as well as soothsaying in general.

The language of dreams is particularly remarkable; for the images of dreamers are not always known and easily understood appearances; they are often startling symbols

whose meaning it is difficult to express in common words, and which the dreamer himself is seldom able to unriddle; on which account it was customary in ancient times, and particularly in the Temples, to have interpreters of dreams. From this arose the science of expounding dreams (oneirocritica, oneiroscopia). It is, however, the language of poets and prophets; that is, the object and the image are one; and it seems that the primitive language and the language of God to man was symbolic. The language of dreams is the same in the most dissimilar men and nations; the prophet and the seer, the true poet, the magnetic clairvoyant, and the prophetic dreamer, more commonly use this language than that of common intercourse. In it lies such a fulness of meaning, and combination of times and objects, that the most comprehensive prose is unable to give its full expression. As the instinctive life of the feelings was of old much more common than at present, when the outward senses are more distracted with occupations of the mind, so do we find that symbols and hieroglyphics were more common; as among the Indian seers, the Israelitish prophets, the Greek oracles, and in the old picture-writing of the Egyptians, and the votive tablets of the Temples. It is similarly connected with art. This was also symbolic in its architecture; for art is but the expression of the inner genius which inspires the soul of the artist, or the imagination of a people, and is intimately connected with religious feelings. The expression of art is, therefore, but the true language of the seer, and therefore mostly as symbolic in meaning; as, for instance, the Ark of the Covenant, which arose by divine inspiration, and then expanded into the Temple of Solomon; till at length Christian architecture, in universal freedom and purity, as it were, cast off all the oppressive weight of earthy matter, and with its pointed arches, vaulted roofs, and towering spires, strives upwards towards heaven, as if to receive the glorious power descending from above.

As the language of symbols is natural to the human mind, so is nature a collection of symbols, and an open, significant book, from which man may read; for nature speaks through the elements, powers, and creations, as a divine revelation,—a living language full of meaning; and nature at first was placed in perfect harmony with the mind

of man. At first she surrounded man with a significant power; the human mind was guided by a sure and governing inclination, and was not as now left to deceitful and easily misled reflection. Religious perception was not at first the result of reflection on the being and all-presence of the Almighty, who did not appear to man in the plenitude of wisdom and love, of power and holiness in ideal attributes; but as the *Lord*, having power over all things. The close, intimate relation with the Divinity and nature, was, therefore, calculated to produce a common language, and therefore this language must, according to the constitution of nature and the soul, have been a symbolic language of pictures. All things were reflected upon man as upon a mirror, and man explained to himself their meaning. "The first human beings," says Jacob Böhme, "found everything easy; the mysteries of nature were not so hidden from them as from us, as fewer sins were upon the earth. It was from this cause that Adam, who had passed from the wonders of Paradise to the wonders of this world, was originally the centre of all worldly things; who not only knew the natures, properties, and species of all animals, but also of all plants and metals, and therefore gave names to all things—to each one according to its properties, as if he had formed a part of all things and had proved their powers."

The desires grew as the senses were led astray by outward excitements, and the inner silent communion with nature was gradually extinguished: in regarding the outward flowers, and in tasting the fruit of the tree of knowledge, the inner eye became blind to the symbols and mysteries of nature, and the divine and symbolic language faded from the memory of man, as the former paradisaical nature now only bore thorns and thistles: that is, instead of regarding the inner life of the kernel, he now only saw the rough outward shell; and as nature and the divine voice grew silent, so did his ear become deaf and his eye blind. "Every act of nature," says Hamann, "was to the first men a word, the sign, emblem, and pledge of a new, secret, inexpressible, but at the same time closer union and community with the divine energy and idea. With this word present in the mouth and heart, language was as natural and easy as life itself. God therefore instructed man in his speech,—the one origi-

nal language." Although it does not come within our province to enter here into the religious question of the Fall, yet no one can readily deny that in the primeval state man stood in direct connection with nature, which to a certain extent may be likened to that in which the soul now stands to the body; no one can doubt that the earth was then moved by a much more energetic life than now, and that man was more strictly in communion with it than at present; that he was simple, and less separated in body and spirit, and possessed a more comprehensive and reflecting mind than the present seeking, but everywhere confined and faulty intellect: it is from this that we must draw the above conclusions, and that we are also able to regard the ancient mythologies in a true light: hence it may not be out of place to make some further observations as to the systems of magic, and their mysterious character may be by that means more easily explained.

If originally mankind was more allied to nature and the Divinity, language must necessarily have been more simple and expressive; there must have been "one tongue" among races living together under the same influences. With time and increase wants were created; men were scattered mentally as well as locally, and became strangers to each other in their habitations and strivings; and those who felt themselves spiritually attracted, for this very reason, associated the more intimately together. It was therefore probable that men were impelled by their natural instincts to take possession of those countries which were most adapted to their natures and inclinations. It is remarkable that according to history there were three principal directions in which the descendants of Noah dispersed, and in perfect accordance with the characters and inclinations of his three sons. The descendants of Shem retained Asia; those of Japhet scattered themselves over the north and west; and southward the children of Ham. As the community of interests was thereby scattered, was also language, and mental adaptation for religion. Although Noah had possessed the original faith to a great degree, yet his sons were of lesser capacity to receive it; and how much would not these divine feelings be scattered and changed as their descendants became modified by the various

influences of the earth. The descendants of Shem remained in their chosen habitations in Asia, their manners and forms of government were less changed, and, therefore, more of the wisdom of their ancestors was retained by them than by the world-wide scattered children of Japhet, or by those of Ham, who have been followed even to the present day by Noah's curse, that "they should be servants of servants unto their brethren." In those words used by Noah, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant; God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant," will be found the whole course of the future history of the human race. "Shem's form," says Jacob Böhme, "was transmitted to Abraham and Israel, when the word of the covenant was revealed. Japhet's form was perpetuated by the wisdom of nature, and from it descended the heathens. As Shem's descendants looked upon the light of the covenant, Japhet's descendants therefore lived in the habitations of Shem, as the light of nature is comprehended in the laws of grace. Ham's progeny became animal man, on whom was the curse, and from whom the Sodomites and other perfectly animal nations arose, who neither regarded the light of nature nor the light of grace in the covenant." These remarkable words are prophetic of the true course of history. Shem's children retained the word of the Spirit in their minds and language more perfectly than the others, and the mysteries then founded in the whole of Asia retained their power and vitality for thousands of years. But when these gradually lost their pristine purity through the want of mutual intercourse and encouragement, and by the always increasing adherence to the earthly element of the unchanged habitations, when the true perception of the glory and majesty of God gradually faded away and was transmuted into the heathenish spirit of star-worship, it was then that God singled out the race of Abraham from this people, who was destined to preserve and transmit the true knowledge and love of God to all times and peoples, through his children, who should multiply like the sea sands. "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice," said the Lord, who had rescued him from the oppressive influence of heathenish practices

to make him by continued wanderings a stranger in the earth which should offer him no resting place but the grave. In the nation chosen through Abraham, the true unity of religion, faith, and the true worship, were transmitted and retained, amid the surrounding disbelief of the other pagan nations. The true revelation of a reconciliation with God, and the reattainment of the original power of representing the Almighty, first in laws and mysteries, and lastly by direct communication from the lips to the heart, took place by this selection of the seed of Shem through Abraham, through the children of Jacob, through the prophets; and lastly, in the radiance of the living word through our Lord Jesus Christ.

If the Shemitic races had already lost the inner communion with nature, and the susceptibility to all higher spiritual impressions, how much more must this have been the case among the descendants of Japhet. In accordance with their naturally impulsive feelings and unstable character, they always made, during their extension over the earth, nature and its appearances, rather than the Divine Spirit, the object of their strivings; their instinct explored every nook and hidden valley of the many countries lying beyond the rivers and mountains; but they had lost the recollection of the Almighty, or at most retained but a faint reflection of the divine power which, like their mind, was deeply imbued with the material; for the divine light was no longer able to reflect itself in the dimmed and confused surface of their inner being. However, these children of Japhet did not all sink into the darkness of a perfectly spiritless world of matter; some of them, as the Greeks, the Germans, carried with them the idea of God, and the presentiment of a connection with a higher and more spiritual world than this earth, but which they were unable to discover with their outward senses, however acute and educated they might be. The Greeks regarded the Divinity in a multiplicity of forms, but in highly ideal shapes; and their sages, as for instance Socrates and Plato, had often the most just conceptions of the Divine Being. Among the Germanic tribes the idea of an all-powerful Godhead, even monotheistic, had never been

entirely lost, although possibly viewed with less acuteness, but still felt with greater reverence and power than in any other people.

As regards the magic powers in particular, the Japhetic nations distinguished themselves by the open use of them, and as it were changed the actual world into one of magic; from which idea the enlightened Japhetic mind has even now scarcely freed itself.

The children of Ham, lastly, who inherited the impure mind of their father, and, leaving their brethren, settled down in a part of the earth where they degenerated under the baneful influence of the climate, are those savage nations who have sunk into the most abject fetichism and the lowest form of worship. This mental density, savage nature, and entire disregard to religion, cannot be anywhere met with so completely as among the black African races, and among the rude nations who, it is supposed, have been offshoots from them to the South American and Australian continents.

In a work entitled "God, and his Revelation in Nature and History," by Julius Hamberger, but which for its merits is far too little known, he says,—"The countenance of the Lord was hidden from them; even the majority of the nations of Shemitic origin were without a perception of the divine power and attributes: and this want is without doubt to be regarded as the real night of Heathenism. The divinity of nature was the origin and end of their mythology, with an occasional appeal to a dark, blind fate,—a sad incorruptible necessity, from whose power even the gods themselves were not always enabled to withdraw themselves. However rich and magnificent their mythologies may have been, the heathen religions were yet earthly, and may be well compared to the waters of creation, the light and spiritual particles of which are said to have floated upwards to form the sky, whilst the coarser and more fruitful portions sank downwards to form the earth. The character of these religions must therefore have been, a want of vitality. For as the heathen enjoyed the belief in the immediate presence of a populous mythology, so did the chosen people of God firmly hold the expectation of a future revelation of the Lord, in the spiritual unity and singleness of His nature:

in this they formed a striking contrast, as the representatives of the true inner humanity, to the surrounding and unbelieving nations.

"Although the nations were gradually retreating from the knowledge of their connection with nature and the Almighty, till at length the true goal was almost lost to view, yet this separation of the various nations, and this straying from the path, was not destined to be lasting. (No one people of the earth has probably ever been entirely forgetful of God; and as firmly as religious feeling is rooted in humanity, so certainly are also the traces to be discovered of a remembrance of former higher spiritual relations, although they may be merely as fleeting dreams or intangible visions.) Neither did these scattered nations always remain so separated or entirely isolated, that they were unable mutually to influence each other, which influence is always spiritual. As in religion, so did the nations also separate in language: but in a gradual manner: that which is once known cannot be so easily forgotten, even when the power and vitality have decreased; for as natural forces influence each other at a distance, so does mind influence mind much more directly. (As the natural powers were at least guided by instinct, although by no means as powerfully as at first, so was man, as the last and most perfect creation, certainly never so far abandoned by his Maker, that every bond between humanity and God was severed.) Although, as it were, man was unable to perceive the Almighty from the depths of misery into which he had fallen, yet God, in the fulness of his love, descended to him, and gave him the assistance of a father, to raise him to the ethereal regions by counsels sent to him through the Prophets. We therefore find among all nations traditions, recollections, and views pointing to the same origin, and in many particulars strikingly similar; and there are but few where the same conclusions may not be arrived at from such traditions. Wherever the separation threatened to be destructive, there the divine hand has guided the falling people. (We must therefore regard all national migrations as resulting from higher causes, and consider that, like thunder-storms, they clear the atmosphere, and prepare the ground for a new fruitfulness where the former

nations were no longer filled with an active vitality: they rouse sleeping germs and reunite severed branches.

"Regarded from another point of view, the divine doctrines of virtue and the true spiritual direction of man, owe their preservation from inimical influences to their seclusion among the Jews, by whom, surrounded by mysteries, they were transmitted pure down to that time when that which was hidden was placed in the broad light of day, that the whole world should perceive and understand that God is the Father of all men, and that all are to be gathered together under our Lord Jesus Christ. This had been long foretold in the early world: 'The light shines in the darkness, but the darkness does not comprehend it.' And the beginning of this great work has assuredly commenced; for as men, when left to nature and their own folly, did not at once degenerate into the most complete demoralisation, so could the newly kindled light only illuminate the pagan darkness, and restore them gradually to the former elevation, from which they would be enabled to perceive the true God, and to adore him in humility and love."

On this subject Hamberger remarks, after explaining that Ham (the impulsive) represents the fratricide Cain, —Shem (the generic word for man), whose descendants were priests, represents the pious Abel,—and Japhet (the expansive), who was also beloved by God, but had more inclination for the outward and worldly, steps into the place of Seth:—"It is, however, not to be disputed that, far from venerating mere nature, the heathens had in view a divine idea. It was, therefore, not the stones or elements which they worshipped, but rather the spirit with which they, as it were, stood in connection through material nature; and therefore, though approaching the truth, they never were able to behold the real unclouded attributes of the Almighty. The Japhetites were unable to retain the abstract idea of God; and, as they were engrossed in a great measure by the world and its occupations, they looked upon the visible works of God as the divine idea. The Shemites were the bearers of the knowledge of the unity of God as it is preserved in the profound religion of the Old Testament. The children of Ham receded far, and sank below the histori-

cal horizon, as they fell away from God, and debased themselves by the most barbarous nature-worship,—or rather the senseless and stupid fetichism. Some nations, however, of Hamitic origin—as, for instance, the Egyptians, who were inclined, and therefore capable of a higher cultivation, by their neighbourhood to the Shemitic races—not only were preserved from sinking deeper into a savage nature, but actually reached a high state of civilization and knowledge of God,—or rather a perception of the divine nature and its multitudinous powers and manifestations. If we deny that the mythologies of the ancients contain any but material parts, we must also divest them of every sentiment of religion. But this we do when we maintain that they only adored natural objects,—as the stars or elements.

The nations of antiquity were, however, as history proves, possessed of such an enlightened and acute spirit that a religion entirely devoted to the senses could not by any possibility have obtained credence among them, much less have maintained its ground for thousands of years. Even among the children of Israel, some men, highly esteemed for their wisdom—as in the case of Solomon—were inclined to heathenism, which could not have been the case if the heathen religion had been wanting in every foundation of truth. With what earnestness the heathens devoted themselves to their gods, and founded the most magnificent temples, and even excavated whole mountains to do them homage! Even at the present day, a spirit raised far above everything of mere earthly nature speaks to us from the remains of Grecian mythology. That states cannot exist without a religious conviction, history but too clearly shows us; and yet all heathen creeds are said to have been empty phantoms. Even the Mosaic writings admit a certain reality for the gods of the Gentiles: for instance, 2 Mos. 15, 11.

The longing for knowledge, according to Fr. v. Schlegel, is the beginning and root of every higher knowledge and all divine aspirations; patience in the search, in faith, and in the battle of life, is half way: the end is, however, never more to us below than the hoped-for goal. The necessary epochs of preparation and of gradual progress cannot be overstepped or put aside in this the noblest striving of humanity. The nations mutually assisted and influenced

each other in fixing and maintaining their religious consciousness, even after their dispersion; and it was, without doubt, through the Shemites, who were capable by their constitution of receiving a higher degree of divine grace, that the Japhetites were sustained and preserved from straying. Through the exertions of these nations a divine service and a certain religious system were formed, through which not only was the connection between their gods to be sustained, but still more intimate relations were to be produced. The pious heathen did not alone care for a merely idle acknowledgment of his gods or an outlet for his fancy, but was rather deeply imbued with the desire of drawing still nearer to them, and of, as it were, being incorporated with them. It was on this account that such a power and activity lay in the means which the heathens made use of for this purpose.

The Almighty does not abandon his children, though they may endeavour to approach Him by circuitous ways, but manifests Himself to them by whatever way they seek or call on Him. The heathens were not capable of a spiritual intercourse with the Almighty. God, therefore, communicated with them through oracles, through their religious rites, prayers, and offerings, which were not merely produced by chance, but were the results of higher and vital laws. Through this, and particularly through the mysteries in which, as it were, the gods were divested of everything but the purest spirit, a rich and powerful influence spread itself over the heathen countries, and from it sprang security, respect for their rulers and the laws, and, in fact, the noblest virtues and capabilities of the human mind.

The descendants of Abraham, as is well known, were led by the hand of God into pagan Egypt, where they increased to a great people. Through the pressure of servitude, an apostacy from the God of their fathers was to be feared, which in several cases actually took place. Their faith, however, was to receive a determined form for future ages, and to unfold in a rich and glorious manner. For this purpose, God raised in Moses a great preserver and leader to Israel, and endowed him with wonderful powers and profound wisdom. The laws of nature were therefore subject to him; and the miracles which the Lord wrought through him must have been glorious and immense compared with those of the

heathens, as God determined to reveal Himself, not according to His outward, but His inward majesty. These miracles served to withdraw Israel from bondage; but the opposition to those laws, revealed so awfully from Sinai, was a proof of deeply-rooted sinfulness; and the children of Israel were condemned to a forty years' pilgrimage in the Desert, before they might behold the Promised Land. The laws served at first to raise them to a higher grade of cultivation; and then, by sacrifices and festivals, to prepare them for the Saviour, towards whom the glorious line of Prophets pointed ever clearer and more distinctly: till at length Christ appeared among men to unfold the most hidden glories of God, and to reconcile the Almighty with humanity, at a time when notoriously all nations were steeped in the deepest night, under the shadow of death, and in the greatest need of God's grace. The Lord arose above them as the light of the world, as the sun of life, and with His disciples illuminated the whole globe. Through Christ, the most holy and majestic secret of His eternal love had been fully revealed, and man was enabled thereby to approach His glory; while the curtain which had hitherto separated the Jews and Gentiles was now raised. That which, up to this time, had been regarded on both sides as a secret knowledge, was now universally made known; and the doctrine of the threefold existence of God, and His holy teachings, were now to be preached to all the world.

As the appearance of Christ produced a reconciliation between sinful humanity and God, and, at the same time, a reunion of the nations who were wandering blindly in different directions; so was it necessary for man to regain his original connection with God and nature, between whom, as it were, he formed the mediator, and to be placed in a very high degree of mental perfection. For man possesses a susceptibility as well for the divine as for the natural, and also an inner spiritual, as well as outward organic, activity. "Man," says Molitor, "is destined to connect created things with God, and God with created things, through the universal bond of love. Inwardly he should receive the overflowing influence of divine love and grace; and his outward activity should be directed to spread the divine influence through all spheres of creation, to rouse intelligent beings

to an eternal love, and magically to impart an everlasting harmony to the material world."

In how far this reunion through Christ has been carried into effect, or may be, according to the circumstances and conditions of future ages, does not belong to the province of this work.

If the first man lost his perfect harmony with God and nature, and, at the same time, also forfeited his active government, then must these have been restored after the restoration through Christ. He would then communicate with God, and the influences of nature would produce in him a disinclination to receive any impressions which could militate against the divine power of his mind. It was thus that through Christ the true penetrating vision, and the original power over nature, were restored; for, as God at the creation endowed the first man with dominion over all other creatures,—over the fishes in the sea, and the birds under the heavens, and over all animals upon the earth; and as Adam was able to give to everything its proper name,—therefore the second man, the Son of God, brought back the power over nature, and imparted it, with the knowledge of all languages, to His disciples. The holy spirit radiating from Our Saviour illuminates every one who is born again through Jesus Christ; and as, at the first apostacy at Babel, the confusion of tongues became universal, so did the unity in heart and mind of the disciples, gathered together in obedience, restore the unity of language at Jerusalem; and to them was given the power of reclaiming men from sin and evil deeds, of healing sickness, blindness, and all diseases, of working miracles, and of leading humanity to the true God. If, however, the true unity of language consists therein, that the heart and soul are to act on the will of God, and, being open to its influences, seize at once upon the meaning; and that by word and deed it is then proclaimed for the glory of the Almighty; so must it be that the true magical sight, and the proper direction of the will, are restored, and then we may look forward to healing the sick by laying on of the hands, and prayer.

The meanings of dreams are to be valued according to the inner nature of the same. From the preceding observations we shall be able to judge whether dreams are always phantasms, and how much of truth or consistency their

symbols and allegories may contain. Although most dreams of the natural sleep are merely produced by the activity of the inner senses, yet all are not so; and there are few persons who have not occasionally had significant dreams which referred to themselves: that is, if they were inclined to and observed such things. If the blood and the mind of the sleeper were not agitated by any foreign and disturbing influences, if the outward impressions which produce dreams were known, if the remembrance of the dream were always perfectly distinct, and if we were perfectly acquainted with the language of dreams, we should often find our dreams very instructive.

Dreams with changing shapes and an unconnected confusion of ideas, arise, undoubtedly, from bodily uneasiness and the circulating fluids, and are always without meaning. A higher class is formed by allegorical dreams,—simple and easily understood pictures of a more durable character. Future and distant events are often indicated in these; scenes and incidents are beheld which are afterwards experienced. Divinatory dreams are of a still higher description, and, like magnetic clairvoyance, are not bounded either by time or place, but reveal the future, though generally without reference to the dreamer: here symbols are made use of, almost without exception, to indicate the events, and may be produced by higher influences.

The meaning of dreams has been in all ages very similar, as we have already mentioned, and was made the subject of a particular science. Since Artemidor, many writers have given explanations of dreams, but usually without much success, as the materials were in most cases wanting to the investigators, and the appearances of the dreams themselves extremely complicated: they, however, state, that to dream of great and troubled waters indicates sorrow and danger; thorns, difficulties; words mean tears; to dream of death predicts rain the following day; and of churches, sickness. Dreams, however, occasionally appear to be ironical, and to indicate their exact opposites; allegories and symbols are only frequent to those who dream much, and observe their meanings. We might produce innumerable examples of dreams from Cicero, and others;

but we shall content ourselves with mentioning one or two which have occurred in the present age.

Dr. X——, a friend of Professor Sachs, of Erlangen, had the following dream one evening, after a conversation on natural philosophy with the professor:—"I ascended a mountain, on the summit of which stood a temple: as I entered it I perceived a company of Freemasons sitting in a room which was hung with black. I heard a glorious inspiring funeral chant. To my inquiry for whom these ceremonies were being held, they replied, for brother Sachs. Three months afterwards I received the intelligence of Sachs' death, which had resulted from a dangerous illness produced by the ascent of a steep mountain. Half a year afterwards I was present at the ceremonies held in his honour in the Lodge at N——."

Similar allegorical visions are occasionally described by magnetic clairvoyants, and have been recorded of the Oracles. When the cholera broke out in 1831 in Berlin, all Brandenburg was in alarm. K——, a teacher, however, said,—"I saw in a dream that a monster came towards Brandenburg from the East; but when near to it the monster sprang to the right and to the left: Brandenburg will escape." This proved to be the case.

Many interesting instances of allegorical dreams and visions are brought forward by H. Werner in his "Guardian Angels," and "Symbols of Language;" where single stages or even the whole course of a disease, and the proper treatment to be pursued, were stated; and also where future events are allegorically indicated.

Oberlin (Berichte eines Visionärs über den Zustand der Seelen nach dem Tode, 1837,) relates some singular instances of symbolical dreams which occurred to himself, with the remark, that many dreams lie deeper, and are enacted in a deeper stage, than is generally imagined. He says, "If I do not at the moment of waking transfer such a dream carefully, as it were, to the outer senses, so is the recollection of it lost to me until perhaps some future and similar state reveals it again. I beheld two young men who from mere ambition were striving to force themselves through the eye of a needle. They were exhausted, dripping with perspi-

ration, and so red in the face that they appeared to be on the verge of apoplexy. It was said to me, if these peril life and everything belonging to it, wife and children, to attain an empty shadow, what should you not do to gain the great promise? Another time the interior of a temple was opened to me, into which I went with fear and deep veneration. It was dark around me, but I could perceive a grandeur and majestic simplicity such as I had never before seen. A person met me who appeared to be the sacristan, and reproved me earnestly but with kindness for having entered where it was not permitted to me. The temple was situated in a glorious island; and the place was called in the language of the inhabitants by a name resembling "Forest-stream," but was at the same time associated with the word "Philadelphia." In going out I saw a cradle containing eight well-formed but very small children. The mother, who sat near them, was a slender, light form, and replied to my question whether they were of the same age, that they were born one after the other, but that, to her great sorrow, not even the eldest could yet walk. Upon this I understood inwardly that this referred to me. This is the consequence of hasty actions which are born before they are matured. Flower-pots were also shown to me containing a dark green substance of the consistency of treacle, but of a dangerous and noxious nature, and covered over with soft glass. I was told that this was produced by the so-called wits and men of letters. At another time the streets of a town were shown to me, so entirely cleared of the mud and dirt that the foundations of the houses were laid bare. I understood from this picture that I was now purified from many vices, but that I must provide myself with the necessary virtues, or else the edifice might be injured at its foundations." When he felt a great desire to die, fire and water were shown to him, as being incompatible with each other, and shortly after he saw a half-finished building, where a well-known and skilful sculptor was chiselling at a stone which had long been built into the wall. He thought this absurd, but it was explained to him thus—that if any one desired to enter upon eternal life before his time, he would, like the stone, require chiseling and cutting afresh.

Dreams are occasionally so vivid that they become poetic,

and even rouse the organs of the will—the muscles—into activity. There are instances of persons having finished the most beautiful poems while dreaming; of others having composed music, or completed things which when awake they had left unfinished. Examples of the prediction of future events are so frequent and so well authenticated as to result that it is unnecessary to make any quotations here: all this taken together induces the belief that the spirit of dreams is identical with that of the seer as well as that of the poet and prophet. And why should not a higher inspiration come over the dreamer, in which the divine breath planted within him might inflame his heart and illuminate his countenance, so that, like David, he should raise hymns of praise to his Creator, who permits him to look beyond the bounds of time and space? Dreams also give evidence of the universal and original language which sees the original in its symbol, and at once comprehends it, while the prosaic understanding is occupied with its laborious explanations and conclusions. In this manner the poetic dreamer, the Pythia, and the Prophets, are of similar origin and powers.

It is not of rare occurrence that relations, or persons intimately connected with each other, have similar dreams at the same time; but very peculiar when a poetic inspiration is as it were the connecting medium. It was thus that a Canon of Werda, on the Rhine, repeated the verses in which Melancthon announced his death during a dream. A friend of Schubert's, who was perfectly ignorant of his sister's illness, arose in the night of her death, and with sighs and lamentations wrote something on a paper. The next morning he found, to his alarm and astonishment, the paper with a poem on the death of his sister. (Werner.)

Through impressions produced on the outer senses, particularly by whispering into the ears, the sleeper may be forced to dream, and placed as it were in any desired frame of mind.

But more remarkable is the power of producing dreams in others by the mere action of the will. Agrippa v. Nettesheim (De Occulta Philosophia, lib. iii. p. 13, Lugd.) states "that at a great distance it is possible, without any doubt, to influence another person spiritually, even when their position and the distance is unknown, although the time cannot

be fixed within twenty-four hours." This had been done by the Abbot Trithemius, and he himself had also done it several times;—(et ego id facere novi et sæpius feci.) In later times Wesermann relates many experiments in Düsseldorf, of this power of sending dreams. (Kieser's Archiv. für den thier. Magnet. vol. vi. p. 136.)

It has been also remarked that in the Scotch second-sight several seers have at the same time, though at distant places, had the same visions.

As such facts are not to be disputed, and as it is well known that precisely similar thoughts and presentiments occur simultaneously among friends, it is impossible to dispute the fact of a mental communication. But how does it take place? (Spirits, as intermediate beings, are out of the question; it would be a strange occupation for them, and we are not aware by what means they could make their communications.) The transmission of the soul of one person from its proper body to the body of another person is utterly impossible, as during life the soul cannot leave the body, and is equally unable to double itself; and even could this be the case it could not act upon the other person outwardly, but must do so inwardly and spiritually. This mutual influence cannot therefore be otherwise explained than by an immediate mental magnetic excitement; and, if this is possible, other mental impressions are equally possible and according to reason.

Examples of dreams from the world's early ages must not omitted. The dreams of the Israelites, as recorded in the Bible, will be noticed later. I shall mention a few from Cicero, who gives instances of many dreams from common life as well as having occurred to philosophers. Particularly remarkable are those of Simonides, to which the Stoics so often refer. When this Simonides discovered the corpse of an unknown person, it appeared to warn him not to go on board a vessel which he was about to do, as it would be lost at sea. Simonides followed this admonition; but all those who were in the ship were lost during the voyage. The other and still more remarkable one was as follows:—When two Arcadians were travelling together and reached Megara, one turned into an inn, and the other went to a friend. At

night, when the one who was staying at his friend's house was asleep, it seemed to him that his companion appeared, and implored him to hasten to his assistance, as the innkeeper was about to murder him: alarmed by this dream he sprang from his bed, but lay down again when he had collected his faculties, and considered the dream as of no account. However, no sooner was he asleep, than his comrade reappeared, and begged him, that, as he had been unable to render him assistance when alive, he would still avenge his murder; that he had been killed by the innkeeper, had been concealed upon a dung-cart, and that he should be driven through the city gate the next morning. This dream produced such an impression that he proceeded to the gate early in the morning, and inquired of the driver what he had in the cart: no sooner had he said this than the latter took to flight: the corpse was discovered, and the innkeeper was punished. The dream of Alexander the Great was slso most singular. Sleeping beside his friend Ptolomæus, who was mortally wounded, he dreamed that a dragon belonging to his mother appeared before him bearing in his mouth a root which would save his friend's life. Alexander related the dream; the root was discovered, and Ptolomæus and many other soldiers recovered by its use. The wife of Julius Cæsar, Calpurnia, dreamed that her husband fell bleeding across her knees; she told him her dream, and warned him not to go out that day: heedless of her prayers he went to the forum, and was stabbed with twenty-three wounds. There are whole nations whose dreams are considered sacred. Pomponius Mela (De situ orbis, I. viii. 50) mentions a people in the centre of Africa who have the custom of sleeping on the graves of their ancestors, and who consider their dreams as the direct inspirations of the dead.

That truths are revealed to man in sleep which, awake, he is ignorant of, is so confirmed by history that few will require many examples to prove it. Dreams have been long ago described by acute observers in such a striking manner, that we perceive at once that they were able to distinguish the real from the false.

Among the Greeks the double nature of dreams was

recognised, for Homer makes the following observation in the Odyssey :—

> Immured within the silent bower of sleep,
> Two portals firm the various phantoms keep ;
> Of ivory one ; whence flit, to mock the brain,
> Of winged lies a light fantastic train ;
> The gates opposed pellucid valves adorn,
> And columns fair incased with polished horn.

Voss remarked that Homer employed a pun in these lines ; the word *ivory* being in Greek similar to deception, and *horn* to accomplishment. There was also a meaning in the material itself ; horn being transparent, and ivory opaque.

At the present time innumerable examples of remarkable dreams are recorded in psychological works, particularly in Moritz's "Magazin für Seelenkunde," and Schubert's "Symbols of Dreams." Instances of dreams which resemble magnetic clairvoyance are mentioned by Passevant. In conclusion, one dream may be mentioned from a letter of St. Augustin's to Evadius (August. Epistola 159. Editio Antwerp, i. 428) :—

"I will tell you something," writes St. Augustin, "on which you may reflect. Our brother Gennadius, well known and beloved by us all, and a most renowned physician, who now lives at Carthage, and formerly distinguished himself at Rome, and who is known to us all as a pious man and a benefactor to the needy, told us lately that when a youth, notwithstanding his love for the poor, he doubted whether there could be a future existence after death. God, however, would not forsake his soul, and therefore a youth of a radiant and noble countenance appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Follow me!' Following him, he came to a city where, on the right hand, he heard sounds of the most delicious harmony. Inquiring what this might be, the youth replied that it was the singing of the saints and the just. He awoke, and the dream fled ; but he reflected as much on this dream as it was possible to do. Another night the same youth appeared, and asked if he remembered him. Gennadius was able to relate the dream, and to describe the songs and rejoicings of the saints, without hesitation. The youth then asked if he had seen that which was described

in his sleep, or when awake: 'During sleep,' he replied. 'You have answered and remembered well,' replied the youth; 'it is true that you saw it during sleep, and know that that which you now behold is also beheld during sleep.' The youth then said, 'Where is your body?' 'In my sleeping apartment,' replied Gennadius. The youth: 'But do you know that the eyes of the body are sealed and useless?'

"*Gennadius.*—'I know it.'

"*The youth.*—'What description of eyes are, then, those with which you see in the body?'

"Gennadius was silent, and knew not what to reply. As he hesitated, the youth explained to him that which he had come to teach, and continued: 'As the eyes of your body are now inactive and useless, and yet those eyes with which you behold me and this vision are truthful, so will you after death, and when the bodily eyes are useless, be filled with a power of life and of feeling. Therefore, harbour no more doubts of a life beyond the grave.' 'In this manner,' relates our friend, 'was all my doubt removed.' And what instructed him but the providence and mercy of God?"

THIRD DIVISION.

SOOTHSAYING.

CICERO has written a work upon soothsaying which contains a treasure of all things appertaining to magic. He commences it in a manner which is highly remarkable to us at the present day.

"From the heroic times there has been a universally received belief among all nations, that among men is to be found the power of soothsaying (esse divinationem),—that is, a presentiment, a knowledge of future things. Certainly a glorious gift, through which mortal nature becomes like to the gods. I am acquainted with no people, either civilized or learned, savage or ignorant, which does not believe in the prediction of future events, by a few individuals who understand and are able to foresee the future. Is it not, therefore, presumption to endeavour to overthrow things firmly fixed and venerable by age through calumny" (quæ est igitur calliditas, res vetus tale robustas calumniando velle pervertere).

Cicero speaks on this subject in such an instructive and pleasing manner, that we shall follow him in his own words somewhat farther.

"Soothsaying is of two natures,—kinds and artificial. The artificial consists of presupposition, speculation, and partly of experience; the natural is produced by the soul seizing upon anything divine whence we ought to be pure in heart (haustos, libatesque animos habeamus). Artificial soothsaying is of the following descriptions:—Firstly, from the entrails of animals; by conclusions drawn from the

lightning and storms, from the flight of birds, from the stars; from lots, and from portentous signs and omens. In all these we must rather look to the fact than search for the causes: we should regard the examples of all nations, and, although we may not at once be able to account for them, we must at least not doubt facts which have really happened. If some things are false and others are true, we must not therefore consider soothsaying as fallacious,—just as little as we ought to call our eyes useless because they do not always serve us aright. God does not desire that we should understand all this, but that we should make use of it."

Some instances of predictions and lots (sortes) are very remarkable. Shortly before the battle of Leuctra the Lacedæmonians received a significant warning. In the Temple of Hercules the weapons clashed together of their own accord, and the statue of Hercules itself was covered with sweat. At the same time, according to Callisthenes, the locks and bolts in the Temple of Hercules at Thebes flew open, and the weapons which hung upon the wall were found lying on the ground. The Bœotian soothsayers announced victory to the Thebans. The reverse at Leuctra was also predicted to the Lacedæmonians in several ways; for the statues of Lysander, who was the noblest Lacedæmonian, which stood at Delphi, were overgrown with plants, and the golden stars, which were placed on these statues after the celebrated naval victory of Lysander, fell down a short time before the battle of Leuctra. But the most significant sign of all happened at Dodona, where the Spartans inquired of Jupiter concerning the coming contest. The bag containing the lots was placed on the ground, and an ape, which was kept for amusement by the king of the Molossi, scattered them to the winds. The priests at once answered that the Lacedæmonians ought rather to consider their safety than the battle.

Such violent earthquakes preceded the defeat of Flaminius, that in Gaul and the neighbouring countries whole towns were swallowed up; the earth sunk in many places, and the sea forced back the currents of the rivers towards their sources. When the Phrygian Midas was a child, the ants carried a number of grains of wheat into his mouth while he slept, from which people predicted that he would be immensely rich; and bees settled in Plato's mouth as he slum-

bered in his cradle. The nurse of Roscius saw him during the night in the folds of serpents, and, terrified at the sight, called for help. The father of Roscius carried him to the soothsayers, who replied that none would be more exalted or renowned than this boy. Many omens appeared to the Romans on the eve of the battle at Teutoburg. The heavens showed in many ways their displeasure. The Temple of Mars at Rome was struck by lightning and burned; the statues of Victory, which looked towards Germany, were turned round by an earthquake towards Italy; Alpine mountain peaks fell in, and terrific columns of fire burst from the chasms.

Such signs have been recorded in later times, and more particularly those connected with lots or "sortes." The ancient Germans, who placed much reliance in soothsaying, were accustomed to consult these lots, and even retained their faith in them after their conversion to Christianity. They consulted the flight of birds, the crowing of cocks: from migratory birds, from the hooting of owls and the croaking of ravens, and from the elements, good and bad luck, fire, war, and death, they obtained prognostics. In Germany this description of soothsaying was so widely spread, that many laws were made on the subject. In the constitution of 1572, and the public regulations of 1661, of Kur-Saxony, capital punishment by the sword was threatened to those who dared to predict the future by the black arts, or to converse with the devil through crystals, or by any other means, and receive from him knowledge of things hidden and to come.

No one nation of antiquity was so generally convinced of the truth of soothsaying as the Greeks, not even excepting the Jews. Such an enlightened people must have devoted much attention to that which could not alone arise from priestcraft and the system of oracles. The poetic talent being expanded to such a degree with them, it was perfectly natural that they should pay some attention to the inner voice of the mind, not only in dreams, but also in presentiments: they therefore were not only acquainted with natural, but also to a very great extent with artificial soothsaying, by which the soul is enabled to perceive the future, which they ascribed to the gods, from whom they supposed everything to be derived. For the gods, who know

everything past and to come, imparted it to man from affection to him, either unsolicited or in answer to his prayers, and give him signs by which he may be guided (*σημεῖα*). The Greeks had four kinds of such signs—1. birds, 2. voices (*φήμαι*), 3. symbolical signs of circumstances (*σύμβολα*), and 4. sacrificial auguries. To predict from the flight and voices of birds was one of the most ancient and universal modes of divination among the Greeks; so that from it the whole science often derives its name. As birds, through their organisation, are peculiarly sensitive to atmospheric changes and influences; as their migration depends on circumstances in connection with the revolution of the year; and as they moreover exist in the least controlled element, and are as free as it, so was the idea very natural that they were more exposed to the direct influence of the gods, and less subject to the coarser materialism of the earth. Birds were therefore from their nature as it were prophetic. Lassaulx says, "The so-called divine and evil voices appear to be related to the Jewish belief of Bath Kol, and rest upon events which cannot be possibly explained or accounted for." Examples are given by Herodotus, lx. 100; Dionys. Hal. x. 5; Plut. vit. Syllæ, p. 455. Zeus, from whom, as in the latter instance, they were supposed to proceed, was also worshipped as "*πανομφαῖος*." Among the symbols (*σύμβολα*) were reckoned all prophetic signs which might arise from meeting various animals, and also all extraordinary phenomena of nature,—thunder and lightning, eclipses of the sun and moon, bloody rain, and every striking malformation in which it was supposed that nature showed her deep sympathy with human destiny. For that between heaven and earth there exists a bond of sympathy, is one of the oldest beliefs. (Appian, l. c. ix. 4; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 40, e. s.; 10, 15, ex. Emp. v. 3, p. 338)

Divination, lastly, by the entrails of animals (*ἱερομαντια, ἱεροσκοπία, μαντεία ἐκ θυσίων*), which prevailed among all pagan nations of antiquity, originated in the sacrifice of animals, which were offered in the place and as substitutes for human victims. (Lassaulx on the Pelasgian Oracle of Zeus at Dodona, Würzburg, 1840, s. 2.)

Still more firmly rooted than even the above-mentioned

methods, was the belief in natural soothsaying through the prophetic excitement of the soul, when time and place formed no barriers according to the universally received idea. The ancients generally believed the human soul to be of a divine origin, and therefore not subject to the laws of nature; they believed that it was only mixed with the earthy matter from having sinned in its pre-earthly state, by which it had lost much of its former power of penetration. (Plato, in Phædrus and Phædon; Cicero de divinitat. 130). Man has, however, not wholly lost the power of the seer, for according to its nature it is imperishable. "As the sun," says Plutarch, "does not become radiant only when it pierces the louds, but is always so though obscured by the surrounding mists; so the soul does not receive the power of looking into the future only when it passes from the body as from a cloud, but has always possessed this power, although dimmed by its mixture with the mortal part of the body." As the power of soothsaying is natural to and a portion of the soul, though latent in the usual circumstances of life, it may be aroused by a higher power, or can become active when the strength of the body is weakened. This is particularly the case in those circumstances where the soul has least in common with the body, and is not compelled to look at the material being of things. Such *lucida intervalla* are most frequent in sleep and dreams. Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 7, 21) says—"The souls of men appear to be most free and divine in sleep, and in that state throw glances into the future." Josephus also says (B. J. vii. 8, 7), "In sleep, the soul, in no way disturbed by the body, enjoys the sweetest repose, holds conference with God, to whom it is related, and floats to and fro over things past and to come." That spontaneous soothsaying which appears often on the approach of death was well known in the earliest ages. In Greece the belief in the prophetic power of the dying was so universal, that Socrates expresses it in the Platonic Apology as an established fact. Cicero says the same, and to him we shall refer again; Arrianus (De exped. Alex. vii.), and Aretæus (De causis et signis morb. acut. etc.) In extacia, however, whether spontaneous or arising from convulsions, soothsaying has been a universally known phenomenon, which was said to be produced

either by divine or physical influences, or by inspiring springs and vapours of the earth. Plutarch classes the latter (Mor. p. 432, a.) among the various species of mania, of *μαντικὸν ῥεῦμακαί πνευμα.* Plato mentions the first especially in Phædrus, and Pliny brings forward many remarkable instances of cataleptic extacia (vii. 52, 174, pp.)

"To natural soothsaying," says Cicero, "belongs that which does not take place from supposition, observations, or well-known signs, but arises from an inner state and activity of the mind, in which men are enabled by an unfettered advance of the soul to foretell future things: this takes place in dreams, in cases of insanity, in madness (per furorem vaticinantes), and also in minds of great constitutional purity. Of this description are the oracles—not such as are grounded on augurial signs, but those which arise from an inner and a divine source. If we laugh at predictions drawn from the sacrifice of animals as folly, if we turn to ridicule the Babylonians and the Caucasians, who believe in celestial signs, and who observe the number and course of the stars,—if, as I have said, we condemn all these for their superstition and folly, which as they maintain is founded upon the experience of fifty centuries and a half,—let us in that case also call the belief of ages imposture,—let us burn our records, and say that everything was but imagination! But is the history of Greece a lie, when Apollo foretold the future through the oracles of the Lacedæmonians, of the Corinthians? I will leave all else as it is; but this I must defend, that the gods influence and care for all human affairs. The Delphian oracle would never have become so celebrated, nor so overwhelmed by presents from every king and every nation, if every age had not experienced the truth of its predictions. Or has its fame departed? The power of the earth which moved the soul of the Pythia with its divine breath may have vanished through age, as rivers are dried up or take other courses; but the fact is there, and always will be, without we overturn history itself."

That men often foretell events shortly before their death is one of the earliest experiences, and in no respect does it differ from the other examples already mentioned; the predictions made by such persons have reference to persons and events, and often with the most minute particulars. An illumina-

tion of the countenance also takes place, as in clairvoyants. Children of tender years tell those who surround them their future, like old men; and people who were not considered ill, even a few days before their death, as well as those who had lain for years on the sick-bed. Even persons who for many years had been insane have been known suddenly to become possessed of their senses, and to disclose the future shortly before dissolution. Examples of this may be found in the most ancient authors,—Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Aretæus, Cicero, Plutarch, and numbers of others. Experience shows that dying persons perceive things which they are unable to describe; that they hear the most enchanting harmonies, and that the powers of the soul are so increased that they overflow with the most inspired and poetic words. A few examples may be quoted.

Homer was well acquainted with this: for the dying Hector foretold the approaching death of Achilles. When Calanus ascended the burning funeral pile, and Alexander asked him if he were in need of anything, he replied "Nothing! the day after to-morrow I shall see you;" which was verified by subsequent events. Posidonius mentions a dying Rhodian, who named six persons, one after the other, in the order in which they were to die. Plutarch draws the following conclusion:—"It is not probable that in death the soul gains new powers which it was not before possessed of when the heart was confined by the chains of the body; but it is much more probable that these powers were always in being, though dimmed and clogged by the body; and the soul is only then able to practise them when the corporeal bonds are loosened, and the drooping limbs and stagnating juices no longer oppress it." Aretæus uses almost the same words:—"Until the soul is set free, it works within the body, obscured by vapours and clay." Modern examples may be met with in Werner, "Symbolik der Sprache." Older ones are collected by Sauvages, "Nosologia methodica," t. iv.; Quellmalz, "De divinationibus medicis," Freiburg, 1723; Janites, "Dissertatio de somniis medicis," Argentinati, 1720; and particularly by M. Alberti, "Dissertat. de vaticiniis ægrotorum," Halæ, 1724.

Somnambulism, or sleep-walking, belongs to dreams and natural soothsaying.

By somnambulism and sleep-walking, we understand that state in which people, in the night and during sleep, at certain or uncertain times, leave their beds, dress themselves, occasionally speak, walk about, and do things which almost always differ very much from their ordinary daily occupations. They are, however, generally in perfect health, and free from any symptoms of fever. Their actions are often very strange: the somnambulist walks, reads, writes, and often performs the most difficult, and, in any other state, very dangerous feats; he climbs and mounts walls and roofs; sits down on the very edge of dangerous places; crosses the most terrific precipices on ridges of stone, and is able to do things which, in the natural state, would be impossible. A peasant, in my native town, was in the habit of getting up at night to do work which he was not able to do when awake. He left the house with closed eyes, and, after having finished his work, returned and went quietly to bed. At one time, he took his axe and felled a tree which hung over a foaming torrent at the bottom of a frightful abyss. An apothecary read his prescriptions, at night, through the ends of his fingers, and always made them up best when in the somnambulic state. There are many thousands of similar instances.

Usually, the outward senses are, as it were, dead; it is but seldom that the eyes of somnambulists are open, and even then they do not see with them; they do not hear that which goes on around them, not even when spoken to, though it is very perilous to call to them by name when at any dangerous place, as they occasionally awake, and in the sudden terror of the moment probably meet with some injury.

There have been examples where somnambulism has also taken place by day; but such cases were probably connected with disease, and would then constitute a species of delirium, from which it would be very difficult to recall them. The diseases with which sleep-walking are connected are Catalepsy, Hysteria, Melancholy, Epilepsy, and St. Vitus's Dance. It has also been observed in inflammatory and intermittent fevers, and particularly in youth.

Somnambulism was, in the earliest times, a subject of many theories and investigations. The Greeks called it

ὑπνοβατειά; the Romans, *noctambulatio* and *somnambulismus*. Forest calls it a nocturnal insanity; Ettmüller, a waking sleep and a sleeping wakefulness; Paracelsus, a madness of the dreams; Junker, a disturbed imagination at night; A. v. Haller, a violent excitement of one part of the brain while the others are at rest; Weickart, a higher class of dreams, subject to the will, which endeavours to free it from some oppression; Brandis, an excitement of the whole brain; Hofman, a half-waking dream, in which the creative power of the soul operates outwardly; Van Swieten, De Haen, etc., a transition state between dreaming and waking; lastly, Helmont ascribed it to the moon :—

In the following works a full account will be found of all the phenomena of sleep-walking.

Jacob Horstius, De natura, differentiis et causis eorum qui dormientes ambulant, etc., Lipsiæ, 1593.—G. G. Richter Dissert. de statu mixto somni et vigiliæ quo dormientes multa vigilantium munera abeant, Götting. 1756.—Gottfr. Fr. Meyer, Versuch einer Erklärung des Nachtwandelns, Halle, 1758.—Schenkius, Dissert. de ambulatione in somno, Jenæ, 1671. — Pigatti, Sonderbare Geschichte des Joh. Bapt. Negretti, eines Nachtwandlers, aus dem Italien, Nürnberg, 1782.—De la Croix, Observation concernant une fille cataleptique et somnambule en même temps (Hist. de l'Acad. Royale des Sc. 1742).—Francesco Soave, Di un nuovo e maraviglioso sonnambulo, relazione (opusc. scelti sulle science e sulle arti, Milano, 1780, t. iii. p. 204).—Tandler, De noctisurgio, Viteb. 1602.—Th. Zwinger, Dissert. de somnambulis.—E. Förster, Insignium somnambulismi spontanei exemplorum narratio, Kiliæ, 1820.—Schlözer, Dissert. de somnambulismo, Vienæ, 1816.—Bohn, Casus ægri, noctambulationis morbo laborantis, Lips. 1717.—Unzer, Gedanken vom Schlaf und Träumen, Halle, 1746.—Abbé Richard, La théorie des songes, Paris, 1767.—Muratori, Ueber die Einbildungskraft.—Moritz, Magazin der Seelenkunde.

To natural soothsaying belongs, lastly, second-sight; in Gaelic called Taishitaraugh. As in sleep-walking an inner activity arises during sleep, so does, in second-sight, a dream state appear, when awake, connected with an increased keenness of the senses. Visions, sounds, and even sensations of taste and odour, are experienced: these phenomena are most

frequently observed in the Highlands of Scotland and the Western Isles, especially Skye; also on the Danish coasts and islands. It is also met with in connection with other somnambulic manifestations—as, for instance, among the "convulsionairs" of the Cevennes, the wizards of Lapland, in the Mauritius, and on the African coast. Second-sight is occasionally hereditary.

The phenomena are these:—At the moment of the sight, which takes place suddenly and irregularly, either by day or night, the seer becomes immoveable and rigid, often with open eyes; he neither sees nor hears anything of that which is going on around him outwardly, but foretells future and distant things; it is as if a portion of far-off space and time were placed before him as a perfect and living picture: for instance, deaths, the arrival of persons who may be hundreds of miles distant, events occurring at other places, battles by land or sea. The language used in second-sight is often symbolic, and experience alone may be able to unravel its meaning. The vision is often absurd, like a fantastic dream; as in one case where the seer saw himself, though from behind, and only recognised himself when he had put his coat on backwards. The power of second-sight may be transferred to another person, through the hands or feet; it is even, in some cases, infectious, so that persons at a distance occasionally see the same vision. Even little children have this power, which is shown by their screaming when an ordinary seer sees a funeral; and it has been maintained that animals possess the same gift, either transferred to them, or arising naturally. If the seer removes to another part of the world, he loses the power, but regains it when he returns. Second-sight differs from dreams and somnambulism so far as that the seer retains the most perfect remembrance of that which he has seen, and that the visions themselves occur in a perfectly wakeful state. It differs from common ghost-seeing, as the seer is perfectly master of his senses, and does not fall into those convulsions and rigidity which are produced by the former; and lastly, it has nothing in common with the religious visions of the 17th century, of Pordage, Brandeg, Jeane Leade, &c., as it is not of a religious character. Occasionally voices are heard,—called by the Scotch *taish;*

or events are announced by the organ of smell,—as, for instance, a dinner in the future! During the last century, second-sight is said to have become less common in the Scottish isles; but, according to Bendsen (Kieser's Archiv, 8 Bd. 3 S.), it is still very common in Denmark, where it is distinguished by a great peculiarity; as a future second-sight is predicted and described, in which the revelations are to be made.

The so-called corpse-seeing which some persons possess, by which they foretell the decease of certain persons, and "Doubles," both belong to this class, in which the seer either perceives himself, or where different persons are seen together when the originals are far away. The act of seeing one's "double" is falsely believed, by the people, to denote an approaching death. The following are peculiarities belonging to "second-sight." The seer is involuntarily seized by the "sight," and the visions, and pictures, and the symbolical language, are, in all cases, very similar in character. If the second-sight takes place in the morning, it will be fulfilled within a few hours; if at noon, in the same day; if in the evening, probably during the night; and should candles have been lighted, though fulfilled at night, yet possibly not for months or years, according to the time of night in which the vision has been seen. The explanations are given as follows, by Werner:—grave-clothes wrapped round a person predict death; if only covering half the body, not for upwards of six months; but if the cloth covers more, death will follow in a few hours. A skull placed upon a man's breast predicts a dangerous illness; cross-bones under the head, a mortal one. If a woman stands at the left hand of a man, she will become his wife; if many are seen, the one who is nearest him is intended. A spark of fire, seen on the arm of any person, represents the death of his child. It is impossible to prevent the fulfilment of the "second-sight," by any precautions that may be taken; no attempts to prevent it have ever met with success, and it seems as if, in these visions, all such objects were tacitly taken into consideration; the bare fact as it *will*, not as it *might* happen, is seen.

Werner produces well-authenticated instances of second-

sight, which have arisen spasmodically, and also in the magnetic somnambulism. The following are specimens :—

Dorothea Schmidt, of Göz, near Brandenburg, suffered, when eighteen years of age, from hysterical fits, in which the "second-sight" gradually manifested itself, and at length arrived at such a state of perfection that, up to her 27th year, she predicted almost every death that took place in Göz. The vision generally took place at night, between eleven and twelve. She awoke in great terror, and always was impelled to go into the open air, where she saw the funeral, after which she felt relieved and went to bed. (In this case, evidently a clairvoyant sleep-walker.) At first, she could see, from the place where she lived, the house from which the funeral proceeded ; but later, when she removed to the opposite end of the village, and could only see the church and church-yard, she was unable to state in which family the death would occur, although she knew the sex of the person, and whether it was a child or a grown-up person. If it was a child, a figure of a man carried a small shining coffin under his arm. Before she understood the nature of these appearances, she endeavoured, for the purpose of discovering whether the procession was formed of living persons, to meet it ; but an irrepressible terror came over her the nearer it approached, and an inner power compelled her to turn aside, although if any one else happened to be in the path of the procession it invariably gave way to them. She saw in this way that it carefully avoided the watchman when at a distance from him. She once saw a man who stood beside her, also at a funeral. She only sees this class of visions, though referring to all the inhabitants of the village, as well as her own relations. In 1837 she was still living, and in the full possession of her faculties and health. Among other remarkable circumstances she saw the coffin of a suicide without the usual radiance ; when her second son died she overcame the terrible impulse to go out, as she was unwilling to see the funeral of her child, whose decease she had foretold. The following day she says that his head was surrounded by a glory which increased during the two hours preceding his death. Many years ago, Bagghesen, a shepherd of Lindholme, in Funen, had

the gift of second-sight. Very early, for several mornings following, he saw a man, whom he could not recognise, as his back was turned towards him, fall into a deep piece of water near his house. A few days afterwards, as he was going out very early to his work, his foot slipped on the edge, and he was drowned.

In the parish of Riesum, in Funen, lived a celebrated seer, Wilmsen. He once saw, near Nordriesum, a large funeral procession, in which it appeared to him that the coffin separated into two parts, and that each half was carried by four bearers. He was unable to explain this, but a short time afterwards, two persons were buried at the same time, and at the particular spot the two coffins swerved to the roadsides on account of a large puddle. (Kieser, Archiv, 8. Bd. 3. S.)

Paul Bredersen, in Bramstadt, saw a funeral, in which he perceived himself sitting, with his neighbour Christian, in a carriage drawn by two white horses. From this, he expected the death of Christian's mother; but he could not understand the white horses, as none of that colour were to be found in the village. In three weeks time the old woman died, and the neighbour's bay horses were harnessed to the carriage. The procession was already in motion, when one of the horses fell, and was not able to go any further. In great haste a messenger was sent to the nearest village, where it happened that the only horses to be procured were white ones.

In 1821 there was a seer in Niebüll who had many singular visions. He was a glazier, and at one time was engaged in putting in some panes of glass for a person of the name of Welfen. In the room where he was working he saw Welfen's daughter, a girl of eighteen years of age, lying on a bier; and in returning home he met her funeral. The father heard of this, but did not believe it, and laid some wagers that his prediction would prove false. The seer then added that a certain number of carriages would follow, and that there would be a strong wind, as in carrying out the coffin a quantity of wood shavings were blown about. Lastly, he said that the coffin would be let down so unevenly that they would be obliged to draw it up again. After a short time all this came to pass exactly as he had said.

A Madame Brand was second-sighted, but only at the death of the prebendaries of the Bern Minster, when she always saw a procession going towards the church.

A Hanoverian knight was walking in the royal gardens, and saw a funeral approaching from the castle; at the same time he heard all the bells ringing. Much surprised, the knight immediately went to the castle, and inquired who was being buried: every one laughed at him. Six days afterwards the news was received that King George of the Hanoverian family had died on that day and at the very moment when the knight had seen the procession.

Somewhat similar was Swedenborg's vision of the fire at Stockholm, at the moment of his arrival in Gotenburg from England. Many other examples having remarkable resemblance to magnetic clairvoyance may be met with in Werner's "Guardian Angels;" Kieser's "Archiv für den thierischen Magnetismus;" Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," London, 1716; Jung Stilling's "Theorie der Geisterkunde;" "A Journey in the Western Islands of Scotland," by Samuel Johnson; "The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with S. Johnson," by S. Boswell, 1785; "Pinkant's Works;" Horst's "Deuteroskopie."

The most frequent and best known were visions and phenomena like those of the somnambulic state, which manifest themselves in various diseases. Philosophers never saw anything uncommon in them, and medical history records somnambulic phenomena even through the misty ages of the past. Aristotle considered soothsaying among persons of melancholy temperaments as a common circumstance; and Cicero speaks of the divinations of madness and insanity and other diseases under the influence of which people are accustomed to predict events. At the same time he makes the remark that possibly this may be ascribed to the use of peculiar drugs,—cardiacis atque phreniticis,—for that soothsaying belonged rather to a sick than a healthy body. Plutarch mentions many varieties of prophetic mania, and Pliny speaks in the same terms of catalepsy. I have already brought forward the older mediæval writers, among whom Aretæus and Galen state that soothsaying belongs especially to inflammatory and chronic diseases. The following have

given minute accounts of such cases:—Fernelius (De abditis morborum causis); Paul Lentulus (Historia admiranda de prodigiosa Apollonia, 1604); Dionis (Recueil sur la morte subite et la catalepsie, Paris, 1718); Sauvages (Nosologia method. 1763, t. iv., and Mémoires de l'Acad. des Sciences à Paris, 1742); Petetin (Mémoires sur la découverte des phénomènes qui présentent la catalepsie et le somnambulisme, symptômes de l'affection hystérique essentielles, 1787,—Electricité animale prouvée par la découverte des phén. phys. et moraux de catalepsie, etc., et de ses variétés par les bons effets de l'électricité artificielle dans le traitement de ces maladies, Lyons, 1808). All pathologists describe idio-somnambulism in nervous affections, and it would therefore be superfluous to give a long list of works on the subject; it will suffice to state that De Haen, Darwin, Willis, Brandis, Swieten, Pinel, Wichman, Reil, Hufeland, etc., have scientifically investigated this subject in their works, and endeavoured to accommodate it with known laws. From the importance of the subject we must enter a little into explanation and details.

In inflammatory diseases, particularly those of the brain, prophetic delirium often takes place. De Seze considers it an undisputed fact that in apoplexy and inflammation of the brain ecstatic states manifest themselves, and that not only new ideas are formed but a new power of looking into the future. Fernel tells us of a patient who in sleep spoke Latin and Greek, which he was unable to do when awake; he also told the physicians their thoughts, and laughed at their ignorance. Gueritant (Bulletin de la Société des Sciences à Orleans, Sept. 84,) mentions a young girl who has a peculiar power of recognizing persons at a distance, and who indicated the necessary course of treatment to be pursued in her case. A very similar case is related by Hunaud (Dissert. sur les vapeurs) of a cataleptic girl who predicted future events, as for instance,—"I see poor Maria, who takes so much trouble about her pigs; she may do what she likes, but they will have to be thrown into the water." The next day six of the pigs were driven home, and a servant fastened them up in a pen, as they were to be killed the next day. During the night, however, one of

them went mad, having been bitten a few days before by a mad dog, and bit all the other pigs. They all had to be killed and thrown into the water. Lentulus relates similar cases, as well in nervous as in spasmodic affections; and among others which Petetin mentions, one is very remarkable from the fact that he made experiments very similar to mesmerism before Mesmer had given his theory to the world.

The cataleptic person whom Petetin mentions had been for a length of time insensible to outward influences, and could neither see nor hear. Once, however, Petetin remarked that she understood him when he spoke close to the pit of the stomach. Soon afterwards she was able to see and smell in the same manner, and she had the power of reading a book or a letter even when a substance was laid between her and it. If a non-conducting body was laid between the object and the pit of the stomach she took no notice of it, but with good conductors the opposite took place. In this way he often formed a chain of persons, of whom the first touched the patient with his fingers, and the last, who was the most distant, whispered into his hand, and by this means the patient understood all that he said. If, however, the communication was interrupted between only two of the persons who formed the chain, by any idio-electric body—for instance, a piece of sealing-wax—the cataleptic patient remained perfectly unconscious of everything that was said: it was this which induced him to ascribe the whole phenomenon to electricity.

In another cataleptic patient, Petetin not only observed an entire transfer of the senses to the pit of the stomach, but also to the ends of the fingers and toes. Both of these patients showed, however, a remarkable activity of mind, and made frequent predictions of the future. Petetin was at that time a violent antagonist to magnetism, and it was not till near the end of his life that he became better acquainted with it.

Sauvages relates the following circumstance:—In 1737 a girl, twenty-four years of age, was attacked by catalepsy. Three months afterwards a remarkable state showed itself. When it came over the patient, she spoke with a volubility quite unusual to her. What she said had reference to that

which she had spoken the day before when in the same state. She repeated word for word a catechism which she had heard the previous day, and drew from it moral conclusions for the instruction of the people of the house. She accompanied all this with movements of the limbs and eyes, and yet was fast asleep. To test the truth of these appearances I pricked her, placed a light suddenly before her eyes, and another person shouted from behind in her ears. I poured French brandy and spirit of sal-ammoniac into her eyes and mouth, and blew snuff into her nostrils; I pricked her with needles, twisted her fingers, touched the ball of her eye with a pen, and even with the end of my finger; but she did not show the smallest sense of feeling. In spite of all this she was very lively, and spoke with great quickness. Soon afterwards she got up, and I expected to see her strike herself against the beds; but she walked about with great composure, and avoided all the beds and chairs. She then laid down again, and soon became cataleptic. If any one raised her arm or turned her head on one side during the continuance of this state, she would remain so as long as the equilibrium of the body was preserved. She awoke from this as from a deep sleep. As she knew from the faces of those around her that she had had one of her attacks, she was always confused, and generally wept the whole day, but she was totally ignorant of everything that passed in this state. After some time these phenomena disappeared, although it was very doubtful whether medicine had produced this effect. I have since heard that she has again become somnambulic, though without the previous cataleptic attacks. Her health was much improved." The somnambulism in which half-clairvoyant glances are exhibited, is often, as in this case, the crisis of a disorder. Hippocrates regarded it from this point of view, when he says, (Aphorisms, sect. vii. n. 5)— "In mania and dysentery, dropsy or ecstasy are beneficial."

The most frequent examples are recorded of nervous affections, hysteria, St. Vitus's dance, and epilepsy. Lentulus, who gives the case of Apollonia Schreier, of Bern, celebrated in 1604 on account of her visions and long-continued fastings, also mentions an epileptic boy who after the fits became ecstatic and sang hymns; then he would stop suddenly and say many remarkable things, even concerning the dead.

After the ecstasy he was like one who awakes from a deep sleep, and he declared that he had been with angels in the most lovely gardens, and had enjoyed the greatest happiness.

Somnambulic visions are almost always associated with chronic convulsions, particularly when the latter arise endemically; it was so among the "convulsionairs" of the Protestants in the Cevennes, who during the sixteenth century spread themselves over almost the whole of Germany (Théâtre Sacré des Cevennes); and also in the remarkable cases which took place at the grave of Diaconus Paris in the churchyard of St. Medard, at Paris, in the years 1724 to 1736. These possessed many points of resemblance with cases of "possession." According to Carré de Montgeron (La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. Paris, Cologne, 1745, ii. vol. 4), these convulsionairs are said to have been insensible to thrusts and blows with pointed stakes and iron bars, as well as to the oppression of great weights. They had visions, communicated with good and evil spirits, and many miraculous cures are said to have been performed there; which, however, are designated by the Archbishop of Paris, in his Pastoral Letter of 1735, as, "miracula, quæ non aliam habent originem, nisi mendacia, dolos fraudesque,"—though this is in direct opposition to the accounts of the Jansenists, who regarded them as performed by divine assistance, and similar to the Apostolic miracles. The patients made use of very peculiar modes of treatment, called "grandes secours" or "secours meurtriers," and which are authenticated by the report of eye-witnesses and by judicial documents. They were belaboured by the strongest men with heavy work-tools, pieces of wooden and iron bars weighing thirty pounds; and instead of any severe or mortal injury to the body, a sensation of pleasure was experienced, which increased with the violence used. They also were covered with boards, on which twenty men and upwards stood, without its being painful to them. They even bore with the greatest composure more than a hundred blows with a twenty-pound weight, alternately given on the breast and the stomach with such force that the room trembled and those present shuddered. The sick persons even begged for stronger blows, as light ones only increased their sufferings. Any one who did not dare to lay on with all

his might was considered weak and cowardly; and only those who showered down the heaviest and most numerous blows were thanked, as these were said to give great relief. It was only when the power of these blows had at last penetrated as it were into the very stomach of the patient ("s'enfoncent si avant dans l'estomac de la convulsionaire, qu'ils parait pénétrer presque jusqu'au dos, et qu'il semble dévoir écraser, tous les viscères," etc.) that he appeared contented, and exclaimed aloud, with every expression of satisfaction visible in his countenance, "That does me good!" ("que cela me fait de bien! Courage, mon frère! redoublez encore des forces si vous pouvez.") It is, however, a well-known fact, that spasmodic convulsions maintain themselves against outward attempts, and even the greatest violence, with an almost superhuman strength, without any danger of injury to the patient, as has often been observed in young girls and women, where any one might have almost been induced to believe in a supernatural influence. The tension of the muscles increases in elasticity and power with the insensibility of the nerves, so that no outward force is equal to it; and when it is attempted to check the paroxysm by force it gains in intensity, and according to some observers not less psychologically than physically. The attack is more likely to pass over by calming the mind and by repose of excited nature, without there being any necessity either to imagine those miracles and wonders which history has accumulated in this disease, or to drag in an explanation by means of good or bad angels, or belief and faith. I have observed the same manifestations in children, in Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, without the least variation; on which account I consider it to be nothing more than an immense abnormal and inharmonic lusus naturæ. It is certainly clear that in these unusual appearances the mind must undergo peculiar modifications; and we must admire the various capabilities of man for distant and foreign influences of which in his usual state he but rarely experiences anything: on this very account the sphere of activity and dignity of man is far too much underrated.

In the St. Vitus's dance patients often experience divinatory visions of a fugitive nature, either referring to them-

selves or to others, and occasionally in symbolic words. In the "Leaves from Prevorst" such a symbolic somnambulism is related, and I myself have observed a very similar case. "Miss v. Brand, during a violent paroxysm of the St. Vitus's dance, suddenly saw a black evil-boding crow fly into the room, from which, she said, she was unable to protect herself, as it unceasingly flew round her as if it wished to make some communication. This appearance was of daily occurrence with the paroxysm, for eight days afterwards. On the ninth, when the attacks had become less violent, the vision commenced with the appearance of a white dove, which carried a letter containing a betrothal ring in its beak: shortly afterwards the crow flew in with a black-sealed letter. The next morning the post brought a letter with betrothal cards from a cousin; and a few hours after, the news was received of the death of her aunt in Lohburg, of whose illness she was ignorant. Of both these letters, which two different posts brought in on the same day, Miss v. Brand could not possibly have known anything. The change of birds and their colours, during her recovery, and before the announcement of agreeable or sorrowful news, the symbols of the ring and the black seal, exhibit, in this vision, a particularly pure expression of the soul, as well as a correct view into the future. When later she again relapsed into the St. Vitus's dance she felt impelled to sing and speak rhythmically. This impulse at length degenerated into a perfect singing and rhythmical mania; so that at last she addressed the birds, and serpents, and demons, in nothing but verses."

In intermittent fevers, patients often manifest similar appearances. "Madame Sees, of Brandenburg, who was inclined to visions even in her waking state, saw herself, during a violent attack of the fever, lying as a little child in a lime-pit, while the nurse was wringing her hands beside it. Soon afterwards she saw herself, as an older child, standing by her mother's bedside, and repeating a particular prayer. Both were incidents which her father perfectly recollected, though Madame Sees remembered nothing of them. The first accident had happened during her infancy; the latter at her mother's sick-bed, where she learned to repeat the prayer."—(Werner, u. Bl. a. Pr.)

In Brandenburg, a woman of very common education spoke with a clergyman in iambic verses.

In Wolfert's "Jahrbüchers des Magnet.," an account is given of Benvenuto Cellini's vision during a fever. "This bodily and mentally strong man had been attacked by fever, brought on by violent excitement of mind, consequent on the anger and vexation produced by a great danger. The following apparition of imminent danger, which bears great resemblance to the Charon so often represented by this artist, was always obstinately denied by him to be a phantom; and he appears from the narrative to have rather considered it as the appearance of a spirit. 'In the meantime,' says Bellini, 'Felix, my apprentice, assisted me in every possible way, and did everything for me that one person could do for another. Whilst I was perfectly in my senses, a terrible old man approached my bed, who wished to drag me forcibly into his enormous boat; and I called to Felix to come to me and drive away the terrible old man. Felix, who was very much attached to me, ran to me weeping, and exclaimed, 'Away, old traitor! you shall not rob me of my happiness!' The presence of my friends was a source of calmness to me; I spoke sensibly with them, but begged Felix to drive the old man away. I was asked what was the appearance of the old man, and while I was describing him, he seized me by the arm and forced me into the terrible boat. Scarcely had I finished speaking when I became insensible. It seemed to me as if the old man had actually thrown me into the boat. In that state, they say, I remained as one dead for a whole hour; and three full hours passed before I had completely recovered from the effect. Suddenly I came to myself again, and called to Felix that he should drive the old man away. Felix wished to run for a doctor, but I told him to stay with me, for the old man feared him and would leave me. Felix approached, and I touched him, when it seemed to me that the furious old man at once retreated; I, therefore, begged the boy to stay with me. At these words Felix threw his arms around my neck, and exclaimed that he wished nothing more than that I should live. I replied, 'when you wish that, lay hold of me, and protect me from the old man, who fears you, Felix did not leave me, and gradually I became better: the

old man was no longer so troublesome; I only saw him occasionally in dreams. Once I imagined that he was coming to bind me with cords, but Felix got before him and struck him with an axe: the old man fled, saying, 'Let me be,—I will not return for a long time.'"

The allegory formed by the soul during Cellini's fever phantasies is extremely clear and speaking: it not only exhibits the power of the magnetic *rapport* formed during the course of the illness between Cellini and his servant Felix, but every word, every image, every change in this living picture, shows the peculiar language spoken by the soul in exalted states.

In cases of apparent death or swooning, all kinds of visions present themselves, a recollection of which often remains after recovery. In consumption, mental visions often increase as the bodily powers diminish. Menzel gives, in the "Leaves from Prevorst" (p. 165) the following remarkable example of apparent death, which is extracted from Clavigero's History of Mexico:—"Parzanzin, the sister of Montezuma, died in 1509. Her brother had her placed, after a splendid funeral, in a subterraneous chamber in the Palace garden, and had the hole closed by a stone. The following day the Princess Parzanzin awoke, returned to the world, and sent to inform her brother that she had things of importance to communicate to him. Full of astonishment, he hastened to her and heard the following:—'In my death state I found myself placed in the centre of a great plain, which extended farther than I could see. In the middle I saw a road, which at some distance separated into several footpaths. On one side a torrent flowed with a terrible noise. I was about to swim across, when I perceived a beautiful youth clothed in a snow-white shining garment, who took me by the hand and said, 'Hold! the time is not yet come. God loves you, although you know it not.' He then led me along the river bank, where I saw a number of human skulls and bones, and heard lamentations. On the river I saw some great ships filled with men of a foreign colour and in foreign dresses. They were handsome, and had beards, helmets, and banners. 'It is God's will,' said the youth, 'that you should live and be a witness of the great changes to come over this kingdom. The

lamentations arise from your ancestors, who are expiating their sins. Those in the ships will by their arms become masters of this kingdom; with them will come the knowledge of the only true God. At the end of the war, when that bath which cleanses from all sins shall have become known, you are to receive it first, and by your example incite others to the same.' After this speech the youth vanished, and I found myself alive: I pushed aside the stone, and was once more among men. The princess, it is said, lived many years in retirement. She was the first who was baptised at Tlatlalolko, in 1524."

"As in many cases," observes Kieser, "the abnormal matured spiritual life appears to be a superhuman knowledge, so in other cases does this abnormal cultivation of the mind become a penetrating power of vision more than human, and is then a psychical somnambulism. Such a case is known to me, where, before the outbreak of the French Revolution, a person in the last stages of consumption foretold its whole progress and consequences."

During the age of puberty, convulsions and somnambulic phenomena are very common in women; but in insanity they are often durable, and of that description in which, as it were, the state of somnambulism forms the *lucida intervalla*; for in insanity ecstatic states are not uncommon; and in all ages it has been regarded as prophetic, and in many cases venerated as holy.

The Hebrew word "Rabbi" (prophet), also means, one possessed by insanity; and the Greeks use the word "mania" also to express the idea of an inspired state. These ecstatic states, however, are passing paroxysms, and the visions are as variable as the spasms and those fleeting clairvoyant flashes which fall into the darkness of insanity. Predictions of all kinds, as well in reference to themselves as to others, are, according to Pinel's great experience, very often associated with aberration of the mind and nervous affections. The language of the soul in such cases is that of inspiration, and frequently allegorical. In asylums it is not unfrequently the case that songs, in perfect metre and the most elegant language, proceed from entirely uneducated persons. Tasso was most poetic in his wildest fits of mad-

ness; just so Lucretius; and Baboef is said to have written his last poems when in violent delirium.

"A person who was subject to periodical fits of aberration of mind, looked forward to them with pleasure, as he said that everything which he undertook in that state succeeded; that he was then able to speak fluently in verse, and to recite parts of Latin authors, which he had long forgotten, without hesitation and with great judgment."—(Werner, p. 56.)

The powers of the seer are very often remarkable in insanity, and express themselves in direct or in allegorical language.

Claus the fool, at Weimar, suddenly entered the privy council, and exclaimed, "There are you all, consulting about very weighty things, no doubt; but no one considers how the fire in Coburg is to be extinguished." It was afterwards discovered that a fire had been raging at the very time in Coburg (Steinbeck, p. 537).

Nicetas Goniates gives the following, in his Life of Isaac Angelus:—"When the Emperor was in Rodostes, he went to see a man named Basilakus, who, it was reputed, knew the future, though all sensible people considered him a fool. Basilakus received him without any signs of respect, and gave no answers to his questions; but, going up to a portrait of the emperor which hung in the room, poked out the eyes with his stick, and endeavoured to knock the hat off. The Emperor left him, in the belief that he was really a fool. Some time afterwards, however, the nobles revolted against him, and placed his brother Alexis on the throne, who had Isaac's eyes put out."

That man possesses within him a higher indestructible soul, which even insanity cannot corrode, is shown thereby that it continues its exalted existence surrounded by the greatest confusion of the mind, and in calm moments, and particularly previous to dissolution, shows itself raised far above the disorganisation of the body; even in spite of insanity of many years' duration it is still in perfect and undisturbed harmony, and is capable of cultivation and a higher perfection. This is proved by the case of a woman in the Uckermark, who had been insane for twenty years,

and who died in 1781. For some time a calm resignation to the divine will had been observed during the short intervals of reason. A month before her death she at length awoke from her long dream. Those who had seen and known her before this time, now knew her no longer, so increased and expanded were the powers of her mind and soul, and so noble was her language. She spoke the most exalted truths with a distinctness and inward clearness which is seldom met with in common life. People crowded round her bed of sickness, and all who saw her admitted that if during the long space of her affliction she had been in communication with the most enlightened persons, her comprehensive powers and knowledge could not have been greater than they now were. (Steinbeck, p. 538).

To that abnormal somnambulism which is similar in character to the manifestations of delirium and the visions of insanity, belong those conditions which are either produced by chance or by the use of certain poisons. In such cases we find a certain poisonous intoxication and an exaltation of the soul which usually leave behind great weakness and depression. To these belong all narcotics. Passavant has collected many well-authenticated examples in his "Investigations concerning the Magnetism of Life." Acosta states that the Indian dancing girls drug wine with the seeds of the Datura stramonium. Whoever is so unfortunate, he farther says, as to partake of it, is for some time perfectly unconscious. He often, however, speaks with others, and gives answers as if he were in the full possession of his senses, although he has no control over his actions, is perfectly ignorant of whom he is with, and loses all remembrance of what has taken place when he awakes. (De opii usu, Doringio, Jen. 1620, p. 77). According to Gassandi, a shepherd in Provence produced visions and prophesied through the use of Deadly Nightshade. The Egyptians prepare an intoxicating substance from hemp, called *Assis*. They roll it into balls of the size of a chestnut. After having swallowed a few, they experience ecstatic visions.

Johann Wier mentions a plant in the Lebanon (Theangelides) which, if eaten, causes persons to prophesy. (Johann. Wierus de lamiis, § s.)

Kämpfer informs us that, at a festival in Persia, a drink

was brought to him containing opium. After drinking it he experienced an inexpressible happiness. Afterwards he imagined himself to be sitting on a horse which flew through the air. (Pinel, Nosograph, Cl. iv. No. 97.) A similar feeling of flying through the air among the clouds is produced especially by henbane.

Here our thoughts naturally turn to the so-called witches of the middle ages, who maintained that they did so—for instance, riding to the Blocksberg; and it is well known that they used henbane internally as a magic drink, and outwardly as an ointment. However, this does not by any means fully explain all the stories related of witches during the middle ages. (Passavant, p. 244.)

By means of the Napellus, Van Helmont produced a condition in which the altered activity of the mind expressed itself in a loftier manner than is usually the case when narcotic drugs are used. Van Helmont relates it himself (Demens idea, § 12):—

"I made use of the Napellus in various ways. Once, when I had only prepared the root in a rough manner, I tasted it with the tongue: although I had swallowed nothing, and had spit out a deal of the juice, yet I felt as if my skull was being compressed by a string. Several household matters suggested themselves, and I went about the house and arranged everything. At last I experienced what I had never felt before. It seemed that I neither thought nor understood, and as if I had none of the usual ideas in my head; but I felt, with astonishment, clearly and distinctly, that all those functions were taking place at the pit of the stomach: I felt this clearly and perfectly, and observed with the greatest attention, that, although I felt movement and sensation spreading themselves from the head over the whole body, yet that the whole power of thought was really and unmistakeably situated in the pit of the stomach, always excepting a sensation that the soul was in the brain as a governing power.

"Full of astonishment and surprise at this feeling, I watched my own thoughts, and made the most accurate observations. The sensation of having my imagination and power of reasoning at the pit of the stomach was beyond the power of words to describe. I perceived that I thought

with greater clearness: there was a pleasure in such an intellectual distinctness. It was not a fugitive sensation; it did not take place when I slept, dreamed, or was ill, but during perfect consciousness; and although I had often before been in ecstasia (V. Helmont must therefore have been naturally inclined to it), yet I observed that the former states had no connection with this, where thought and imagination were exclusively confined to the pit of the stomach. I perceived clearly that the head was perfectly dormant as regarded fancy: and I felt not a little astonished at the change of position. Occasionally the pleasure was interrupted by the fear that this unusual circumstance might cause insanity, being produced as it was by a poison; but the preparation and the small dose reassured me. Although I felt somewhat suspicious of the present clearness and penetration of thought, on account of the cause, yet my perfect resignation to Providence restored my former calmness. After about two hours a slight dizziness came twice over me. After the first I observed that thought had returned; after the second, that I thought in the usual manner. I have never since experienced anything similar, although I have used the same means."

V. Helmont makes the following remarks:—"Of this brilliant ray of light we can only say that it is intellectually higher than the material body, for it emanates from the soul, which itself is pure intelligence. It teaches us that the spirit of life has a free passage through the nerves; for the intelligence from the region of the heart penetrates everything, on which it shines as a taper shines through the fingers of young people. From that time," he continues, "I had clearer and more consequent dreams; I learnt to understand that one day instructs another, and that one night lends knowledge to another. I also learned that life, reason, sleep, are the workings of a certain light which needs no conductors; for one light penetrates the existence of another. At times the soul retires within itself, or expands in many ways,—in sleep, in waking, in contemplation, in enthusiasm, in unconsciousness, in mania, delirium, the passions, and, lastly, by artificial means."

From this we perceive that V. Helmont was well acquainted with the various descriptions of visions, and there-

from formed a theory peculiar to himself, respecting the activity of the soul through the nervous system. According to him, the determinations of reason arise in the brain, but associated with a nervous stream from the regions of the heart, where memory of the past and comprehension are situated. But everything which is future and purely abstract, without reference to the present, takes place entirely in the pit of the stomach, and distant things appear to be present,—on which account insane persons talk of distant things as if they were close at hand.

Lastly, Van Helmont explains clairvoyance as a direct sight of the soul, and believes this to have been the original state of man before the Fall; that now, however, it is cramped on every side by the body, and has transferred its duties to its handmaidens, the senses. After death, however, the soul regains its former clearsightedness, when it is no longer compelled to understand from conclusions drawn, but *now* and *here* will include all things, and memory and reflection will be unnecessary. The soul will then contemplate truth without striving and difficulty. (Imago mentis, § 24).

The gases and vapours by which the priests of old became ecstatic, or which were used upon the oracles, may be classed among the narcotics; the most violent convulsions were even then connected with somnambulism, as in the case of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi. Incense and the bewildering dances of the Turkish dervishes also produce dizziness and prophetic visions similar to those observed in the priests of antiquity, — in the Sabaism of the Canaanites in the service of Baal, in the Indian Schiwa and Kali, in the Phœnician Moloch, in the Bacchanalian festivals of the Greeks snd Romans, and at the present day among the Lapps and Finns. "In this case," says Passavant, "it is not the peaceful light which flows calmly from the soul, but lightning flashing forth from within. Where, however, in men impure in mind and spiritually evil, the deeper powers are aroused, such blackness may seize upon the roots of the mind, and such terrible moral abysses present themselves, that men under the restraints (social laws) could scarcely have imagined them possible. Such unhallowed ecstasies and evil manifestations are at least acknowledged by the religious teachings of both Jews and Chris-

tians, and the prophets of God have described them as in league with Satan."

The highest step in the system of visions is ecstasy—a removal from the world of the senses, so that the subject of the visions remains in a purely internal world, mostly without external participation. In ecstasy the imagination is heightened to such a degree that the body either appears dead, or is cataleptic, and insensible to all outward excitement. The mind, however, beholds distant and future events. These convulsions are distinguished from the conditions already described, by a recollection which is retained of them in the waking state. A certain natural disposition is necessary to the higher state of ecstasy; but it may be produced by outward and artificial means. Persons of great imagination, with an excitable nervous system and of impressible temperament, and particularly those of a religious turn of mind, are especially inclined to natural ecstasy. Poets and artists, as well as enthusiasts who are sunk in religious contemplations, are often thrown into an ecstatic state by very slight causes. Those ideas which float so constantly around them, form their world of the spirit, and on the contrary the real world is to them but a field on which the invisible ideas are reflected, or they carry its impressions with them to the realms of the mind. Poets and artists, therefore, often possess, in common with those persons who are naturally inclined to abnormal convulsions, an easily excited temperament. "For in the inner recesses of the mind," says Cicero, "is divine prophecy hidden and confined, as the soul, without reference to the body, may be moved by a divine impulse, which when it burns more vividly is called madness (furor)." "Without this madness," Democritus maintains, "there can be no poet;" in which Plato also agrees; "for every power of the mind may be violently excited if the soul itself is not disturbed. As regards very pure minds it is no wonder that they are acquainted with future things, as they are more divine in their nature." It was thus that the painter Angelico da Fiesole often fell into ecstatic states while painting, and had in them ideal visions. Michael Angelo says of a picture painted by him, that "No man could have created such a picture without having seen the original." (Görres' Mystic, i. 155.)

A similar instance is mentioned by Werner in the "Guardian Angels of Mozart." The Englishman Blake, who united within himself the painter, the musician, the poet, and the engraver, very often fell into an ecstatic state after his day's labours were over, and conversed in his visions with the heroes of the past, with spirits and demons, and maintained that by that means he had received an original poem by Milton, which he communicated to his friends. Even when on his death-bed he saw similar forms, and composed and sang poems. (Steinbeck, Der Dichter ein Seher, p. 443; J. Gerdes, idea errans in ecstasia, 1692; J. Z. Platner, De morbo ἐνθουσία ζόντιον καὶ ἐνεργουμενον, Lips. 1732; J. A. Behrends, Briefe über die wahre Beschaffenheit des neu inspirirten Feuerbacher Mädchens, Frankf. 1768.)

"A condition entirely different to the waking state is not always necessary for the mind to attain an inner sight," says Passavant; "for when it is but little directed towards outward things, and has been raised to a higher degree of inner life by contemplation, ecstatic states may take place."

When outward occupation is wanting to an overflowing imagination, when the easily impressed mind is over-fed with religious teachings, which according to age or constitution it is unable to digest, and when to all this is associated a weak and delicate frame of body, the elements are already present for a central and inward activity of the soul. Man in such cases usually recedes from the world surrounding him, and forms one within himself, which is seldom understood by any but himself. The mind when once roused can no longer remain in inactivity, but by day and night is surrounded by ideas and ideal forms, and now is often unable to distinguish whether its imaginings are merely a subjective sport of the fancy, dreams, or visions—or actually caused by the outward influences on his contemplations. A passive brooding and a self-consuming longing for an unknown object, may, however, merge into ecstasy as well as the mental activity which is fanned by a breath from heaven into a flame. In the first case, that sickly and mystical contemplation is produced which as it were exists within itself; in the second, the higher state of divine inspiration. With the former will be found silent communion in desert places

far away from the society of men, and deprivation of food and sleep, as well as violent self-castigation to stifle the impulses of our nature: with the latter we find that inclination to do good from love to men, which distinguished the saints and prophets. It is therefore easily to be understood, that among the hermits of Thebes, in the monasteries of the middle ages, among solitary shepherds, in secluded valleys and monotonous districts; as well as among persons who have been brought up with every thought studiously turned from the outer world, ecstatic states should arise, in which men experienced pleasure, from the fact that no limits bounded them, and no foreign influences prevented the mind from floating in the unbounded spheres of the imagination. Neither must we feel surprise when such seers of a less elevated nature are able to look far into the future, or present ideas in striking imagery, which they could not have learned from the outward world; for they rise from the inexhaustible, overflowing inner-spring of the spiritual universe, as the noblest germs of thought are unfolded in repose and seclusion, but are retarded by the whirl and restlessness of the surrounding world. We shall later regard this description of esctasy more narrowly, as found among the Indian seers and fakirs.

As representative of the retirement and seclusion of hermits and monks, I may mention the so-called Quietists, Hesychiasts, or ὀμφαλοψιχόι, umbilicamini, who inhabited Mount Athos in the fourteenth century. The latter name was given them from their mode of prayer, as it was taught them by their Abbot Simeon, in his works upon "Moderation and Devotion." "Sitting alone in a corner, observe and practise what I tell you; lock your doors, and raise your mind from every vain and worldly thing. Then sink your beard upon your breast and fix your eyes on the centre of the body—on the navel; contract the air-passages that breathing may be impeded; strive internally to find the position of the heart where all mental powers reside. At first you will discover only darkness and unyielding density; but if you persevere night and day, you will miraculously enjoy unspeakable happiness. For the soul then perceives that which it never before saw—the radiance between the heart and itself."

These hermits maintained this light to be the light of God, as it was manifested to the disciples on Mount Tabor. (Leo Allatius de ecclesiis occid. et orient., Colon. 1648, 1, 2, c. 17.) Similar mystical contemplations and visions of good and evil spirits are met with among the New Platonists; in the witchcraft and the cases of possession of the middle ages; and among the mystics of a higher order, as Pordage, Swedenborg, and Jacob Böhme.

The conditions manifested in saints and prophets, who are moved by the divine breath, are in reality distinct, and do not belong to the history of magic, but of religion. But from the similarity between these and other phenomena they have been generally classed with ecstasia; on which account we shall devote a little attention to them, but only to show the most striking differences.

To the various forms of clairvoyance during ecstasia must be reckoned that of the saints and prophets. But the abstraction of the truly inspired is not to be mistaken for the convulsive prophesyings of the seer, or those self-mortifying mountebanks who vibrate between madness and bigotry. The cause, as well as the manifestation and object, is very different from these. In all the examples already named, the ecstasia breaks partially and uncertainly through the surrounding mist; it rises and falls, ebbs and flows, according to the tone of the mind and the movement of the blood. A breeze which comes we know not whence, fans the slumbering ecstasy into a flame, and dies away again we know not how; it has no stated duration, and no firm purpose or end. Existence pines in solitude, and as the body wastes away by a life contrary to nature, and becomes a useless encumbrance, so does the mind lose all sense of the beauty and harmony of nature; it loses all power of useful and inventive thought; it no longer is capable of loving its neighbour more than itself; and no longer has the power of unfolding powers and capacities of the will and character, which would operate beyond the narrow bounds of individuality, in distance and the future. It was not entirely without foundation, that of old these enigmatical phenomena whose influences for good or evil have something of a supernatural appearance, were ascribed to a hidden and internal demon, who appeared now as a soothsayer, now as a mis-

chievous imp, now as a devil, or even rose sometimes almost to a state of inspiration. This demon is always prophetic, even when false and evil, for it urges man on to wicked deeds and inclinations, at first gently, but afterwards with ever-growing power as soon as its whisperings are listened to. It seems that the devil seeks to rouse the evil lying dormant within us, to deride the attempted resistance, ridicules the timid, embitters the gentle, betrays the hopeful, and endeavours to cut off the path of reformation to all. Schubert says—"There is also that inclination of the devil to praise evil as something good, and to turn truth by this means in a dangerous lie; and also to praise goodness for the purpose of making it suspected."

The enthusiasm of real religion gives, however, evidence of a higher and invisible order of things, which acts upon the material world of man, and produces in him a touching and deep conviction, and a gentle and refreshing illumination. The soul, inspired by the divine breath, is no longer restrained in its working and activity, for its visions are not phantoms raised upwards by a mind agitated and distracted by fear, restlessness, or dissatisfaction; the body has not become through convulsions or voluntary mutilation a useless burden, a withered reed, or a broken casket, but is even in its natural weakness an untiring instrument of works and deeds, which scatter blessings over present and future ages.

If we regard these differences more narrowly, we shall have but little difficulty in defining the boundaries between the lower order, the magical ecstasy, and the higher and divinely inspired holy seers and prophets. The motives are as different in each as the actions. In the magic ecstasy of the Brahminic initiation, in the religious fanaticism of the hermits of the Theban Desert,—the self-torturers,—the visions and the imagined comunication with God take place by chance, or through artificial agencies; but in the real prophets and true saints the divine mission falls unexpectedly upon them from above. A self-arrogated excellence and self-sufficiency are the mainsprings of the former; it exists in seclusion, darkness, and solitude; it renounces every social bond of life, and every endeavour to cultivate the mind. In the latter, reign, on the contrary, humility, pleasure in light and life, with the impulse to

work openly and actively. No division of stations takes place, but every power is united to form a common whole; the prophet preaches the word of God and the belief in His power; the reward and punishment for good and evil deeds; and the love of God and our neighbours, is his open admonition. If in the former, pride in self, and contempt, or, at least, but small esteem for the world, is to be found, with the continual striving for a perfect apathy of the passions, so may we observe in the latter a wise use of life, a joyful peace in the service of God, with the continual remembrance of the weakness of human nature, with the continual prayer for divine assistance to understand and receive the knowledge of universal truth, and the true obedience and resignation to the will of God. The true prophet is a child in humility, a youth in action, and a man in counsel. The world is often a hell to the ecstasist; but, to the saint, a school, where duties are learned, and the scholar becomes a useful member of the scheme of nature. In the former, commands are given by the seer; in the latter, the prophet announces them as the revelations of God. There, the means of producing ecstasy are contempt and renunciation of the world, and unnatural mortification of the body: here, the world is arranged for enjoyment of life; and the true prophet makes use of no artificial means: he repeats the word directly received from God, without preparation or mortification of the flesh—communicates it—and lives with and among his fellow-men.

The visions of the magician are, even in the highest stages of enthusiasm, merely shadowy reflections, surrounded by which, the world, with its significations and even its inner constitution, may be seen by him: but the lips are silent in the intoxication of ecstasy and the dazzling light of his pathologic self-illumination. On this account, the many phantasmagoria of truth and falsehood; the changing pictures of the imagination, and the feelings, in disordered ranks and inharmonic shapes; the wanderings and convulsions of the mind and body. Their visions are not always to be relied upon, neither are they always understood. In the prophets, visions are the reflection and illumination of a divine gentle radiance on the mirror of their pure soul, which retains its whole indivi-

duality, and never forgets its perfect dependence and connection with God and the outer world. The contents of these visions are the common circumstances of life—religious as well as civil; the words are teachings of truth, given clearly and intelligibly to all men and ages. The prophet neither seeks nor finds happiness in the state of ecstasy, but, in his divine vocation, to spread the word of God; not in an exclusive contempt, but in the instructing and active working among his brethren. The true prophet does not, therefore, sink into inner speculations, and forget even himself in his imaginative world, but retains his living connection with God and his neighbour in word and deed. As, in the higher states of inspiration, the causes and the manifestations vary, so do also the motives and the consequences.

The Brahminic seers complained of the gradual retrogression of the mind from its pristine radiance towards perishable nature, and the dominion of death, according to the various stages of the world, and deplored the misery, the dissatisfaction, the deterioration connected with it: all this we find in the mind and body of the degenerated heathen nations of India. On the contrary, how has not the illumination of the mind increased through the prophets of Israel in respect to religion, and through that also, gradually and historically, on the civil system! The spirit of Christianity, which rests upon the west, gradually extends its peaceful influence; and while other nations are everywhere else sinking into the torpor and darkness of Paganism, mountains are here transplanted through faith, and by word and deed, and by true Christian love, trees are planted whose fruit will some time refresh the heathen, but which can only be fully ripened in another world, to which our eyes must unceasingly be directed. The magical seer lives in the intoxication of his own visions; the prophet lives in faith; and actions, not visions, are signs of holiness. "Probatio sanctitatis non est signa facere, sed unumquemque ut se diligere, Deum autem vere cognoscere," says St. Gregory. If we regard all this according to the causes and the results, we shall arrive at the following conclusion:—

According to its origin, magic vision is the work of man planted in an unhealthy ground, whether it arises voluntarily or is produced by the science of the physician. An

abnormal state of health always precedes it—sleep, and an unusually exalted state of the faculties. Visionary ecstasy has its origin particularly from the body; and, however it may be produced, nature always holds the seer with a strong hand, even when he has reached the higher stages.

Prophetic inspiration is the result of the divine spirit. The voice of God comes unexpectedly, and irrespective of the physical state. The physical powers become perfectly dependent upon the mind, which uses them for noble and pure ends: a state of sleep, with altered functions of the senses, is by no means necessary.

The magnetic ecstasist directs his attention towards objects which present themselves voluntarily, or are produced by himself, or by the skill of the physician, and the earthly life of man forms generally the sole field of his vision. He is influenced from without. The influence of the inclinations, the tendencies of human nature, are never absent in the magnetic circle of the seer; on which account his influence is but seldom of an elevated character.

There are no variations in the exhibition of the true prophet; he announces nothing from the magic circle, but alone the will of Him who is the beginning and the end. To instruct his neighbours in the divine knowledge—to spread the perception of truth and love among his fellow-men, is his one desire; he is therefore an unwearied and victorious antagonist to evil and wickedness. He seeks not anything worldly—selfishness, the passions, ambition, health, are disregarded by him. He preaches the future, not the present happiness of all, through the inspiration of God, and travels on, a mediator between God and man, gloriously radiant in word and deed. He does not seek seclusion, does not lose himself in visions and phantasies, prophesies nothing grievous, but great and universal truths to ages and nations. Armed with divine powers, he is able to perform miracles, as well upon himself as upon others. Comfort, peace of mind in suffering and trial, warnings against great dangers, the healing of grievous sickness, help in want and persecution, are his glorious powers; and to spread the dominion of Christ, and elevate mankind, is the object of his strivings. Self-advancement, and every worldly advantage, is disregarded by the men of God. The belief in His

power is the foundation of their actions; and they complete all commandments by the love they bear to all, and which is the greatest virtue.

Of the ecstatic states and visions of the Old Testament we shall have more to say at a subsequent time: but a few examples from the saints may be mentioned here. The trances of Saint Francis of Assisi are well known, in which the seraph burned the wounds of our Saviour into his body with a ray of fire; as well as the history of St. Anthony, the unwearied combatant against the temptations and attacks of the evil one; the visions and ecstasies of St. Suso, Macarius, Bernard, Ignatius, and many others. The following, however, is extremely important with respect to the foregoing remarks:—

"The life of St. Catharine of Siena was but short—thirty-three years,—but her deeds were great and numerous. With a very weak and fragile body, she was sometimes sunk in religious meditations in her cell; at others, bearing her words of fire through cities and countries, where the people who flocked around her were taught and instructed, she entered hospitals to visit those struck by the plague, and to purify their souls; accompanied criminals to the place of execution, and excited repentance in their obstinate hearts. She even stepped into the fierce tumults of battle, like an angel of the Lord, and restrained the combatants by her own voice; she visited the Pope at Avignon, and reconciled the Church; she changed the unbelief of sceptics into astonishment; and where her body was not able to go, there her mind operated by her fiery eloquence in hundreds of letters to the Pope, to princes, and the people. She is said to have shown a purity and inspiration in her poems which might have ranked her with Dante and Petrarch. Here is divine inspiration,—holy and miraculous power!"

St. Brigitta, a descendant of the Gothic kings, had spread so many teachings and religious writings among the people, during the fourteenth century, that the Concilium of Basle investigated her doctrines, and having found them to be true, had her words translated into every European language.

Thomas à Kempis describes the life of Lidwina, of Schiedam in the Netherlands, who was blind of one eye and weak-sighted in the other, and yet saw events which took place in

other countries. She was afflicted with internal tumours, which never healed, and in which worms were produced. Her forehead and her chin split and opened. She visited the monastic establishments in spirit, and often, when receiving the sacrament, was surrounded by light: even her dark room was often illuminated in the same manner, to the terror of those about her. If any unclean person touched her, black spots were left upon her skin. "But she seized upon the hearts of all men, and her fame was spread over the whole world," says her historian; "and she performed such miracles, radiant with her own holiness, that from the rising to the setting of the sun the name of the Lord was praised in those two maidens (Lidwina and the Maid of Orleans): the Lord, who raises the lowly and humiliates the proud, and who proves that He does not regard birth and station, but chooses the weak—He who reigns in threefold majesty and glory."

Chosen from the many examples which are of a merely secondary importance and interest, a few passages from the life of St. Hildegarde may be quoted as a counterpart to the above, shewing how God is powerful in the weak, and that these, above all others, appear calculated to throw some light upon the nature of magnetic sight. Hildegarde was a Christian prophetess, who in her time exercised great influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and had visions almost more frequently than any other person on record; they were symbolical, and usually to be explained by her. For instance, she had visions of a great mountain the colour of iron; of innumerable lamps; of a strange round instrument; of an indescribably bright light; of a woman who was of various colours; of a shining and inextinguishable fire; of a portrait of a very quick woman (procerissimæ mulieris); of a round tower as white as snow; of a strangely-shaped head; of five animals; of a harmony floating through the purest atmosphere, etc.

From her earliest years she had visions, was continually sickly, and fell into cataleptic trances of considerable duration. In a manuscript (which is to be found in the Library at Wiesbaden, as well as some remarkable drawings of her visions), and also in her letters (S. Hildegardis, Epistolarum liber; Colonæ, 1567), she gives minute particulars con-

cerning her life; from which I shall make the following extracts:—

"In her eighth year Hildegarde was placed with a very pious woman, who only gave her the Psalter to read, and brought her up in great simplicity. The power of her mind only expanded later. In her book, 'Scivias,' she says,—'When I was twenty-four years and seven months of age, a fiery light coming from heaven filled my brain and influenced my heart—like a fire which burns not, but warms like the sun—and suddenly I had the power of expounding the Scriptures.' During the greater part of her life she was confined to her bed; but those forces which were wanting to the body were replaced by her spirit of truth and power; and while the body diminished, the intense fire of her soul increased. An inner voice commanded her to make known her visions; but it was very much against her own wish. After this communication her health became better. When Hildegarde became renowned, Pope Eugenius III., on the recommendation of his former tutor, Bernhard de Clairvaux, sent several learned men to her to gain information concerning her. The cataleptic trances were most frequent before she entered the convent at Burgen,—so much so, indeed, that the Abbot who visited her, finding that with the greatest exertion of his strength he was unable to move her head, declared her to be a divine prophetess (*divina correptio.*) After she had mentioned the habitation of St. Robert at Bingen, and they had refused to take her there, the Abbot came to her, and said, that 'in the name of God she should arise and go there.' Hildegarde immediately arose as if nothing had ever ailed her. Regarding her visions she wrote as follows to the Monk Wibertus:—'God works for the glory of His name where He wishes, and not for the honour of men. In my continual anxiety I raise my hands to God, and am borne by Him like a feather carried in the wind. That which I see is not distinct as long as I am bodily occupied; but I have had visions from my childhood, when I was very sickly, until now, when I am over seventy years of age. My soul rises, by the will of God, in these visions even to the depths of the firmament, and overlooks all portions of the earth and every nation. I do not see things with the outward eyes, nor hear them with the ears, nor

perceive them through other senses, but with my soul's eye; for I see them when awake, by day as well as by night.' At another place she says, 'In the third year of my life, I beheld such a light that my soul trembled; but, on account of my youth, I was unable to describe it. In my eighth year I was admitted to a spiritual communion with God; and, till I was fifteen, I beheld many visions, which I related in my simplicity, and those who heard me were astonished, wondering from whence they could come. At that time I also felt surprised that while I saw internally with my soul, I also saw outwardly with my eyes; and as I never heard of a similar thing in others, I endeavoured to conceal my visions as much as possible. Many things of this world remained unknown to me on account of my continual ill-health, which, dating from my birth, weakened my body and destroyed my strength. During one of these states of prostration, I asked my attendant if she saw anything besides the things of this world: she replied, that she did not. Then a great fear seized upon me, and I dared not open my heart to any one; but during conversation I often spoke of future events; and when the visions were strong upon me, I said things which were unintelligible to those around me. When the strength of the vision was somewhat abated, I changed colour and began to weep, more like a child than a person of my age; and I should often have preferred to be silent if it had been possible. Fear of ridicule, however, prevented my saying anything: but a noble lady with whom I was placed noticed this, and told a nun who was her friend. After the death of this lady I had visions till my fortieth year, when I was impelled, in a vision, to make known that which I saw. I communicated this to my confessor—an excellent man. He listened willingly to these strange visions, and advised me to write them down and keep them secret, till I should see what they were and whence they came. After he perceived that they came from God, he communicated them to his Abbot, and gave me his aid in these things. In the visions I understood the writings of the Prophets, the Evangelists, and some holy philosophers, without human assistance. I explained much in these books, although I was scarcely able to distinguish the letters; I also sang verses to the honour of God without

having had any instruction in singing—having never even learned a song. When these things became known to the Church at Mayence, they declared that these visions came from God, and by the gift of prophecy. Upon this my writings were placed before Pope Eugene, when he was at Trier, who had them read aloud before many, and then sent me a letter begging me to commit my visions to writing.'

Attracted by her fame people went to see her from all parts of Germany and France. She explained passages from Holy Writ; many received counsel for bodily ailments; many were relieved from sickness by her blessing. By her prophetic spirit she was acquainted with the thoughts of those near her, and reproved some who only went to see her from curiosity. As these were unable to answer the spirit which spoke within her, it often happened that they were struck with surprise, and believed. The Jews who entered into conversation with her she endeavoured to lead to a belief in Christ by words of pious exhortation. She spoke to all with gentleness and love; often reproved the nuns like a mother when they disagreed among themselves, or gave way to a longing for the world. The determinations, the intentions, and the thoughts of others, were so perfectly known to her, that at divine service she gave to each one a blessing according to the nature of their hearts; for she saw in the human mind the future life, even in some cases the death, and, according to the state of their souls, their future reward or punishment. These great secrets, however, were confided to no one but her confessor, to whom she related even the deepest secrets of her heart; and through all this she retained the greatest of all virtues—humility. Her influence upon persons was as wonderful as her inner sight; and the age in which she lived universally attributed miraculous powers to her.

"Her power of healing sickness," writes her biographer, "was so wonderful, that scarcely any one who sought her aid went away without restored health. A girl suffered from tertian fever, which no medicines could subdue, and therefore begged for aid from St. Hildegarde, who laid her hands upon her in the name of the Lord and blessed her: she immediately recovered. A lay brother, Novicus by name, who suffered from the same fever, hearing of the miracle

performed on the girl, went in humility to Hildegarde, received her blessing, and returned sound. A girl, Bertha, was afflicted with a tumour of the neck and breast, and could neither take food nor drink: Hildegarde made the sign of the cross upon the suffering parts, and restored her to health. A man went to her from Swabia, whose body was swollen all over: she kept him for several days near her, touching him with her hands, and, by the grace of God and her blessing, he recovered. A child, seven months old, suffered from convulsions, and was cured. She was not only of service to those who were near to her, but also to those who were at a distance. Arnold Von Wackerheim, whom she had long known, had such a pain in his neck that he was quite unable to change his position. He awaited in faith the benefit of her prayers: Hildegarde, relying on the mercy of God, sent him some holy water, and by the use of it the pain vanished. The daughter of a woman in Bingen was unable to speak for three days: her mother went to Hildegarde for aid, who gave her nothing but water, which she herself had consecrated: when the daughter had drunk of it she regained her voice. The same woman gave the remainder of the water to a sick youth who was supposed to be near to death; after drinking and washing his face he recovered. In Trier lived a girl who was approaching her destruction through an unbounded passion for a man: her parents, therefore, sent to Hildegarde, who, after praying to God, blessed some bread with many tears which she shed over it, and sent it to them: after the girl had eaten it, her passion gradually left her."

Hildegarde also appears to have had the power of appearing to distant persons, as has since been observed in ecstatic persons. Her biographer says,—"What shall we say of this maiden, who was able to warn persons, by a vision, who were in great danger, and who had mentioned her in their prayers? A young man, Ederich Rudolph, stopped for the night at a little village, and, on going to bed, prayed for the assistance of Hildegarde. In a vision she appeared to him in the very dress which she at that time wore, and told him that his life would be in danger from his enemies if he did not at once leave the place. With a few of his companions he instantly left; and those who remained were overpowered by their pursuers."

Several similar cases are recorded. Hildegarde's visions did not only refer to single individuals, but also to general events; for instance, the great division which should occur in the church after her time. For many years she was the oracle of princes and bishops. She was born in 1098, and died in 1179, on the 17th September, as she had long before predicted to her friends. Till her end she was scarcely ever free from suffering; and the manner in which she bore these afflictions is shown by the motto in her ring, which is preserved at Eibingen,—"I suffer willingly."

In my work "Magnetism in connection with Nature and Religion," I have given some extracts, agreeing in many particulars with the above, from the History of Giovanna della Croce, of Roveredo, whose life and autobiography were published by Beda Weber in his work "Tyrol and the Reformation, in Pictures and Fragments," from manuscripts which fell into his hands. She enjoyed such reputation for the truth of her predictions, that, during the thirty years' war, the highest princes and warriors, even of the Protestant faith, sought her advice and corresponded with her. She was weak in health, but eminently pious in disposition; knew the thoughts and inclinations of others, and reproved them for their perverse hearts,—not excepting her own confessor,—and spread blessings and health far and wide around her.

I have also mentioned the history of the Maid of Orleans somewhat minutely; have treated of her life, her visions and deeds, and the pious inclination of her mind, from the Report of Görres (Die Jungfrau von Orleans, nachden Processacten und Gleichzeitigen Chroniken, Regensburg 1834); and also from Charmette (Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc, surnommeé la Pucelle d'Orleans: Paris, 1817);—to which works, as also to Görres' "Mystic," I refer the reader for more minute and circumstantial particulars concerning these and other inspired persons.

It has become common at the present time to have but little consideration for the above-mentioned examples, but at the same time to think much too highly of phenomena which agree with them in many respects. For of late years very remarkable phenomena have been observed in persons

of the female sex, and of very pious or even fanatical dispositions; and these have been either allowed to pass unchallenged from a theological point of view, as supernatural wonders, or, on the contrary, have been ascribed to fanaticism, or intended deception. These are those rare and very remarkable states in which persons, sunk in religious contemplation and ecstasy, have inward visions, particularly of our Saviour, and in which certain signs, as the cross, and scars, are impressed in their bodies, accompanied, generally, with bleeding from the forehead, the hands, the feet, and the side. Visions and prophecies are not wanting, but are seldom regarded with any degree of attention by the ecclesiastics who usually surround them. The persons subject to these visions seldom eat much; and other phenomena are connected with their conditions, which will make it necessary for us to regard them in connection with each other, as they possess many magical (not magnetic) features, and from the fact that lately they excited much attention in various parts of Germany. In another work I have collected accounts of all the different appearances, and have subjected them to a course of scientific and physiological investigation; endeavouring to trace everything wonderful and supernatural to well-known laws of nature, and thereby transferring them from a theological to a medical foundation. In that work I have collected every known instance of similar appearances from the earlier centuries, and must refer the reader to that work for more minute particulars, should he feel inclined to become more intimately acquainted with them. I have there mentioned (1) A. K. Emmerich, a nun at Dülmen; (2) Maria v. Mörl, who is still living at Kaltern; (3) Dominica Lazari, at Capriana, in the Tyrol, the daughter of a miller, and who is still alive; (4) and many examples of older date. The subject is anything but uninteresting; and for the purpose of enabling the reader who is unacquainted with it to form an opinion, I shall give a short account of the first-named person, as I have extracted it from her biographies: the remaining cases are all similar in the principal facts, though slightly varied in physiological points. I have endeavoured to prove that the persons in whom these phenomena present themselves do not belong to the higher category of saints which we have just treated

of. from the fact that, beyond the merely religious senses, no others are excited, as is the case in the latter; and, moreover, that all the phenomena arise from natural, not from supernatural causes. All these persons were afflicted with sickness, and in general also subject to the most violent spasms and convulsions, without any power of acting beneficially upon others, or of revealing the futurity of events or humanity. The visions which are occasionally met with associated with spasms are nothing extraordinary; and the appearance of bleeding wounds on the body are to be explained psychologically, as the intensely active imagination in all these cases preserves its power, and transforms the ideas of the fancy through an uninterrupted contemplation, into permanent shapes, which even obtain a certain plastic firmness in the body, as similar appearances have been observed in nature, and in pathological conditions; so that we are by no means justified in ascribing them to artificially produced deceptions, even if (sit venia verbis) intentional deceptions had taken place. The soul creates and the body forms; and, in fact, only according to that shape which has been held before it. The imagination is the creative and inventive power of the soul, which endeavours to reproduce outwardly that which it inwardly believed; and this succeeds more especially when the body is in a passive condition, and the outward senses are dormant. Even animals—as, for instance, horses—have been known to produce young of a certain colour which has been constantly before them; the nightmare, the terror of an inevitable danger, have been known to leave permanent marks upon the body. As the human imagination, however, alone creates ideas, so can it alone impress ideal marks,—as the wounds of our Saviour, on the body.

Anna Katharina Emmerich, a sister in the Convent of Dülmen, had numerous visions, and the remarkable power of distinguishing between harmless and noxious plants, as well as between the bones of saints and those of any other person. In frequent ecstasies she revealed secrets to various persons, which could only have occurred by a higher inspiration; and particularly to the clergyman and her confessor. Born in the neighbourhood of Coesfeld, she was sickly, but of a pious disposition, from her childhood; and even before

she entered the convent had a vision of the Saviour, who appeared to her as a radiant youth, offering her a garland with the left hand, and a crown of thorns with the right. She seized the latter, and pressed it with devotion on her brow; but on recovering consciousness, felt a severe pain encircling her head, and drops of blood appeared. In 1802 she entered the convent at Dülmen; and it was at that time that her remarkable history, in fact, commenced; though it was not till 1814 that it was made known—first by Von Druffel, in the Salzburg "Medicinisch-chirurgischer Zeitung," and in 1815 by her attendant physician, in a small pamphlet. With the latter I have enjoyed the advantage of a personal communication. Many particulars were subsequently reported concerning her, which found violent opponents and defenders.

The most important and accurate account is given by Clemens v. Brentano—who observed her for years—in his work "Das Bittere Leiden unsers Herrn nach den Betrachtungen der Gottseligen Katharina Emmerich." From her childhood she was of a weakly constitution; and, according to medical testimony, was during her residence in the convert often confined for weeks to her bed. In March 1813 the Rev. Mr. Stensing communicated to the Ecclesiastical Board that Katharine Emmerich for several months had not taken any medicine, and no sustenance but a little water, and, according to Druffel, a few drops of wine mixed with it: nothing else would remain on her stomach; and she perspired considerably. During the course of the evening a fainting fit would most probably take place, in which she would lie like a piece of wood. Her face during this state, however, always bore the most perfect aspect of health; and she replied to the priestly blessing by making the sign of the cross; (according to Druffel, she was pale and thin). The most remarkable features in this case were, a bloody crown encircling the head, marks of wounds in the hands and feet and in the side, and two or three crosses on the breast. These, and the mark round her forehead, often bled; the latter usually on Wednesday, and the former on Friday, and with such obstinacy that very often heavy drops ran down. This statement was subscribed by physicians and others, as well as by Katharine Emmerich herself. To this docu-

ment was added, that she had, from her youth upwards, been piously inclined; that she considered resignation, under trial and suffering, to the divine will, one of the most divine gifts, as it brought her nearer to our crucified Saviour; but that in the convent she was regarded as an enthusiast, as she went to Communion several times during the week, and spoke with much enthusiasm of the happiness of suffering, as well as occasionally letting fall a few words about visions. To investigate these particulars, the Ecclesiastical Board visited Dülmen several times, and found the facts more or less to agree with the report; particularly that upon the breast was to be seen the figure of a double cross, in single, red, connected lines, under which was a greyish patch of the size of a clover leaf, from which at first acrid matter issued. A gentle touch produced trembling in the arms and the whole body. The bleeding had gradually developed itself, and for four years she had experienced unceasing suffering; and before each flow of blood a stronger sensation of burning. All accounts agreed that no corrosive substances could have produced these wounds, for at a later period they were carefully washed and watched for eight days. On the back, and in the inside of the hands and feet, wounds were visible, on which was a crust of blood of the thickness of paper. Katharine wished to remain quite unnoticed. and was very unwilling to receive visits; and she of all others was unlikely to reap benefit from her sufferings. At her interrogation she said, that it was very hard that she should be subjected to it, as she only wished to be left to the will of God. After this, judicial investigations were instituted from Münster; and she was obliged to submit to many annoyances, as they always inclined to believe her to be an impostor: but these did not bring to light any fresh evidence.

In the Mastiaux "Kirchenzeitung" of 1821 we find the account of a visit paid to her by Count Stolberg, in which the particulars are materially the same as those we have already mentioned. In this it is stated that during the whole winter and spring her whole nourishment consisted of a daily glass of water and the juice of a piece of apple or a plum, and during the cherry season she occasionally took a cherry. For ten days she had been watched by credible

witnesses day and night, and one-and-thirty witnesses confirmed to the fact. Nothing had passed from her for three weeks. Although she perspired copiously, there was not the least unpleasant odour in the room. In her fainting fits and convulsions she had often phantasms, like fever-patients, or spoke in strange and beautiful language. Early on the Friday the thorn wounds in her brow and the back of her head began to bleed; later in the day the eight wounds on her hands and feet; and the marks of the thorns round the head could not be more accurately painted by the most skilful artist. On removing the drops of blood, small red punctures still remained. Blood-drops oozed from the wounds; and she always felt relieved by a copious bleeding. With the double cross on the breast it was the same. This nun, who in her childhood herded cattle, and laboured hard, now spoke in a gentle voice, and expressed herself on religion with a nobility of language and elevation of mind which she could not have learned in the convent. Her spiritual expression, her cheerful friendliness, her penetrating knowledge, and her love, breathed forth from every word she uttered.

One very remarkable passage in Brentano's writings must not be overlooked, in which he says, that in his native country, about Coesfeld, there were persons who were able to foretell deaths, marriages, and military movements, from visions; also that Katharina Emmerich occasionally sewed together children's clothes during the night, and without light, at which she was very much surprised the following morning. "Her childhood," says Brentano, "has much resemblance to the childhood of the venerable Anna Garcias and Dominica de Paradiso, and other contemplative spirits of the lower ranks. From the earliest time of her recollections she had enjoyed a high and yet friendly guidance, which continued till her end. A gift, which we find alone in the histories of St. Sibyllina de Pavia, Ida von Löwen. Ursula Bennicasa, and a few other pious and holy persons, was in her a permanent quality from her childhood—the gift, namely, of distinguishing between good and bad—holiness and wickedness—in man and the spirit. As a child, she was accustomed to bring home with her, from great distances, plants, which she alone knew to possess healing

virtues; and, on the contrary, destroyed every poisonous plant, and particularly those which were used in the rites of magic and superstition. At heathen mounds and burial places she felt repulsed and ill at ease, but was attracted by the reliques of saints. She distinguished the bones of saints when placed among others; and not only told various incidents from their lives, but also related the various changes by which they had been handed down." As regards the phenomena of the ecstatic state, Brentano refers the reader to the life of St. Magdalena à Pazis, with whose life that of Katharina Emmerich bore much resemblance.

Maria v. Mörl had very similar appearances to Katharina Emmerich; but the higher conditions were neither so pure or so distinct. She is now in the convent at Kaltern. On the contrary, Domenica Lazari, who suffers more physical pain, has the wounds, which bleed every Thursday and Friday, more distinctly marked on her hands and feet. On her back and side the wounds are more distinct than in any other recorded case. Her feet and legs have, as it were, grown together, from her continual lying in bed. On the back of the hand, and the instep of the right foot (the left foot is alway covered by the sole of the right), two prominences are to be seen when there is no bleeding, which bear a perfect resemblance to the heads of two nails. She suffers the most terrible pain and cramps; and is often heard to cry out "O, dio, ajutami!" at several houses distance. The most singular circumstance, however, is, that, winter and summer, she lies in a miserable room with the windows open, and only covered with a thin cloth; and that during unsettled windy weather she is much relieved. Since 1834 she has neither taken food nor drink. For two years her dissolution has been daily expected.

Other cases of bleeding wounds are on record,—as, for instance, one in the fifteenth century, of a girl at Ham, as related by Rolewink, 1414:—"Quæ veracissima stigmata dominicæ passionis habuit in manibus pedibus, ac latere."

Another was a Beguine at Delphi, according to Raynaldus. Lillbopp relates it as of a nun at Hadamar; and Beda Weber mentions the same of Giovanna della Croce, and of Maria Hunber, the prioress of the School Sisters at Brixen during the thirty years' war. A similar case was that of Frederika

Reinholdt, "the miraculous girl of Johanngeorgenstadt," who saw the Crucifixion of our Lord in a vision, and died on Good Friday: that is, was at three o'clock to every appearance dead, remained in that state till six o'clock on the third day after, and then awoke after a few spasmodic twitchings. (Kieser's Archiv, vii. i. 48.)

There are many legendary examples of bleeding wounds among the saints,—St. Katharina of Siena; of Hildegard; St. Brigetta of Sweden; and Pasithea de Croyis. Similar marks of the cross are found in persons of the same turn of mind,—as Katharina de Raconisio, Marina de Escobar, Emilia Bichieri, Juliana Falconieri, and St. Francis of Assisi. Of all these it was alone to the last that the bull of Pope Sixtus IV. gave the odour of sanctity. The recorded number of persons since Francis de Assisi, who are called by theologists "vulnus divinum, plaga amoris viva," is by no means small, for there are no less than fifty: the last was Veronica Giuliani of Citta di Castello, who died 1727, and was sanctified in 1831.

No less frequent are the cases of long fasting,—as in Nikolas de la Flüe, Lidwina of Schiedam, Katharina of Siena, Angela de Fuligno, Ludovica de Ascensione, and many others. Should the reader wish to become more intimately acquainted with the particulars of these cases, I must refer him to the Introduction to Suso's "Leben und Schriften von Görres," Regensburg, 1819.

These certainly very remarkable phenomena have always created much curiosity; and although by some they have been treated as impostures, by others they have been raised to the rank of miracles. Many have venerated the persons subject to them as saints, and held them up as models of devotion and piety. Any one who endeavoured to explain these phenomena by natural causes, or were even to regard the subject as being diseased and worthy of commiseration, would most likely be called heretical; for many persons believe as firmly in the devil, and his power of doing any and every evil, as they do in our salvation by our Lord Jesus. Very little is therefore necessary to cause such persons to place a sick person who is subject to visions by the side of the Holy Virgin, and to address their prayers to her rather than to our Saviour. ("Aliqui multa sunt operati secundum natu-

ralem et astronomicam scientiam, et tamen vel ex sanctitate crediti sunt ista operari, vel ex necromantia, cum tamen neque sancti neque necromancii sint."—P. Pomponiatius de naturalium admirandorum causis, sive de incantationibus, opus obstrusioris philosophiæ plenum: Basil. 1550, p. 45.) They do not remember that at Rome it is not so easy to procure the canonization of a saint. It is well known that the following points are strictly investigated; and it is only after their perfect substantiation that the head of the church declares its sanctity, and the *casus inediæ* to be a miracle:—

1. The fact that such fasting took place, and continued without interruption, at the time stated, must be strictly investigated and established.

2. The fasting must have been by free will. It must not have proceeded from sickness or disease, as in that case the Church could not regard it as miraculous, cases being known where disease in the organs of the stomach has produced inertia of many years' duration.

3. The object must be a religious one.

4. The person fasting must during the whole time have been in good health.

5. He must not neglect the good works which it is his duty to perform, as fasting which would hinder good deeds could not be acceptable to God. St. Jerome is particular on this point.

Lastly, the morals and virtues of the person fasting must be strictly examined. (Lillbopp, Die Wunder des Christenthums und deren Verhältniss zum thierischen Magnetismus, Mainz, 1822, p. 181.)

The Church, therefore, did not even canonize the pious Nicolaus de la Flüe, who lived for twenty years on no other food but the consecrated wafer which he partook of monthly. He spoke of his power of fasting rather as a natural power than as a virtue. (Joh. v. Müller, Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 5th vol. 2d chap.) In his biography, written by the Jesuit Pater Hugo, and published in Freiburg 1636, we find—"From his youth he fasted four times a week, and by that means withdrew himself from the disturbing influence of worldly things, gaining at the same time a great power of endurance."

One of the principal branches of magic in ancient times was the power of secretly influencing other men, to which was also reckoned the power of healing the sick. It was only later, when experience had revealed many natural powers by chance or research, that they were made use of for other purposes, and often to the injury of others: it was therefore called the black art. Among the Prophets, the Cabbalists already distinguished between the seer and the wonder-workers, as we have already seen: *Nabi rach* signified he who looks into the light; and *nabi poel* he who is gifted with magic powers.

In the infancy of the world, and during a time when these laws of nature were but partially known and understood by man, it was most natural that these inexplicable powers should be directly ascribed to a divine influence. Healing of the sick was supposed to proceed alone from God, or through the priests and saints his servants. Faith was therefore necessary to the cure, and the magical powers were therefore transferred by words, prayer, and ceremonies, and the science was transmitted among the mysteries. Healing by touch, by laying on of the hands, and by the breath, belonged to this secret influence; also the use of talismans and amulets, which were composed of organic as well as inorganic substances,—minerals, stones, or plants; the wearing of rings, of images of saints, and other symbolical objects; lastly, healing the sick by words and prayers.

As regards the resemblance which this science bears to magnetism, it is certain that not only were the ancients acquainted with an artificial method of treating disease, but also with somnambulism itself, as we shall see subsequently in the Oracles and among the Alexandrians. Among others, Agrippa von Nettesheim speaks of this plainly when he says, in his "Occulta philosophia," p. 451—"There is a science, known but to very few, of illuminating and instructing the mind, so that at one step it is raised from the darkness of ignorance to the light of wisdom. This is produced principally by a species of artificial sleep, in which man forgets the present, and, as it were, perceives the future through the divine inspiration. Unbelieving and wicked persons can also be deprived of this power by secret means." (Po-

test enim animus humanus, præsertim simplex et purus, sacrorum quorundum avocamento ac delineamento soporari et externi et præsentium oblivionem, ita ut remota corporis memoria, redigatur in naturam suam divinam, atque sic divino lumine lustratus, ac furore divino afflatus, futura rerum præsagire, tum etiam mirabilium quorundum effectum cum hoc suscipere virtutem).

The healing of the sick by the touch and the laying on of hands is to be found among the earliest nations,—among the Indians, the Egyptians, and especially among the Jews. In Egypt, sculptures have been found where one hand is represented on the stomach and the other on the back. Even the Chinese, according to the accounts of the early missionaries (Athan. Kircher, China illustrata), healed sickness by the laying on of hands. In the Old Testament we find numerous examples, of which we shall extract a few.

When Moses found his end approaching, he prayed for a worthy successor; and we find the following passage (Numbers, xxvii. 18, 20):—"And the Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him" . . . "And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient."

Another instance is to be found in the healing the seemingly dead child by Elisha, who stretched himself three times upon the child, and called upon the Lord. The manner in which Elisha raised the dead son of the Shunammite woman is still more remarkable. He caused Gehazi to proceed before him to lay his staff upon the face of the child. As this was of no avail, Elisha went up into the room, and laid himself upon the child, etc., and his hands upon the child's hands, so that the child's body became warm again. After that the child opened its eyes. Elisha's powers even survived his death. "And Elisha died, and they buried him; and the bands of the Moabites invaded the land in the coming of the year. And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha; and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood upon his feet" (2 Kings, xiii. 20, 21). Naaman the leper, when he stood before Elisha's house with his horses

and chariots, and had been told to wash seven times in the Jordan, said, "Behold, I thought, he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper" (2 Kings, v. 4).

The New Testament is particularly rich in examples of the efficacy of laying on of the hands. "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery" (1 Timothy, iv. 14), is a principal maxim of the Apostles, for the practical use of their powers for the good of their brethren in Christ. In St. Mark we find (xvi. 18)—"They shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." St. Paul was remarkable for his powers: "And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux; to whom Paul entered in, and prayed and laid his hands on him and healed him" (Acts, xxviii. 8). "And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, and he received sight" (Acts, ix. 17, 18). In St. Mark we find—"And they brought young children to him, that he might touch them; and his disciples rebuked those who brought them." But Jesus said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them." "And they bring unto him one that was deaf and had an impediment in his speech, and they besought him to put his hand upon him. And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit and touched his tongue; and, looking up to heaven, he sighed, and said unto him, Ephphatha,—that is, Be opened. And straightway his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain" (Mark, vii. 33).

Other passages may be met with in Matth. ix. 18; Mark, v. 23—vi. 5—viii. 22—x. 13—xvi. 18; Luke, v. 13—xviii. 15; John, ix. 17; Acts, ix. 17, &c. &c. In the histories of

the saints innumerable examples are recorded: and the command, "In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover," applies to all true followers of Christ. Those, however, who are wanting in the power of the spirit and in faith cannot perform these acts like the saints, on whom they cast doubt because they cannot imitate them.

The saints did everything through faith in Christ, and therefore were able to perform such miracles. I shall make mention of a few of the most remarkable accounts. St. Patrick, the Irish apostle, healed the blind by laying on his hands. St. Bernard is said to have restored eleven blind persons to sight, and eighteen lame persons to the use of their limbs, in one day at Constance. At Cologne he healed twelve lame, caused three dumb persons to speak, ten who were deaf to hear; and, when he himself was ill, St. Lawrence and St. Benedict appeared to him, and cured him by touching the affected part. Even his plates and dishes are said to have cured sickness after his death! The miracles of SS. Margaret, Katherine, Elizabeth, Hildegarde, and especially the miraculous cures of the two holy martyrs Cosmas and Damianus, belong to this class. Among others, they freed the Emperor Justinian from an incurable sickness. St. Odilia embraced a leper, who was shunned by all men, in her arms, warmed him, and restored him to health.

Remarkable above all others are those cases where persons who were at the point of death have recovered by holy baptism or extreme unction. The Emperor Constantine is one of the most singular examples. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had the power of assuaging colic and affections of the spleen by laying the patients on their backs and passing his great toe over them. (Plutarch. Vita Pyrrhi: "Digitum maximum pedis divinitatem habuisse adeo quod igne non potuit comburi.") The Emperor Vespasian cured nervous affections, lameness, and blindness, solely by the laying on of his hands (Suelin, Vita Vespas.) According to Cœlius Spartianus, Hadrian cured those afflicted with dropsy by touching them with the points of his fingers, and recovered himself from a violent fever by similar treatment. King Olaf healed Egill

on the spot by merely laying his hands upon him and singing proverbs (Edda, p. 216). The kings of England and France cured diseases of the throat by touch. It is said that the pious Edward the Confessor, and in France that Philip the First, were the first who possessed this power. The formula used on such occasions was, "Le roi te touche, allez et guerissez;" so that the word was connected with the act of touching. In England the disease was therefore called King's Evil. In France this power was retained till within a short time since; and it is said that at the coronation the exact manner of touching, and the formula—"Le roi te touche, dieu te guérisse"—were imparted to him. In the reign of Louis XIII. the Duke d'Epernon is said to have exclaimed, when Richelieu was made generalissimo against the Spaniards, "What! has the king nothing left but the power of healing wens?"

Among German princes this curative power was ascribed to the Counts of Hapsburg, and also that they were able to cure stammering by a kiss. Pliny says, "There are men whose whole bodies possess medicinal properties,—as the Marsi, the Psyli, and others, who cure the bite of serpents merely by the touch." This he remarks especially of the Island of Cyprus; and later travellers confirm these cures by the touch. In later times, the Salmadores and Ensalmadores of Spain became very celebrated, who healed almost all diseases by prayer, laying on of the hands, and by the breath. In Ireland, Valentine Greaterake cured at first king's evil by his hands; later, fever, wounds, tumours, gout, and at length all diseases. In the seventeenth century, the gardener Levret and the notorious Streeper performed cures in London by stroking with the hand. In a similar manner cures were performed by Michael Medina, and the Child of Salamanca; also Marcellus Empiricus (Sprengel, Gesch. der Med. Part 2, p. 179.) Richter, an innkeeper at Royen, in Silicia, cured, in the years 1817-18, many thousands of sick persons in the open fields, by touching them with his hands. Under the Popes, laying on of the hands was called Chirothesy. Diepenbroek wrote two treatises on it; and, according to Lampe, four-and-thirty Chirothetists were declared to be holy. (Dissert. Cinæ de *χειροθεσία* et *χειροτονία*.—Lampe, De honoribus et privilegiis medi-

corum dissert.—Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de la jonglerie, Londres et Paris, 1784.—Hilocher, De cura strumarum contractu regio facta, Jenæ, 1730.—Metz, De tactu regis, etc. Witeb. 1675.—Delrio, disquisit. magic. Mogunt. 1606, t. i. 66.—De la philosophie corpusculaire, ou les connaissances et les procèdes magnétiques chez les divers peuples, par M. de L——, Paris, 1735, p. 112.—Guil. Tooker, Charisma, seu donum sanitatis, etc. Lond. 1597.—William Clowes, Right fruitful and approved treatise of the struma, Lond. 1602.—A. Laurentius, De mirabili strumas sanandi vi solis Galliæ regibus concessa, Paris, 1609.—G. ——, Traité de la guérison des écrouelles par l'attouchement des septenaires.—Dan. G. Morhof, Princeps medicus, Rost. 1665.—C. G. Rusch, Handbuch der Erfind. t. iii. Eisenach, 1792, p. 15.—A brief account of Mr. Valentine Greaterakes, and divers of the strange cures by him performed, Lond. 1666.—Pechlin, Nic., Observat. phys. med. Hamb. 1691.—Schelhamer, Dissert. de odontalgia tactu sedanda, Jenæ, 1701.—Adolphi dissert. de morborum per manum attrectationem curatione, Lips. 1730.—Anti-magnetismus, oder Ursprung, Fortgang Verfall und Erneuerung des thierischen Magnetismus, aus dem Franz, Gera, 1788.)

TALISMANS.

Talismans,—from the Greek word τέλεσμα, from which the Arabs derive tilsem—(*imago magica*)—are substances, particularly metals, minerals, roots, and herbs, which were worn on the body, either as preventives against, or cures for, diseases. Similar, but not exactly the same, are Amulets, which were supposed to possess the power of warding off misfortune or the effect of poison, and were inscribed with astrological signs and numbers. The most celebrated inscription was that of Abraxas, which comprehended the idea of heaven, and from which, according to Sprengel, the formula of "Abracadabra" arose, used by Serenus Sammonicus especially against tertian fever (S. Sammon. De re medica, 1581, 4 c.) Other formulas are given by Alex. Tralles. In later times, these talismans and amulets degenerated into the wearing of bloodstones, loadstones, necklaces

of amber, images of saints, consecrated objects, and among the Catholics is found in the use of scapularies, with which, however, an idea of sanctity was associated.

Talismans were most frequently used by the orientals, who even at the present time make use of them. Some were quite simple and smooth, others were artificially prepared,—in which case, however, the position of the stars was especially regarded in searching and preparing them, and from this cause they were often called constellation circles. By degrees they came to be made in all kinds of shapes,—as the sun, moon, and the planets. A mystical figure, representing the inexpressible name of God—which, according to the Jews, was preserved in the Temple at Jerusalem—is found on many engraved gems; and two triangles crossing each other are supposed to have been the diagram of the Gnostics, with which they performed all sorts of miraculous cures. People went so far as to believe it possible to be placed in communication with the world of spirits by the aid of talismans; that by their use the love and esteem of men was to be gained; and that by the mere wearing of such talismans others could be brought into any wished-for condition of mind. Orpheus, for instance, says, that it is possible to fix the attention of an audience, and to increase their pleasure, by the use of the loadstone. A particular power was ascribed to precious stones.

As at the present time it has been observed that magnetic somnambulists are influenced in a peculiar manner by certain metals, vegetable substances, and precious stones; so is it not improbable that in the early ages the belief in the virtues of talismans was induced by similar observations. As loadstones, iron, copper, silver, gold, and quicksilver, diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and smaragds, are known to produce certain effects upon magnetic somnambulists, so were the special virtues of each formerly clearly defined. The Buddhists ascribed a sacred magical power to the sapphire, and it was called the stone of stones (optimus, quem tellus medica gignit). That mirror-like surfaces produce somnambulic phenomena has been long known, but it is only in later times that investigations have shown the manifold influence of the prismatic colours, and that they have an

unequal power of warmth. The electric polarities of precious stones are probably more important than their mere brilliancy; and, according to Amoretti's investigations, all have either + or — E. The diamond, the garnet, the amethyst, are — E; the smaragd, the sapphire, aquamarine, the chrysolite, and the chrysophrase, + E (Kieser's Archiv, Vol. iv. p. 62). It was no wonder, therefore, that similar appearances arose through their influence on man, and that this influence should be observed and recorded. The influence of their brilliancy on the nervous system and the imagination has a certain foundation, as was firmly maintained among oriental nations, and during the middle ages (ad evocandas imagines.) So, for instance, according to the teachings of the Buddhists, the sapphire produces equanimity and peace of mind, as well as affording protection against envy and treachery. "It will open barred doors and dwellings; it produces prayer and reconciliation with the Godhead; and brings with it more peace than any other gem of necromancy; but he who would wear it must lead a pure and holy life."—(Marbod. Liber lapid. ed. Beckmann.)

The Jewish high priests wore jewels on their breasts, and, according to the traditions, they served as a means of revealing to them the will of God. What Orpheus says of the power of stones is most remarkable,—and particularly in regard to the loadstone:—"With this stone you can hear the voices of the gods, and learn many wonderful things. If you suffer from sickness, take it into your hands and shake it well. Then take courage, and ask it concerning the future. Everything will be unfolded truthfully before you; and if you hold it nearer to your eyes it will inspire you with a divine spirit (tum aude de vaticiniis eum interrogare, omnia enim exponet tibi vera, eumque postea propius ad oculos admovens, quando laveris, intuere: divinatus enim expirantem intelliges). It is a glorious remedy against wounds. It is a remedy for the bite of snakes, weak eyes, and headache; and makes the deaf to hear. Of crystals he says,—

"Crystallus—frigide tactu est,
Et renibus appositus, dolorem leniet."

Orpheus gives the following theory, founded on the influence of stones:—"The earth produces good and evil to us poor mortals; but for everything evil she also provides an antidote. Each kind of stone is formed of earth, in which incalculable powers lie hidden. Everything that can be done with roots may also be done with stones. Those have certainly great power, but stones have still greater. Roots live but for a short time, and then perish; their life only lasts as long as we obtain their fruits: but when they no longer exist, what can we hope more from the dead? Among plants we find some that are noxious, some that are beneficial; among the stones it will be difficult to find any that are hurtful. Armed with the loadstone you may pass unharmed among reptiles, even if they were to meet you in legions accompanied by black death." (Orph. Lithica, editio Gesneri.)

An old writer states as follows:—

"The Diamond has the power of depriving the loadstone of its virtue, and is beneficial to sleep-walkers and the insane. The Arabian diamond is said to guide iron towards the poles, and is therefore called magnetic by some.

"The Agate disposes the mind to solitude. The Indian is said to quench thirst if held in the mouth.

"The Amethyst banishes drunkenness, and sharpens the wit.

"The Red-bezoar is a preservative against poison. The Bole Armeniac against infectious fevers of every kind.

"The Garnet preserves the health, produces a joyous heart, but discord between lovers.

"The Sapphire makes the melancholy cheerful, if suspended round the neck, and maintains the power of the body.

"The Red Coral stops bleeding and strengthens digestion, if worn about the person.

"The Red Cornelian stops hemorrhage and cures dysentery.

"The Crystal banishes bad dreams from the sleeper.

"The Green Chrysophrase is of great benefit to the weak-sighted.

"The Chrysolite, held in the hand, banishes fever.

"The Jacinth enlivens the heart and the body.

"The Green Jasper prevents fever and dropsy, and strengthens the brain.

"The Onyx shows terrible shapes to the sleeper, and increases saliva in boys; worn about the neck, it prevents epileptic fits.

"The Opal is a remedy for weak eyes.

"The Green Smaragd prevents epilepsy, unmasks the delusions of the devil, and sharpens the memory.

"Amber cures dysentery, and is a powerful remedy for all affections of the throat.

"The Topaz cures hemorrhoids and sleep-walking, relieves affections of the mind, and laid upon wounds stops the blood.

"Serpentine disperses dropsy, if persons so afflicted stand with it for three hours in the sun,—for then they break out into a violent and unpleasant-smelling sweat; it cures worms, and, taken internally, is said to dissolve the stone in the bladder. (Camilli Leonardi speculum lapid.; et Petri Arlensis de Scudalupis sympathia septem metallorum; accedit magia astrologica Petri Constantii Albini, Hamb. 1717.)

In ancient times there was a universally accepted belief, that living together and breathing upon any person produce bad as well as good effects, and restored an undermined constitution, practised by a healthy person.

The usual means of plants and their juices, of stones, etc., might be used for particular cases; but, to eradicate deeply-rooted diseases, a young and fresh life was necessary. Especially, pure virgins and young children were supposed able to free persons from diseases by their breath, and even by their blood. The patient was to be breathed upon by them and sprinkled with their blood: to have bathed in the blood would have been better, could it have been possible. History supplies us with many remarkable instances of restoration to health, either by living with healthy persons, or by being breathed upon by them. One of the most remarkable is recorded in the Bible, of King David (I. Kings, i. 1-4.)—"Now King David was old and stricken in years, and they covered him with clothes, but he got no heat.

Wherefore his servants said unto him, 'Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin, and let her stand before the king, and let her cherish him, and let her lie in thy bosom, that my lord the king may get heat.'"

"So they sought for a damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel, and found Abishag, a Shunammite, and brought her to the king."

Bacon makes the remarks in his work "De vitæ et mortis historia," that the girl probably rubbed the king with myrrh, and other balsamic substances, according to the custom of the Persian maidens.

Pliny recommends breathing on the forehead as a remedy (Hist. nat., p. 28, c. 6). Galen reckons among the most certain outward remedies for bodily weakness, young persons, who were laid on the bed so as to cover the body of the sufferer (Method. med. lib. vii.) Hyginus (De sanitate tuenda) is also of the same opinion; and Virgil says:

> "Et dedit amplexus atque oscula dulcia fixit,
> Occultum inspirans ignem."
>
> *Æneid*, lib. i.

Reinhart, in his "Bibelkrankheiten des alten Testaments," calls living with the young the restoration of the old. Bartholin (De morbis bibliis, c. ix.) says the same, and that it is a preventive to the chilliness of old age, and by the breath restores much of the expired physical powers. Rudolph of Hapsburg is said, according to Serar's account, when very old and decrepit, to have been accustomed to kiss, in the presence of their relations, the daughters and wives of princely, ducal, and noble personages, and to have derived strength and renovation from their breath. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, near the end of his life, was advised, by a Jewish physician, to have young and healthy boys laid across his stomach, instead of using fomentations. Johannes Damascenus, or Rabbi Moses (Aphorism. 30), relates, that for lameness and gout nothing better could be applied than a young girl laid across the affected part. Reinhart says, "Young dogs are also of great service, which we physicians lay, in certain

cases, upon the abdomen of the patient." Pomponatius (De naturalium effectum admirand., etc., p. 41) says, "The presence and the breath of young people is a good physic." Amplexus adolescentium boni anhelitûs est medicina temperata.

The story of Luc. Clodius Hermippus is well known, who reached a very great age by being continually breathed upon by young girls. Kohausen records an inscription which was discovered at Rome by an antiquary, by name Gomar. It was cut in marble, and runs as follows:—

"To Æsculapius and Health
this is erected by
L. Clodius Hermippus,
who
by the breath of young girls
lived 115 years and 5 days,
at which physicians were no little
surprised.
Successive generations, lead such a life!"

(In Hermippo redivivo, sive Exercit. physic. med. curiosa de methodo rara ad cxv. annos prorogandæ senectutis: per anhelitum puellarum.—Francof. 1742.)

Borelli and Hoffman caused their patients to sleep with animals, to relieve violent pain or obstinate disease. The great Boerhaave ordered an Amsterdam burgomaster to sleep between two boys, and declared that the patient visibly increased in cheerfulness and physical power. Hufeland says, in his "Art of Lengthening Human Life," —"And certainly, when we consider how efficacious for lameness are freshly opened animals, or the laying of a living animal upon any painful affection, we must feel convinced that these methods are not to be thrown aside." Among the Greeks and Romans much virtue was ascribed to the breath; and the old French poets praise the pure breath of virgins as very beneficial:

"Alaine douce tant
C'un malades alast du doux fleur guerisant."

It was, however, very early discovered that the immediate contact of the breath was not necessary, and that by breathing on lifeless substances they might be made to possess curative powers. Various substances were also worn upon

the person, and then given to invalids, by which means a magnetic communication was created. This was often done to allay spasms, pain, or fever.

"Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" (Jer. xxiii. 29).

"Healing by words, that is by the direct expression of the mental power," says Van Helmont, "was common in the early ages, particularly in the church, and not only used against the devil and magic arts, but also against all diseases. As it commenced in Christ, so will it continue for ever." (Operatio sanandi a primordio fuit in ecclesia per verba, ritus, exorcismos, aquam, panem, salem, herbas, idque nedum contra diabolos et effectus magicos, sed et morbos omnes. Opera omnia, de virtute magna verborum et rerum, p. 753). Not only did the early Christians heal by words, but the old magicians performed their wonders by magic formulas. "Many cures," says the Zendavesta, "are performed by herbs and trees, others by water, and again others by words; for it is by means of the divine word that the sick are the most surely healed." The Egyptians also believed in the magic power of words. Plotin cured Porphyrius, who lay dangerously ill in Sicily, by wonder-working words; and the latter healed the sick by words, and cast out the devil by exorcism. The Greeks were also well acquainted with the power of words, and give frequent testimony of this knowledge in their poems; in the oracles, exhortation and prayer were universal. Orpheus calmed the storm by his song; and Ulysses stopped the bleeding of wounds by the use of certain words. Among the Greeks, healing by words was so common that in Athens it was strictly forbidden. A woman was even stoned for using them, as they said that the gods had given healing virtues to stones, plants, and animals, but not to words (Leonard. Varius de fascino, Paris, 1587, lib. ii. p. 147). Cato is said to have cured sprains by certain words. According to Pliny, he did not alone use the barbaric words "motas, daries, dardaries, astaries," but also a green branch, four or five feet long, which he split in two, and caused to be held over the injured limb by two men. Marcus Varro, it is said, cured tumours by words. Servilius Novianus cured affections of the eyes by causing

an inscription to be worn suspended round the neck, consisting of the letters *A* and *Z*; but the greatest celebrity was gained by Serenus Sammonicus by his wonder-working hieroglyphics. They were supposed to be a certain cure for fever, and were in the subjoined form:—

A B R A C A D A B R A
B R A C A D A B R
R A C A D A B
A C A D A
C A D
A

Talismans were inscribed with various signs; and many customs still in use in the East originate from them. Angerius Fererius, in his "Vera medendi methodus, lib. ii. c. ii. de homerica medicatione," speaks very plainly on this subject: "Songs and characters have not alone this power: it exists also in a believing mind, which is produced in the unlearned by the help of visible signs, and in the learned by an acknowledged and peculiar influence." (Non sunt carmina, non characteres, qui talia possunt, sed vis animi confidentis, et cum patiente concordis, ut doctissime a poeta dictum sit:

> Nos habitat, non Tartara, sed nec sidera cœli;
> Spiritus in nobis qui viget, illa facit.

Doctis et rerum intelligentiam habentibus, nihil opus est externis, sed cognita vi animi, per eam miracula edere possunt. Indoctus ergo animus, hoc est, suæ potestatis et naturæ inscius, per externa illa confirmatus, morbos curare poterit. Doctus vero et sibi constans, solo verbo sanabit; aut ut simul intactum animum afficiat, externa quoque assumet.)

The living Word, which illuminated mankind through Christ, showed its divine power over disease; and the true followers of Christ can perform wonders by the power of his word. "Etenim sanatio in Christo Domino incœpit," says Helmont, "per apostolos continuavit et modo est, atque perennis permanet."—Our Lord said to the sick man, Arise and walk; and he arose and went his way: open thine eyes; and he saw: take up thy bed and walk; and he stood

up; Lazarus, come forth! and he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes, and his face was bound about with a napkin, &c. But what is this word, which is sharper than a two-edged sword? It is the Divine spirit, which is ever present, ever active; it is the Divine breath which inspires man. In all ages, and in every nation, there have been men who possessed miraculous powers; but they were inspired by religion—turned towards God in prayer and unity, The Almighty sees the heart of the supplicant, and not alone their words; he sees the belief and intention, and not the rank or education.

Even the pious heathens prayed to God; and their peculiar worship maintained the connection, and brought about a still closer union, between individuals and God, and enabled them, in some measure, to pierce the veil of ignorance and darkness. And the pious heathen endeavoured with all his energies to raise himself to a more intimate relation with God, and, therefore, a peculiar force lay in the means employed; and what could be more powerful than prayer? and God, in his comprehensive love and affection, would not leave these supplicants unanswered.

It would be superfluous to enumerate many instances of the efficacy of prayer, as exemplified in pious and believing men, which we might meet with in all ages, and among all nations. In later times many are well known. I shall, however, mention one, which appears to me the clearest and least doubtful. Kiersen relates as follows: "I knew a seer who gained a power of foretelling the future by prayer during the night on a mountain, where he was accustomed to lie on his face; and he used this power for the assistance of the sick in the most unpretending manner. His visions are partly prosaic, partly poetical, and have reference not only to sickness, but also to other important, and even political, events, so that he has much resemblance to the prophets of the Old Testament."

For those to whom the universe is a piece of clockwork, or a perpetual motion, which continues moving for ever of its own accord—to whom the everlasting power and wisdom and love in eternity and nature is as nothing, prayer and supplication must seem objectless and insipid; but they will never be able to perform the works of the soul. To

these, the magical effects are just as inexplicable (and, therefore, untrue) as the magical phenomena are unknown. But, with all their knowledge and wisdom of the world, nature will ever remain to them a mystery.

This is not the place to enter more fully into this subject; but it may not be superfluous to remember that in every word there is a magical influence, and that each word is in itself the breath of the internal and moving spirit. A word of love, of comfort, of promise, is able to strengthen the timid, the weak, or the physically ill; but words of hatred, censure, enmity, or menace, lower our confidence and self-reliance. How easily the worldling, who rejoices under good fortune, is cast down under adversity, and despair only enters where religion is not—where the mind has no inward and divine comforter. But there is, probably, no one who is proof against curse or blessing.

FOURTH SECTION.

THEORETICAL VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF MAGIC AMONG THE ANCIENTS IN GENERAL.

According to the investigations of G. Naudé (Apologie pour toutes les grandes personnages qui ont êté faussement soupçonnées de Magie, à la Haye, 1653,) magic was very early divided into four classes :—

1, Natural; 2, White Magic—Theurgy of the angels and good spirits; 3, the Black Art; and 4, Divine Magic. But it was not unfrequently the case that these classes were confounded, and that persons were accused of sorcery who often were merely politicians; as was the case in Greece, where legislators declared that they received their laws from the gods, for the purpose of causing their readier acceptance. It was thus that Trismegistus announced his laws as given by Mercury; Zamolais, by Vesta; Charondas, by Saturn; Minos, by Jupiter; Lycurgus, by Apollo; Draco and Solon, by Minerva; Numa Pompilius, by the Nymph Egiera; and Mahomet, as given by the angel Gabriel. Certain theories and doctrines were also occasionally classed with Magic which had, in fact, no connection whatever with it,—as for instance, the theories of Anaxagoras, particularly that of the ellipses;—even Plato, as he himself writes to Dionysius, was obliged to bring forward his views under a false name, that he might not be made responsible for them; and Socrates died because his differed from the generally accepted philosophy.

There were many other causes which would confuse the idea of magic, and bring the system into discredit; the heathenish doctrines, enmities, ignorance, superstition, scepticism, and the premature judgments of shallow authors. Magic, therefore, was classed with paganism, because some of its professors were heathens, or were considered to be such: as Simon Magus, Menander, Marcus, Valentinian, Carpocrates, Priscillian, Berengatius, Hermogenes; or because the magic arts followed in the footsteps of Heathen-

ism, as, after the Arians, in Spain, the devil was visibly seen to torment men. Apulejus was accused of magic through the enmity of his wife's parents. The Maid of Orleans was charged with sorcery by the English, who had been conquered by her bravery and enthusiasm. Ignorance and prejudice were great among the Greeks, still more so among the Romans, and in the Middle Ages rose to the highest pitch, and carried with them a superstitious belief in marvels and omens,—for instance, that certain people could make hail- and thunder-storms at will, and that others could sail in ships through the air, for the purpose of collecting the treasures which had flown up among the clouds; and so deeply was this rooted in the mind of the people, that in 833, Agobert, the Bishop of Lyons, had the greatest difficulty in rescuing, from the fury of the mob, three men and a woman, who were supposed to have fallen to the earth from such a ship. Lastly, we would observe, how much easier it is to defame and blacken certain authors, than to understand their true and intended meaning.

The first magician, who is recorded as such, and who gave distinct teachings on the subject of magic, is Zoroaster. The genius of Socrates, of Plotin, Porphyrius, and Iamblychus, of Chicus and Scaliger, and Cardanus, is then placed in the first rank, which included inward (magic) sight, and the motives of unusual appearances. The dream was regarded as an universally natural gift, as a brother of death, teaching us more of that unfettered vision and action which we shall possess in the last sleep, when all these bolts and bars are withdrawn, which in sleep are but loosened.

> "In somnis ignota prius mysteria disco,
> Multaque me vigilem quae latuere, scio.
> Quanto plus igitur scirem, si mortuus essem,
> Tam bene quam docuit mortis imago loqui."

The views of the ancients on dreams will be found *in extenso* in "Dissertatio de somnis, Halæ, 1758," by D. L. Schulze.

The views respecting divination and dreams, among the Greeks and Romans, are clearly set forth by Cicero in "De divinatio et de natura deorum." Plutarch and Pliny have also communicated numerous particulars, from the olden philosophers, respecting divinatory mania; ecstasy, which

we shall notice more minutely at a later time, only giving a few general particulars in advance. Cicero mentions two species of divination, artificial and natural; he remarks that in the human mind a divine principle exists, shewing itself in every nation; in dreams; in sickness before death, and occasionally at other and unusual times. (Divino afflatu, Tuscul. I. 24, 27.) Socrates and Antipater collected almost every interesting particular respecting this subject.

The explanation of a seeming contradiction, namely, foretelling the future, is explained by Cicero in this manner:—that it is not concerning something which has no existence, but only of that which is not yet revealed; for everything exists, although the time has not yet arrived to unfold it, "sunt enim omnia, sed tempore ab sunt." As the dormant vitality lies hidden in the seed, so does the future lie concealed in its causes; and this future is, therefore, seen by the unfettered soul in sleep or when roused by other influences, or reason and experience draw conclusions. Cicero then extracts copiously from the various ancient philosophers on this subject.

"According to Posidonius," says Cicero, "man dreams in a threefold manner by divine impulse: firstly, the soul sees the future through its relationship to the gods; secondly, the air is full of immortal spirits, in whom, as it were, the signs of truth are impressed; thirdly, the gods themselves converse with the sleeper; and this is of more frequent occurrence when death approaches, so that the soul beholds the future."

Cratippus: The souls of men are, on one side, entirely of a divine nature, by which we understand that the soul, besides its divine portion, also possesses one which is entirely human. The earthy part which maintains the senses, motion and appetite, is not to be separated from the activity of the body; and that portion with which reason and reflection are connected is then most active and powerful when it is separated and uninfluenced by the body."

Chrysippus explains soothsaying in the following manner. There is a power which understands and explains the signs of all things, lent to man by the gods. By the means of soothsaying, we perceive the feelings of the gods towards man; the signs they give us; how they are to be made favourable to us, and in what manner we may conciliate them. The same may be said of dreams."

Pythagoras considers the conscious portion of the soul to

be endowed with a very subtle substance (Ether), which he calls the stomach of the soul; and which is the communicating medium between both natures,—namely, the spiritual and material. He considered this intermediary substance to be of the nature of light, which, when once set in motion by the reasoning faculties of the soul, could spread itself through the whole universe.

Democritos: From all visible things, reflections—*εἴδωλα*—are continually proceeding, and are of divine origin. The great unity of created things is impressed upon these pictures, and it is from the mixing and contact of these ideas that our thoughts arise. These reflections are not considered, by Cicero, as unsubstantial forms, but, as Democritos says, reasoning agencies, formed of the purest atoms; who resemble man in appearance, inhabit the air, and appear during darkness to reveal hidden things to man.

I have already mentioned that Heraclitus supposes that the senses of the soul are related to the *περιέχον* of the celestial ether. According to him, the distinction between sleeping and waking is, that when awake, the divine portion of the soul—*ἀναδυμίασις*—is not alone drawn in from the *περιέχον* by the act of respiration, but also by the senses of smell and sight; while, on the contrary, during sleep, the connection with the celestial ether is alone maintained by the breathing; thus only a dim light is created, which man beholds during his dreams at night. This light is extinguished in death, when all activity of the senses expires.

It is remarkable that all the ancient philosophers, who visited India or Egypt, were much inclined to magic, and brought it forward, more or less prominently, in their teachings. First of all stands Pythagoras, then all his disciples, Empedocles, Democritos, Plato, and even among the Romans the Pythagoreans were reputed to be soothsayers. Publius Nigidius, called Figulus, a friend of Cicero, was considered to be a Pythagorean, because he was well skilled in arithmetic and astrology. Lation and Moderatus, of Cadiz, were firm defenders of the Pythagorean School; but Apollonius, of Thyana, was the most celebrated. On account of his remarkable cures and prophecies, the heathens erected a temple to his honour at Thyana, and contrasted him with Jesus Christ; and the Emperor Antonius Caracalla adored

him as a god, and dedicated a temple to his memory. Views, which have reference to this subject, are to be found in Hippocrates—De insomniis—"When the soul has been freed by sleep from the more material bondage of the body, it retires within itself, as into a haven, where it is safe against storms. It perceives and understands everything that is going on around it, and represents this condition, as it were, with various colours and forms, and explains, clearly, the condition of the body." In his third book, De vita, Hippocrates repeats this in these words:—"The soul sees everything that goes forward in the body, even with closed eyes."

"This property of the soul," says Scaliger, "has not only been recognised by the divine Galen, and other sages, as of great utility in medicine, but they also recognised it as of divine nature."

Galen makes use of almost the same expressions to explain the prophetic power of dreams as Hippocrates, and he says, "In sleep the soul retires into the innermost portion of itself, frees itself from all outward duties, and perceives everything that concerns either itself or the body." Galen also declares that he derived much of his knowledge from such nocturnal sources. That Galen possessed more than the usual knowledge of medicine, and that his inner sense often shone brightly, is clear from the fact, that he was able to foretell in a miraculous manner the future course and character of a disease. But this, according to Cicero, is human and not divine soothsaying, and may be compared to the soothsaying of Thales, Anaximander, and Pherecydes. This power of predetermination may certainly have been brought by Galen to a high degree of perfection by constant practice, but his predictions were at times of such peculiar accuracy, that one was led to conclude that they proceeded from his inward clearness of vision. For instance, he predicted to the Senator Sextus, then in perfect health, that upon the third day he would be seized with fever; that this fever would decrease upon the sixth,—it would abate; upon the fourteenth, return; and that upon the seventeenth he would entirely lose it through a violent sweat. He foretold, also, the whole course of a fever to the philosopher Eudemus. A young Roman lying sick of fever, the physicians wished to bleed him, but Galen declared this to be unnecessary, as he

would bleed from the left nostril: which occurred as he predicted, and the youth recovered.

Xenophon says, "Nothing resembles death more than sleep; but in sleep the human soul especially reveals her divine nature; she then looks into futurity, being freed from the bonds of the body.'

Aretæus (De signis et causis morbor. lib. ii. c. 1) expresses very much the same opinion:—"What sick persons think, see, and are acquainted with, is often very remarkable. Their whole nature appears perfected and purified, and their soul is capable of prophesying. At first they often feel their own death approaching; then they begin to tell those present future things, which are miraculously fulfilled; and, as the soul frees itself from the body, they often become wonderful soothsayers."—(Exutoque sordibus animo veracissimi vates quando oriuntur.)

Plutarch had very remarkable ideas concerning the system of divination; and he may possibly not be far from correct when he says, that it is not more wonderful that the mind should have the power of fortelling events, than that of remembering them; for if the soul experienced that which is not yet present, it would not be more wonderful than that it should remember that which is past. "Exactly opposite to *mantic*," he says, "is memory (*μνήμη*), that wonderful power of the soul, by means of which it retains the past; for that which has been seen exists no longer,—everything in the world,—actions, words, effects, arise and vanish, while time, like a mighty torrent, bears everything onward; but the memory of the soul seizes, I know not how, upon all this, and restores to it, although it no longer exists, the appearance and resemblance of reality: so that the memory is as it were an ear for silent and an eye for invisible things. It is, therefore, not surprising that the soul, which has so much power over that which no longer exists, should also include many things which are still in the future, but which have a great interest to the mind. For the whole striving of the soul tends to the future; with the past it has nothing to do, but as regards memory. However weak and powerless this natural property of the mind may be, it yet often happens that, as it were, a recollection blooms forth, and that the mind uses it in its dreams and its mysteries.

Euripides certainly says, he who can give good counsel is the best prophet; but he mistakes, for such a person is but a wise man; the prophetic power, on the contrary, *τὸ δὲ μαντικόν*, reaches the future without any conclusions drawn from experience. Plutarch denies, with great appearance of reason, that prophecy rests upon a calculation or upon given data. In this case it is a direct knowledge, as the soul penetrates to the principles of things, and participates in the Divine knowledge, "which knew all things even before the creation."—(Plut. mor.)

Plato and Aristotle both give us views concerning soothsaying. We have already seen that Plato supposes man to be possessed of an organ similar in construction to light, which, by its internal movements, produces the pictures of the imagination. For "a fire which does not burn, but diffuses a mild light, was created in the eye by the gods. When daylight and the light from the eyes unite, a substance is formed in the direction of the eyes. When, however, at night this light is no longer present, or, when the eyes are closed, all internal emotions are calmed and repressed. If, however, certain impressions have remained, at those points and in those directions where these impressions are, active images of the fancy will appear."

We have also heard from Plato of the advantages which soothsaying brought to mankind, and to the Greeks in particular.

Aristotle, who has left us a treatise on Dreams, expresses himself even more clearly, declaring that the organs of the senses are active during dreams. It is necessary to become acquainted with the general contents of his work—De divinatione per somnum—as it contains the most comprehensive and accurate views on dreams, but is still far from giving satisfactory psychological reasons for the higher phenomena of clairvoyance and soothsaying. "If dreams," he commences, which reveal the future, come from a divinity, how is it that they are not peculiar to wise or virtuous men? and how is it that they are a common heritage of humanity, more especially to those of the lower classes? At times people dream things which are unworthy of the gods; and Scaliger remarks that Aristotle intends to say that the soul of the idiot is only externally senseless, but internally knows all things. Aristotle, however, gives his own psychological explanation of

this subject. "Common people," he observes, "are less occupied with business and cares, and their souls are thus less disturbed by varied thoughts, remaining, nevertheless, impressible to outward influences,and follow the course to which they are directed: even idiots may therefore look into futurity."

With regard to visions in sleep, these are frequently accidental, occasioned by the labour of the day, and sometimes by the internal condition of the body itself. External impressions operate in sleep, whilst the external senses repose, much more powerfully than in a waking condition: for instance, a slight noise will be regarded as thunder, and, from a sensation of warmth in any portion of the body, the sleeper will dream of coming in contact with hot coals. This is owing to two reasons: the one the external objects, the other sleep itself. At night the air is generally calmer, and therefore renders the slightest sound perceptible, and in sleep, whilst the outward senses repose, the soul is possessed of a redoubled strength and activity, upon which the slightest impression acts."

Aristotle further believes that "the impressions come from external objects through a peculiar emotion, and rejects, therefore, the idole of Democritus, which exist in the air, and from thence excite the imagination." There are also certain clear dreams and presentiments by which friends and acquaintances, even from a great distance, make themselves known and perceived. There are also persons who, falling into an ecstatic state whilst all external sense is inactive, predict the future. In melancholy temperaments this depends upon the impetuosity of their moods. We must not be astonished if all does not fall out as predicted; because in omens, by sacrifice and the heavens. this is frequently the case; unforeseen circumstances occurring which derange the natural order of things, and that does not happen which ought to happen."

In his further philosophical deduction Aristotle remarks, in a highly instructive manner, "It is, in the next place, necessary for us to ascertain in what portion of the soul dreams appear,—whether they are the product of the reflective faculties *νοητικόν*, or of the senses *αισθητικόν*; for only by this means can we become acquainted with what occurs in ourselves. If the functions of the senses are hearing, seeing, smelling, and people in sleep cannot see with their

closed eyes, it is certainly not through external senses that the mind is influenced. In dreams we do not perceive by the external senses (αἴσθησις), and equally as little by the imagination (δόξα); for we say of objects which we encounter, not only simply, for example, that it was a man, a horse, as it may be, but also that the horse is white and the man is handsome, which the imagination, without the perception of the senses, could not declare whether with truth or falsehood.

"In dreams a man will be aware of another as in his waking condition, as may be proved by his recalling his dream upon waking. Many other dreams are simply an arrangement of past circumstances preserved by the memory. And in these cases it often happens that there is another imaginary picture besides the dream.

"In any case may the power of imagination and the perceptive faculty of the soul be either one or the other, but in neither case is the former entirely without perception and sensibility; for false vision and false hearing belong to him who both sees and hears, but not that which he believes."

Yet in sleep, according to the foregoing arguments, external objects are neither heard nor seen, nor yet is anything tangible. Thus it would be true that we perceive no definite external object, and it would be untrue that the senses are in no way affected; for each sense acts in sleep as well as in waking, but in a different manner. Sometimes it appears false in representation, as in waking; sometimes also it is no longer free, and follows the fancy. Thus it is to be concluded that the dream is an effect of the perceptive faculty, for the animal has them in common with man. If, therefore, the power of imagination and the sentient faculty are in the same category as the fancy, although differing in nature,—if, further, imagination is an emotion caused by the energy of the senses, and dreams appear to be mere pictures of the fancy,—it is evident that dreaming is an affair of the senses, in so far as the organ of imagination and the senses have anything in common.

Aristotle's views regarding the origin of dreams are excellent. The action of objects upon the senses endures not only whilst the impression is being made, but frequently afterwards, as in the case with motion; for a thing can continue in motion after the motive power is removed. Thus,

when our eyes wander from gazing at the sun, into darkness, they perceive nothing, owing to the excitement which the strong light has produced in the eyes; also when we have gazed long at one particular colour, white or green, everything at which we look assumes the colour of white or green; and thus, after sharp and loud noises, people will become deaf, and lose their correct sense of smell after smelling keen odours. All senses, therefore, have their suffering as well as their activity. Thus we perceive that frequently, although the exciting object is removed, the excitement remains. And that persons err in their perception of objects frequently through these passions we also know, so that the timorous man will, from the slightest resemblance, imagine that he sees his foe, and the lover imagine he sees his mistress; and the more excitable the individual, the oftener does he err. Delirious persons thus will perceive animals in lines and markings upon the walls which may chance to bear a distant resemblance to the forms of such animals —recognising their error when the fever decreases, and again being tortured by their delusion when the fever returns. The origin of the error is, that the ruling power, and that in which the phantoms mirror themselves, are not equal. Thus we perceive that external objects affect the sleeping senses, but that this effect ceases when the mind is in the state of wakeful activity, even as a small light is extinguished in the presence of a greater. In a state of quiescence, however, this smaller light again arises, for the mind, then no longer influenced by outward objects, is as it were turned inward upon itself; and the passions, possessing in themselves a great power of agitation, are productive of distorted visions and distorted dreams, as in the case of hypochondriacs, delirious patients, and drunkards; but when the fevered blood resumes its natural course, the senses return to their normal condition, and are capable of accurate discrimination.

It becomes evident that fantastic excitement exists in the senses during sleep if we only recall on waking what has seemed to occur during sleep, for our waking senses become evidences of the imaginings of our sleep. Many young persons perceive, with open eyes, moving forms in the darkness, which occasion terror to them. Hence we must con-

clude that an object presented to the senses in sleep becomes a dream, for the phantasms we have spoken of are as little dreams as real existences. It frequently happens that light, sound, and movement are perceived, but only faintly, as if distant: thus in sleep the light of the night-lamp will be faintly perceived, but on waking will be recognised for that which it is; so also the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, and other sounds. Some people even answer when spoken to. Thus the sleeping and waking state may both exist together, though imperfectly. Occasionally, but rarely, persons may be met with who have had no experience of dreams at all; with others dreaming increases with age; this may arise from the same causes which prevent dreaming after meals, or in childhood; the brains of these persons being, as it were, in a state of mistiness, and hence not susceptible of dreams.

Until the middle ages, and especially until the time of Paracelsus, do we nowhere find such just psychological views regarding the creative faculty of the imagination as in Aristotle. The Arabian Averroes, however, appears to have had a just appreciation of this subject, and in many subjects to have held views similar to those of Aristotle. He regards the subject, however, rather from the natural than the psychological point of view, whilst Paracelsus did exactly the contrary.

The Greeks and Romans appear not to have arrived at so profound a conception of the higher purposes of magic as the Orientals; and the whole of their knowledge appears to be comprised in what Cicero has written on the subject. Beyond the extracts which we have already made from Cicero, his observations on magical soothsaying may be summed up as follows:—

"The soul being impelled of its own free will, and without knowledge and premeditation, in two manners—the ecstatic and the dreamy—the ancients were of opinion that the ecstatic prophetic power was especially contained in the Sibylline verses, and chose, therefore, ten interpreters, regarding it as useful to listen to these ecstatic prophecies, as was the case in the Octavian war. In my opinion, the ancients have been influenced in the acceptation of such things by other causes than these. Certain examples have

been collected from the philosophers to prove wherefore these predictions should be true; one of the oldest, however,—Xenophanes of Colophon—although he acknowledged the gods, entirely denied prediction. The others, however, with the exception of Epicurus, have acknowledged a power of divination, although not all in the same degree. Thus Socrates and his disciples, and Zeno and those who followed him, held the opinion of the old philosophers, with the assenting belief of the older academics and peripatetics; and Pythagoras, who himself desired to be considered an augur, has given great weight to the subject; and Democratus has supported the belief in fore-knowledge of the future; and Dicearchus, denying other means of prophecy, has nevertheless retained dreams and ecstasies; and our friend Cratippus, whom I respect as the first of Peripatetics, yields credence to these things though he rejects other descriptions of soothsaying.."

In the course of the conversation, Quintus maintains that the difficulties in explaining prediction prove nothing against it; and he expresses himself warmly against those persons who will explain all things by chance.

"I agree with those," pursues Quintus, "who acknowledge two species of divination—an artificial and a natural divination. To the natural species belong oracles; not those pronounced by lot, but those spoken with a divine inspiration."

Quintus then, having granted that many oracles may be false, treats at large upon dreams: several prophetic ones he relates. For example, the dream of the mother of Phalaris; of King Cyrus; the symbolic dream of Hannibal, in which Jupiter in the assembly of gods spoke to him and commanded him to make war upon Italy; various dreams of the philosophers,—among them the dream of Socrates, in which a beautiful woman addressed to him the line of Homer—"After three days wilt thou arrive at the shadowy Phthia"—his home; and so it was. Much, however, is false in dreams—or perhaps only dark to us. But if much is true, what do we say to the true? "There is, also," pursues he, "an endowment from the gods of the power of pre-vision; and when this burns fiercely it is pronounced madness—ecstasy."

The two species of oracle and dreams spring from a common origin, which our Cratippus thus explains. Man, says he, receives his soul from a superior source; whereby we recognise that a divine soul exists from which the human soul is derived. The portion of the soul which is possessed of sensation, motion, and desire, is dependent upon the body; and the portion belonging to reason and understanding is most powerful when it is least connected with the body. Cratippus, after having brought forward various examples of true divination and dreams, thus concludes:—"If without the eye sight cannot be possessed, yet with the eye there may be error, then is everyone who by the eye has become conscious of truth, possessed of an instrument whereby to see the truth. In the same manner, if the office and business of prophecy cannot be performed without the gift of prophecy, yet notwithstanding that the prophet may sometimes prophesy falsely, it is sufficient for the establishment of his prophet-power that he shall have once prophesied truly. But innumerable are such examples; therefore the existence of the powers of divination must be conceded. But whence comes all this? thou enquirest. Very good—but that is not now the question. The question now is whether it exists or not. If I said that there is a magnet which attracts iron, but could not explain why it did so, wouldst thou deny the fact? We see it, and hear it, and read of it, and have inherited it from our fathers; before the beginning of philosophy—which is not so long ago—it was not doubted of in common life; and since philosophy has appeared, no philosopher has thought otherwise—at least, none worthy of esteem. I have spoken of Pythagoras, Democritus, of Socrates, and others."

Quintus having endeavoured to demonstrate the nature of artificial divination, speaking of the second kind of natural divination, says:—"This must be referred to the gods, from whom, according to the opinion of the first learned and wise men, we have our being. And since the universe is pervaded with one spirit—the divine spirit—human souls must necessarily be affected when they come into communion with the souls of the gods. The human soul, when awake, is held in thrall by the needs of life, and is removed from divine communion by the chains of the body.

There is a rare species of soul which withdraws itself from the body, and with zeal and labour seeks to raise itself to the knowledge of divine things. Thus the souls of men attain to natural power of divination when they are free and unclogged by the body, as is the case with inspired prophets, and sometimes even in sleep.

Thus the two following species of foreknowledge are recognised by Dicearchus, and cited by our Cratippus. Firstly, the souls of such who, despising the body, soar up into freedom, and, inflamed with a certain ardour, perceive in part those things which they have foretold. And there are various means by which such souls may be inflamed, for there are souls which may be inspired by certain tones and Phrygian music. Others are inspired by groves and woods; others by rivers and seas. I believe also that there are certain exhalations from the earth which are productive of the oracular spirit. Such is the condition of the seer; and the condition of the dreamer is very similar; for what occurs to the seer awake, occurs to us asleep. The soul is active in sleep, free of the senses and all the impediments of worldly care, the body lying as if dead. And having lived from eternity in intercourse with innumerable spirits, the soul compasses the whole of nature, and remains wakeful, if, by means of moderate indulgence in eating and drinking, it is in an undisturbed condition. Thus Plato advised people to fall asleep in such a manner that the soul should remain undisturbed. On the same account the Pythagoreans were forbidden to eat beans, as they are a flatulent food, and opposed to a calm, truth-seeking mood of mind. Then the body lies like the body of one dead, and the spirit lives, and will live yet more intensely when it shall have entirely quitted the body.

After Cicero, in the second book, has brought forward his arguments against auguries and omens, and has declared that he considers the views of the stoics—who believed in artificial soothsaying—as much too superstitious, he observes: "The views of the Peripatetics, of old Dicearchus, as well as of the now blooming Cratippus, suit me better. They believe that in the spirit of man dwells an oracle, by which the future may be perceived, either when the soul is excited

by divine inspiration, or when through sleep the soul expands herself unfettered."

The farther arguments brought forward against the Art of Divination in the course of Cicero's work, are rather directed against the then prevalent mode of interpretation than against the gift of divination and the power of the seer.

But before we proceed to a detailed history of different nations, it will not appear irrelevant to take a review of the earliest systems of philosophy, by which our attempts to explain magic may be aided.

In India and Egypt, in the earliest ages, God was imagined as the eternal spirit, origin, and ruler of the world, who, as the universal soul, penetrates, vitalises, and maintains all things; and of whom the human soul is a portion.—(Brucker, Historia philos. critica, T. i. p. 205.) The Brahmins have the same belief at the present day. Pythagoras, who studied in the Egyptian mysteries, had, according to Cicero (De natura deorum, lib. i. c. 2), a similar theory. He calls God the spirit permeating all portions of the world and all things, from whom all beings have their life. Zeno, the stoic, declared God to be the soul of the world, with which he forms a living, spherical being.

The stars were regarded as the habitations of God, and therefore declared to be divine by Pythagoras, Plato, Chalcidius, and others. Hence arose, with the spread of these views among the people, the worship of the stars under certain forms,—so that many venerated the sun as the centre and noblest part of the universe, and called him the king, and the moon queen of heaven; the other celestial bodies were regarded either as their followers, or as independent divine beings—as gods.

To indicate God's existence, the ancient sages of Asia and many Greeks adopted the emblem of pure fire or ether. (Aërem amplectitur immensus æther, qui constat ex altissimis ignibus: Cic. de natura deorum, lib. ii. c. 36. Cœlum ipsum stellasque collegens, omnisque siderea compago, æther vocatur; non ut quidam putant, quod ignitus sit, et incensus, sed quod cursibus rapidis semper rotetur: Apulejus de Mundo.) Pythagoras and Empedocles entertained similar theories (Brucker, l. c. T. i. p. 1113.) Permenides also represented God as an universal fire, which surrounded the

heavens with its circle of light and fire (Cicero de natura deor. lib. i. c. 11.) Hippasus, Heraclitus, and Hippocrates imagined God as a reasoning and immortal fire, which permeates all things (Cudworth, Systema intellectuale, p. 104; and Gesnerus de animis Hippocratis.) Plato and Aristotle departed but little from this in their teachings; and Democritus called God the reason or soul in a sphere of fire (Stobacus, Eclogæ physicæ, lib. vii. c. x.) Cleonithes considered the sun as the highest God (Büsching, Grundriss einer Geschichte der Philosophie, I. Th. p. 344.) We find, therefore, in the earliest ages, an Æther theory, by which many modern theorists endeavour to explain the phenomena of magnetism.

"Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see" (Timothy, vi. 16).

"For with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light" (Psalms, 38-9).

"Angels of light, the just, are as radiant as light; the light comes, and the glory; my right is the light of the nations; to be in light or in the living knowledge of Christ." "The Urim and Thummim. The light of wisdom, knowledge, illumination. And the earth shined with His glory."

This so-called system of emanation did not refer alone to the religious teachings and cosmology of the ancient nations of Asia and Egypt, but their whole philosophy was spiritual. Besides the Indian doctrines of the Zendavesta, in which Zoroaster's words regarding God, world, nature, and mankind, are contained, and the Oupnechat, the ancient Egyptian teachings agree with it; the Cabbalah; the Pythagoreans and Platonists, and the Alexandrians; the learned fathers of the Church, Origenes and Silesius; then the later Theosophists; the philosophi per ignem,—as Paracelsus, Adam von Boden, Jacob Gohorri; and, in the seventeenth century, Robert Fludd, Jacob Böhme, Poiret, Maxwell, Wirdig, Pordage, &c.,—all hold, with various modifications, this system of spiritual emanation. The Egyptians believed chaotic night a matter to be eternal with God. The new Platonists were of the opinion that nature or the world proceeded from God, as rays of light from the sun, and therefore of later origin than God—not according to time, but

nature. Others have imagined matter had always been in God, but, at a certain time, had proceeded from him and become formed.

The most ancient writing now extant upon the world-soul, and the nature of things, is ascribed to Timæus of Locris. The principles of the Timæan doctrine are much as follows, according to Büsching :—

"God shaped the eternal unformed matter by imparting to it His being. The inseparable united itself with the separable; the unvarying with the variable; and, moreover, in the harmonic conditions of the Pythagorean system. To comprehend all things better, infinite space was imagined as divided into three portions, which are,—the centre, the circumference, and the intermediate space. The centre is most distant from the highest God, who inhabits the circumference; the space between the two contains the celestial spheres. When God descended to impart His being, the emanations from Him penetrated the whole of heaven, and filled the same with imperishable bodies. Its power decreased with the distance from the source, and lost itself gradually in our world in minute portions, over which matter was still dominant. From this proceeds the continuous change of being and decay below the moon, where the power of matter predominates; from this, also, arise the circular movements of the heavens and the earth, the various rapidities of the stars, and the peculiar motion of the planets. By the union of God with matter, a third being was created, namely, the world-soul, which vitalizes and regulates all things, and occupies the space between the centre and the circumference."

A further description is to be met with in Brucker and Batteux (Histoire des causes premières).

This Timæan doctrine was afterwards defended with more or less acuteness and subtlety by Ocellus Lucanus, upon the origin of all things; Plato in his Timæus; Aristotle in his letters, upon the system of the world, to Alexander the Great, &c.

Modern philosophers have even admitted and described this world-soul in various manners, but without imagining it to be God. Thus Descartes considered space to be filled by a fluid matter, which he believed to be elementary and to

move in circles; he also believed it to be the source and germ of all things which surround the world and impel it onwards —(a species, therefore, of magnetic fluid.) Malebranche, Father Kircher, Huyghens, Leibnitz, Bernoulli, &c., entertained similar ideas. Search describes it as a spiritual being, filling the whole material world, and permeating its minutest space; as the first principle of nature, which makes of the world an animal, dependent upon the highest being. We shall at a later period refer to Paracelsus and his successors.

Others, the so-called Dualists, considered matter as coeval with God; as in nature, matter and active power, as it were, mutually influencing each other, without being on that account either one and the same, or created at different times. Plato had a similar philosophical theory:—"There are two things, of which the one is power, the other matter; in each, however, both are contained." (De natura ita dicebant, ut eam dividerent in res duas, ut altera esset efficiens, altera autem quasi huic se præbens, eaque efficeretur aliquid. In eo quod efficeret, vim esse censebant; in eo quod efficeretur, materiam, in utroque tamen utrumque, &c. Cicero, Acad. quæst. l. i. sect. 24.) Zeno believed in two primary causes of things, passive matter and an active reason contained in matter, or God, who always is, and produces all things from matter. He describes God as æther, or fire, or the reason which permeates all things. God is the world-soul, and forms, in conjunction with the world, a living (spherical) being. The whole world and the heavens are the substance of God.—To others, the Materialists, the sole being and the cause of all phenomena, &c., is matter.

Materialism, at least in its most refined form, was current among the Egyptians. Their eternal matter, night, was to them æther—the material God. Orpheus, Musæus, and Hesiod, have, in their descriptions of natural objects, called matter night or chaos, and traced the origin of all things to its activity (Gesner's edition of the Works of Orpheus, p. 118.)

"Canam noctem, deorum pariter atque hominem genetricem; nox origo rerum omnium."

The opinions of philosophers concerning matter were, however, very various. Some denied to it all properties,

action, or forms; others saw properties and forms in it. The form was either one like the four elements and their variations, differing only in density or rarity; or they assumed that matter had more than one form, and to consist of minute indestructible particles,—that is, atoms. Strato, of Lampsacus, was of opinion that nothing else was necessary to the formation of the world from eternal matter than its hidden nature, with its peculiar motive and creative powers (Cicero, Acad. quæst. lib. ii. sect. 121.) Leucippus believed that the atoms themselves moved; and Democritus taught that they moved in infinite space unceasingly and perpendicularly downwards, where they came in contact with each other, and either united or were repulsed; and from which all things arise and decay. Epicurus held similar theories, which only differed in the details. The Stoic Zeno ascribed reason to the finest matter, or æther, from which all things are created,—being equal with God, whom he represented as an active fire. But, as he held nothing to be spiritual, so was God also corporeal, though of extraordinary purity compared to all other things, Other explanatory theories departed very much from these and from each other. So, for instance, the infinite chaos of Orpheus, which became an egg, and which the Peripatetics explained by saying that Orpheus meant night, existed before all things—even before God. The Pythagoreans and Platonists, however, explained it as meaning that Orpheus placed God first, who created the world from night. Jablonski (De mysteriis Ægyptiorum) believes that Orpheus derived his idea of the egg from the Egyptians, and maintains the meaning of Orpheus to have been, that God, being united throughout all time with matter in an infinite chaos, had formed chaos into the shape of an egg, and then developed His creative power.

From this brief enumeration of the most ancient views, we see that the modern theories have already long existed, and that the material explanation of the magnetic phenomena which has been propounded in our times is not new.

The other theories regarding the soul and the body, and the reciprocal influence of sympathy and antipathy, &c., are of great importance to magnetism; it is, therefore, worth while to see what history says upon this subject.

Dicæarchus introduces Pherecrates speaking, who con-

sidered the soul to be an empty word, as nothing, and all the sentient and active powers as corporeal (Cicero, Tusc. quæst. lib. i. sect. 21.—"Nihil esse omnino animum, et hoc esse totum nomen inane, neque in homine inesse animum, etc.")

Seneca admits unhesitatingly that no one knew what the soul really was (Natural. quæst. lib. vii. c. 24); and Bonnet says the same (Analytical Investigation upon the Powers of the Soul)—"We know as little what is an idea in the soul as the soul itself."

On the contrary, Hayer maintains (La spiritualité et immortalité de l'âme, T. ii. p. 76), that we have of nothing so clear a perception as of our souls, and that this is even the foundation of all knowledge.

St. Macarius, in the ninth century, and Averrhoes admitted that but one soul existed in man (Büsching, p. 803).

The ancient Greeks believed a double soul to exist in all men—even a threefold one; that man had an animal (anima bruta) and a divine soul (divina). Even in Homer we find traces of this (Iliad, lib. v. 192, 193; Odyss. lib. ψ, v. 14) The divine soul is called by him *νοῦς*, also *φρήν-φρένες*, the pit of the stomach, because even then the belief was common that the seat of the soul was in the stomach. The animal soul is called *θύμος*.

Diogenes Laertius (De vitis, dogmat. et apophthegmat. clar. viror. lib. viii. segm. 30) writes:—"Pythagoras and Plato gave two portions to the soul, one reasoning—*λόγον*—and one unreasoning—*ἄλογον*—or, to speak more correctly, three, for they divided the unreasoning into the *θυμικον* and *ἐπι-θυμικόν*. It is remarkable that the poet-king speaks of the soul in the pit of the stomach; so that even in the earliest ages the transposition of consciousness had been remarked, by which, as the Hindoos knew, the somnambulists see and hear through the pit of the stomach. Van Helmont at a later period transposed the seat of his Archæus entirely to the pit of the stomach; and in the year 1752 a Portuguese and several French physicians maintained that the soul is situated there (Hamburgh Medical Magazine, part viii. p. 647; and part x. p. 801).

Empedocles believed all men and animals to possess two

souls; and Aristotle distinguishes the reasoning soul—νοῦς—from the animal—ψυχή. The reasoning soul comes from without the soul, and is similar in nature to the stars, for it is a portion of the fifth element, or the fine, igneous, ethereal nature which is spread throughout the universe.

The soul as a substance was now regarded as something different to matter,—as absolutely spiritual or material. For it was disputed whether the soul were different to matter, or whether of such a fine nature that it could not be perceived by the senses. Aristotle even regarded the reasoning portion of the soul to be material, for the fine ethereal astral nature was by him called a fifth element. Epicurus taught that the soul is of a fine, tender body, which has been created from the finest, smoothest, and roundest atoms. The Stoics, who believed the whole world to be merely formed of material portions, excepted the soul, as well as God (the Ether), from this corporeal nature; they considered the soul to be detached portions of God—the purest ether. The ancient fathers of the church, Irenæus, Tertullian, Arnobius, Methodius, &c., are of the opinion that the soul is corporeal, but of a very fine nature, like ether. Hobbes and Spinoza also believed the soul to be corporeal. The opposite theories of the purely spiritual being have been exhibited by the Spiritualists, the defenders of the world-soul, the Cabbalists, and Theosophists, as we have already seen.

Whence comes the soul? We have already seen that most of the ancient philosophers derive the soul from the universal world-soul, particularly Timæus of Locris, Pythagoras, and Plato. Plato says, that God has laid the primary conception of all things in the human soul, and especially in the world-soul, of which it is a portion. The images are, however, obscured when it is placed in the dark cavern of the body;—that is the prison and the tomb of the soul. Heraclitus also believed all souls to have proceeded from the universal soul. The fathers of the church, Lactantius, Synesius, &c., believed the soul to be a part of the divine being; and the Theosophists called it a fire taken from the eternal ocean of light. Old and new philosophers were unanimous on the pre-existence of the soul, being

already created before this life; and Pythagoras appears to have been the first to maintain upon this belief that souls migrate from one body to another, until, purified by this metempsychosis, they are reunited with God as absolutely pure light. This pre-existence was also accepted by Socrates and Plato. In the creation, according to Plato, stars were appointed as habitations to the souls, and by degrees they were placed in human bodies. Those who lived pure lives returned to better stars, but the wicked migrated into lower animals, until all evil was overcome. Learning in this world, therefore, is not an acquiring of anything new, but merely a recalling to the memory of that which was once known. "There is, in fact," says Socrates (Phædon), "a regeneration and a being of the living from the dead, and an existence of the souls of the dead, and for the good a better existence, but for the wicked a miserable existence." "Even that," interrupts Coles, "agrees with the sentence, Socrates, which thou art accustomed to repeat, that our learning is but a remembrance, and that we must, therefore, necessarily have learned at an earlier period that which we remember, and that this would be impossible if our soul had not existed before it entered the human form; so that, according to this, the soul must be immortal."

The fathers of the church, especially Origenes, believed in the pre-existence.

Similar to this was the ancient oriental belief in the pre-existence of the human soul, which, fallen from a higher being, enters its earthly habitation as a life of penance. In modern times, Monro and Leibnitz have particularly defended the theory of pre-existence. The latter says, that God has created merely simple and imperishable substances; these he calls Monads, or, according to Aristotle, Entelechia, of which the most perfect are those of men; more imperfect are those of animals; and the lowest are the elements of bodies. According to him, the seed of all nations was already present in Adam. Those souls which become human in the course of time have before existed in another description of organized bodies. The more easily to explain hereditary sin, theologists state that the souls are imparted to the bodies of children by their parents (Thomasius, Disput. de origine animæ; Huetius in Origenianis, lib. i.

quæst. 6; H. Rosius in Vindiciis Augustinianis, c. iv. etc.) Another theory of the origin of the soul was, that God created a fresh soul with every conception, and implanted it in the child's body. This is disputed by the Latin and Greek fathers of the church; the Pelasgians, as opponents of the doctrine of hereditary sin; and some scholastics, who preferred believing in the reasoning soul of Aristotle. At a later period, Catholics and Protestants confessed the same.

Lastly, the seat of the soul has been disputed. The Platonists, especially of Alexandria, taught that the power of the soul is equal in every part of the body; but it may be said that it must work there, where the instrument takes its commencement—that is, in the sense of consciousness of the brain;—indisputably one of the most correct views. Parmenides, Epicurus, and Lucretius, placed the seat of the soul in the breast. Diogenes Apolloniates believed the soul to inhabit the aorta of the heart (Plutarch de placitis philosophor. lib. iv. c. 5). Hippocrates and Ansonius placed the reasoning portion of the soul in the heart itself (Hippocr. de corde: "Mens in sinistro cordis ventriculo insita est," &c.) According to Plutarch, some have regarded the heart as the seat of the soul; others the pericardium. Many ancient physicians and philosophers have looked upon the præcordia—φρένες—or even the diaphragm, as containing the reasoning soul; of the latter they already knew that it possesses a peculiar sensitiveness with the pia mater. Empedocles sought for the soul in the substance of the blood, as did even Moses and the Jews. Plato and Democritus held the whole body to be the residence of the soul. Strato placed it between the eyebrows; and Van Helmont states that the vital spirit (aura vitalis, archeus) is particularly active in the region of the stomach, especially when the other outward senses are at rest. He was acquainted with the magnetic transposition of the poles, or the increased activity of the inward senses of the region of the stomach, in somnambulic phenomena, and believed the real seat of the vital power and of animal heat to be there. Others accepted the brain generally as the exclusive habitation of the soul; others, again, portions of it. Thus Descartes placed it in the pineal gland; others, in the roots of the nerves; others, like Sömmering, in the cavities of the brain. There were, also, contradictory opinions upon the

reciprocal influence of the body and the soul, as is the case at the present day. The materialists gave the predominating power to the body; the spiritualists, on the contrary, to the soul. Thus Epicurus believed that the soul would neither be active nor passive, if it were not material. Anaxagoras first speaks of a reasoning being, giving order and motion to the body. Pythagoras symbolised the soul by a numeral, which moved itself, and, at the same time, the body. Aristotle also regarded the soul as the cause of motion in the body, which in return influenced the soul. Upon this reciprocal influence the system of Aristotle was founded—Systema influxus physici—by means of which the soul of man produces movement in the body, and ideas in the imagination. It was admitted that no one could explain how this took place, but that it sufficed to know that motion in the body was consequent upon previous mental activity, and that sensations in the soul were produced by the influence of the body. The primary principle of life is now that which it has always been—an unknown something—called by the Greeks *την δύναμιν ἀρρητόν*; by the Romans, qualitas occulta infunda; and by the Hebrews, the divine instrument. Later, theories of harmony, sympathy, and magnetism, have been founded thereon, according to spiritual or material views, in which, however, that qualitas occulta has still remained as perfectly unknown as ever. The effects of that reciprocal influence, like those of magnetism, and of ancient magic, and the conditions connected with it, are by no means reduced to harmony in the various theories.

The Pythagoreans, and among them particularly Empedocles, in his great poem upon the Nature of Things, have traced the origin of all things to Monas—God, whose two principles were called friendship and enmity. Heraclitus and Hippasus taught that an universal war reigns in the world—a continuous enmity; and that all things are produced and governed by discord. Plato causes Pausanias to describe love as double—one celestial and the other common; and the physician Eriximachus, who completes that which his friend had commenced saying, understands thereby the two principles of nature, of which the first is the cause of all harmonic union, the second of all kinds of disunion and discord. According to this, says he, the dominion of

amor is not to be alone confined to the heart of man, but is spread throughout all animated bodies—through all productions of the earth, and throughout nature. Thus animal nature has its amor, and with this physic concerns itself. In music, by means of skilful combinations of dissimilar notes and spaces of time, harmony is produced. Both the arts of medicine and music must attempt to incline the various inclinations of men, or their double amor, to their purpose. Lastly, predictions also belong to the amor, by which men maintain their communion with the gods. It is destined to incite its better amor—that is, the regulated activity of the soul—to piety; and on the contrary, to repress all ungoverned inclinations, as the works of the evil amor. The beneficial results to the human race are effected by the better amor, and this gains the friendship of the gods for us. These teachings, upon which those of Pythagoras and Plato are founded, originate from a much more ancient wisdom, which we find expressed in the East; that the human soul, with its being and varied powers, is connected in a mysterious manner with nature; that the human soul is formed after the scheme of the universe (or rather, the universe after the soul), and that there is nothing in nature which does not touch an appropriate chord in the soul. But all the secret strings, with which the powers from above and below influence man, are but dimly perceived in the waking state. The especial realm of sympathy and antipathy is the wide realm of the mind, which in the waking state is dazzled by the activity of the outward sense, and the physical radiance of the sun, and only exists in a species of obscurity, so that it is not rightly conscious of its own conditions, and the secret communion which exists between itself and the great outward world. It is only in sleep, when the distraction of outward objects no longer exists, that the inward spiritual sun rises, and the invisible strings become more visible, which are stretched between the macro- and the microcosm. For the soul is, according to the simile chosen by Leibnitz, the mirror of the world, in which things far and near are reflected.

From this, and from innumerable other theories held in antiquity, we see that the whole of nature is united by a mysterious bond, and that all things in immeasurable space

are intimately connected with, and dependent upon each other, which mysterious bond the ancients called sympathy. Attraction and repulsion are but analogous expressions with friendship and enmity—expansion and contraction—sympathy and antipathy. In the whole kingdom of nature, the contrasts are visible, and in general so striking as to have been ever remarked not only in small but in great things. As in the atmosphere the unequal distribution of electricity produces changes in the weather, storms, and lightning, so are various powers active in fluids and in the metals and mineral substances,which manifest themselves in magnetic and electric attractions with the utmost variety of sympathy and antipathy. In the organic kingdom, these distinctions are still more manifested. Plants and animals are opponents ; by medicines and poisons the special sympathies and antipathies arise. The sympathies and antipathies are as strikingly manifested in the vegetable as in the animal kingdom. The enmity existing between the rue and the cabbage is well known, as well as that the vine bends aside when cabbages are grown near to it. The male and female palm wither, according to Kircher, if the two do not grow together. Animals, and, above all, man, perceive the most delicate and distant operations of nature through the nerves, their communicators of light : thus experiencing a reciprocal condition of sympathy and antipathy.

The universal bond of reciprocal influence is, according to the ancients, the atmosphere—the ether ; so that through it the influence of the stars upon earthly things, and especially upon man, takes place. For not only were the heavenly bodies perceived—not only were the revolutions upon the axes, and, with this, the centrifugal force admitted, but also the influence of the solar rays, without which the earth would be an eternal night—an unbroken sleep, without organic life of any description. It is elevating to discover that in the most ancient times man is regarded as the image of God, standing in unbroken communion with nature, not only with this earth, but with the whole of the universe. Still more, they even admitted the sympathetic and antipathetic relations of man with God, upon which the wisdom of modern

times has been silent. "If nature did not communicate with that high world, an influence from thence upon man would be impossible. The same Creator formed the earth and the universe, herbs and animals, according to one plan, and placed in the development of human souls, the germs of such perfection, that they are thereby enabled to reach the confines of a world which is invisible to the eyes; therefore is the soul of man spiritual, and not merely intellectual, because the harmony of the more perfect future finds an echo within him; and if already upon the earth, he does not purposely close his ears to the echo, it will render him superior to all outward considerations. It is elevating to the heart to recognise in magnetism the visible striving towards those confines of the earthly senses—towards those boundaries which surround man, and withhold him from straying into those spheres from whence all that he possesses has come down to him." (D. E. Bartel, Grundzüge einer Physiologie und Physik des animalischen Magnetismus, Frankfurt, 1812.)

The opposite of sympathy is antipathy—repulsion—and in man the manner of feeling and acting differently, for the minds and conditions of temperature coming in contact in man are exactly similar to the magnetic poles. That these contrasts of antipathy are much more clearly manifested in magical states was very early understood; and we perceive in magnetic appearances that antipathy is much more strikingly demonstrated than sympathy. The slightest discords in physical and psychological respects become evident, not only between persons unknown to each other—between unequal conditions of station and education, but also in persons acquainted with, and even related to, each other. The extended strings of the mind in nervous fevers, or magnetic subjects, produce such a sensitive condition that not only the motion of the pulse but also the variations of the mind affect them, which is never perceived in the usual state, unless there is a predominant irritability, or a certain idiosyncrasy. Those who have never had anything to do with such persons consider all this to be folly and affectation, and dispute them as much as the magical wonders, which were as well known in antiquity as the present magnetic appearances. But as these do not know

anything of the harmony of the spheres, which "the Almighty God of Concord has arranged in social order, in the golden bands of rhythm," neither do they perceive the silent tones, and gentle breath, which is powerful in the weak, so that they are often carried away by the elevated song, and the inspiring harmony which all beings raise to God.

SECOND SECTION.

MAGNETISM AMONG THE ANCIENT NATIONS; ESPECIALLY THE ORIENTALS, EGYPTIANS, AND ISRAELITES.

IMAGO, MAGIA, MAGNES.

According to the observations previously made, the poetic-magical element repeats itself under many forms in the souls of individuals and nations, according to their innate national character. The revolutions of time and of peculiar individual existence produce only in outward appearance a varied manifestation in the most obscure and lowest barbarism, and in the most perverted activity of the world; while with the enlightenment of reason and morals the inward being is always and everywhere the same. For the objective is reflected upon the imagination and religious feeling, on all hands according to a common type of nature and the mind. In it the material takes the form of the supernatural; and the supernatural impresses itself upon the material through the imagination. Herein lies the broad realm of poetry, of the eternal magical imagination of the human soul, which is at home in two worlds—one spiritual and one material, and developes the elements of its activity either in itself or through external impulses. Everything, however, whether it come from its own interior, or from the external world, is but a reflected image—a phenomenon—not a being, a reality; but this semblance the imagination endeavours to represent as a reality. It is, therefore, not strange that man finds such delight in the creations of poetry and of his own ima-

gination; neither is it strange that he should always regard the mere semblance as a reality, and its own creations as beautiful, whether they contain truth or fallacy. To draw the distinction requires much experience in the outward world, and self-observation of individual spiritual activity. Where this is wanting, there is in nations, as in individuals, no real acknowledgment of the magical appearances, and their laws, to be found.

As we have seen that the religious feelings are the most profoundly rooted in the subjective mind, and the highest supernatural appears in poetic contemplation, so is it easily understood that the religious culture of individuals and nations is always the first—preceding all other human institutions; for poetry and the feelings find their full expression alone in religion. Faith is rooted in the religious feelings, and expresses itself in religious customs, while the creations of poetry receive their highest dignity as realities, as works of art, as it were, only through religion, which consecrates them as living, radiant truths, as poetry itself inspires the religious feeling with the divine grace. This is the origin of all arts; before science and the embodiment of the inward conceptions of the mind, in all its branches—architecture, music, and painting. Magic has also been consecrated with religion, as religious customs have everywhere contained something magical.

As the world extends itself in contrasts, so is time divided in its articulation threefold—creation, being, and decay of everything temporal: youth, maturity, age, are the developments of consecutive existence, which, in its various metamorphoses, always follows certain periods, epochs, and stages. By this the varieties of age are given, in which peculiar physiological and psychological phenomena and mutations take place according to fixed types. Thus the moments follow each other in time, as atoms are placed beside each other in space, and the law of the world's development is therefore nothing else than that the designs of the Eternal should be revealed in being. But as, temporally as well as materially, each single being is limited and finite, so is the development very confined, and is nowhere perfected. It often remains stationary at a certain point, or shows active powers only in certain directions, by which it appears neither to fill up nor

to pass over the normal stages. That which developed itself in the evolution often disappears with the involution, so that the purport is not manifested individually, but in the mass: this mass or generic comprehension, however, contains an endless past, present, and future, according to the extent of time. As regards, therefore, mankind, it will never be perfectly manifested in mere sections of time, either in the past or the present; and as the earthly Acon is also finite, so will probably the perfect mental development of the human mind never be ripened in all respects on the earth,—as the present still shows so much partiality, contest and struggling; and the past, as it were, but the outline of a future development. As that which is non-existent still remains an undisclosed unit of the undivisible whole, so does development still slumber in its germ; so arise in the continuous division of the whole—in the unfolding of capabilities—breaks, which are again but units of the undeveloped whole. And thus the past—the period of origin and being—does but contain the element of life in potentia, with occasional varieties of vital activity; the present embrace the past as a heritage, but in another shape, and mostly to other purpose, than the original one; and the future, the period of another decay, draws its strength from the present, and its fruits will, according to the nature of this strength and the yet unknown outward influences, not contain any perfection: that is, an universal development of all capacities and power will not take place, and the ripening of the upspringing endeavours will not be perfect. The purpose becomes perfect in time, but will not be continued in any particular period. (Dr. W. Butte, "Biotomie des Menschen, &c." Bonn, 1829.)

Applying the above remarks to the history of mankind, we find that it may be divided into three principal periods of development, according to the course of time, and especially in respect to magic, as has been clearly pointed out in No. 7 of the "Deutschen Vierteljahrschrift"—1, the Oriental; 2, the Græco-roman; and 3, the Germanic age. Magic has remained the same constitutionally in all periods, but its manifestations took everywhere a peculiar character and variety of form. As in all phenomena of life, so in the East did an universal, unrevealed, inward direction of the senses

take place through magic. The Græco-roman age had annexed the oriental element, but in its more outwardly directed activity the magical unfolded itself in more numerous shapes; less in the simple, all-governing strength of the soul, than in the poetic ornaments, and in certain directions fantastic imaginings of mythology. The Germanic spiritual life took root in the Græco-roman elements, and therefrom arose a highly remarkable process of fermentation, from which new shoots were put forth in all directions. In the peculiar self-power of the Germans, the abundance of materials collected from all sides must naturally sustain this process the longer, because a new life was in the act of being created from the past. Thus the middle ages form the period of germination, the taking root and real commencement of the Germanic time-history. That which then was produced was certainly but an imperfect sucker shooting out from the vital sap of the parent stem; the Greek dæmons, the Oriental Dschinus and Devs, were mixed up with the Jewish angels of light and of darkness, and with the Germanic fairies, elves, and allrunes: what else could arise from this but a wild belief in spirits? But as with the Germanic period a new vital direction commenced, in material respect to the investigations of the universe and nature, and spiritually to the unfolding of the Christian faith, so is it clear that magic cannot be fully understood before the confines of these two directions are fixed, and their true tendency explained, and to a certain degree understood. It is only in modern times that the object of these endeavours to approach truth is felt, and thus we begin to understand more and more the nature of magic and its reality. But as magic is but little acknowledged by the historian, so does the inquirer into nature do but little justice to magnetism; a blind scepticism, and the radical unbelief of incomprehensible things, restrain both from perfectly understanding the wonders, and cause him either to stigmatise them as unsubstantial fabrics of the imagination, and unnatural and supernatural falsities, or to receive them as genuine appearances into the records of physiology.

We shall find the same characteristics of the imagination prevalent in the three periods of Oriental, Greek, and Germanic magic; but here, as in the romance of

nations and ages, we shall necessarily find a certain variation and peculiarity. Before we can form a true judgment of these much-doubted appearances, we must pay some attention to the peculiarities of the nation and the age; to the mental constitution, which assumes a national character through religious customs, tradition, and national events; to the modifications, changes, and relations arising from the country, climate, mode of life, and occupation; from the nature of the outward temporal influences and admixture with other nations. We shall, however, find a certain family resemblance universal in magic, as in the romance of the East, of the Greeks and Germans; but the female devs and peris of Zoroaster; the angels of the Israelites, and dæmons of the Greeks and Romans; the fairies, elves, undines, and trolls of the Germans, reappear in various forms and colours; now from heaven, now from hell, or from the middle kingdom; living in the air, in the solitudes of the earth or water; and lastly, teaching, warning, and comforting in one place, whilst they terrify, torment, lay snares and raise hindrances in another. Again, others appear to assist in house and farm labour, for pleasure and amusement,—as the gnomes, people of the mines, and the "joyous fairy people."

In the East, the spirit of man took a very peculiar form even in its first appearance upon the stage of history, and in some measure has remained stationary to the present day. Magic has not been subject to any material change since the early ages, whilst the forms of Græco-roman magic had almost vanished, and were even much changed during the Germanic period. The monotony of life, and the entire separation from the occidental world; the reluctance to change habitations and customs; the early teachings of the fathers regarding God and the world, permitted no change of opinion, and no free exercise of the mind, as was the case with the spiritual and mobile Greeks, and the world-conquerors, the Romans, in whom a manifold susceptibility and activity betray the inclination to seek and wonder, and admit a varied cultivation of the mind, and therefore also a most numerous variety of products of the imagination. The Germanic genius has something of oriental earnestness and occidental imagination, and the oriental spirits reappear

in the magic of the middle ages, conjoined with Greek ideas: it embodied the elements of each, and therefore presents in the peculiar epoch, hesitating between barbarism and civilization, a remarkable picture of the strongest kind in outlines and sketches, which was destined to be more clearly defined, shaded, and harmoniously filled out, by the course of time.

In the ancient East, where all things have remained an undisclosed, one-sided, and isolated chaos, the past of historical infancy steps before us, as it were, in a living form. The Græco-roman period soon past like a moment of the present, but an unlimited future still lies before the Germanic genius, for which the world's history has as yet but furnished the materials for an endless mental activity. If, therefore, the East has been often compared with the infancy, the age of the Greeks and Romans with the activity and impetuosity of youth, and the Germanic period with ripe manhood, this simile may stand good, in so far as maturity first begins with Germanic history, and as in some measure a perfectly new future, worthy of maturity, stands before Germany; Germany, the first to perfect her own development, and then become the instructress of nations and ages, for which she appears destined as well by geographical position as by mental activity. The Greeks and Romans were but the momentary links between old and new, and the East, already stationary and sunk into the night of the past, dreams in a sleep of a thousand years, until, awakened by the Germanic spirit of the future, it will again arise to new existence.

If, as it occasionally happens, the belief is common that Germany stands upon the summit of civilization, magic is peculiarly calculated to instruct us upon this point. Does not the superstition and belief in ghosts of a past age still reign in the house and court-yard, in the church and the stable? Are not ghosts and devils exorcised on the one side with formulas, holy water, and prayers; while on the other, the reason of rationalism will not admit of anything spiritual either in heaven or hell? The prophets of opposite creeds contest with strokes of air for a thing which the one endeavours to retain with convulsive power, and the other condemns as a mere phantom, whilst denying everything which cannot be comprehended by the outward senses; so that, in fact, super-

stition may be nearer to God and truth than unbelief. How if it be through this magic that Germany has to show its master-hand! If magic were to point out the direction in which the light of pure truth may be discovered! In fact, a great future lies before Germany in magic; in it German investigation and acuteness must labour, and judging from what lies before us we may expect Germany to solve the question. Since the middle ages Germans have directed their attention and energies to this subject with great results; Germans made an end to witchcraft, and a German has lighted a flame, by the discovery of magnetism, which still shines on German ground, and will harmonise the strongest contrasts of light and shade which are found under the shapes of ghosts and spirits in popular belief.

In the Germanic view of the world, all the elements taken from the East and the Græco-roman age are to be found. The Oriental heaven, the Greek hades, in which gods and men lead a common existence, and the hell opposed to heaven by Judaism, form endless fields for investigation. And the German does not absolutely deny anything. Where there is a hades,—a middle kingdom,—there must be something above and below it, towards which spirits strive, if they do not thence derive a power of influence. The Indian enthusiast strives upwards, to become embodied in the light of Brahma; the Greek communicates in a purely human manner with his gods upon the earth; the German enjoys with diligence the temporal goods of his mother-country, but he also looks forward into the supernatural world beyond, to which the eye of the imagination is directed, and for which light and darkness are not day and night as to the bodily eye. In the East the ideal outlines were enclosed in the mind in simple forms; in Greece reason developed itself with faculties directed outwardly, and its poetry was certainly a beautiful ideal-poetry of life; but the living God was no longer present in the depths of the mind. The Græco-roman mythology stretched into the middle ages; and we might be almost tempted to say that hell was as prominent there as heaven in the East: so that Goethe's Faust was perfectly right when he said that the flights of imagination led from heaven to hell through the earth.

The energy of enquiry directed in modern times to East

and West, and the great discoveries, in science and the world, did not suffice to kindle the ray of Christian light placed in the heart into a true love of mankind, or enable the imagination to repose, so that poetry could unfold itself in harmonious beauty with art. It could only be done in true beauty and power, where the mind and the inward senses were as active as the outward, which observe the objective world practically. And where is there a land and a people at the same period, which can in these respects sustain a comparison with Germany?

If that intellectual author H. Hauf calls Realism only a superficial appearance, and therefore a phase of development, he only confirms the fact that the fermentation commenced in the middle ages has not yet ceased; and that in reality the dæmoniac possessions in our days and animal magnetism are true signs of the times, which separate light from darkness, and force upwards the shoots of an earlier knowledge, that a higher intelligence and construction of science and of life may be brought into existence in Germany.

As a confirmation of the foregoing remarks, and at the same time an authority and foundation for those to be made subsequently, we will hear what he himself says in No. 56, Feb. 25, 1842, of the "Allgemeine Zeitung":—"He who regards the celestial and dæmoniac possessions of the age, and the superstitious feelings and irrational beliefs of the most varied kinds, as gradually withering branches of an earlier civilization, has studied history as old herb-wives study botany. He who looks for faith without superstition, is like a child asking for light without shadow; whoever fancies that man in progressive knowledge will strip off faith as well as superstition, that he may move with freedom and grace, paints an impossible picture of humanity; he calculates without considering one half of human nature, and more foolishly than the Jacobites. But all misunderstand and libel the unchangeable constitution of the soul, its double nature, which, like the magnet, has two directions in one unity,—two opppositely striving, repulsing, and yet mutually embracing, powers. Superstitions, in general, are movements of the soul standing in communication with the whole of nature, and those movements

bordering upon consciousness are instinctive, involuntary, and indicated by the outward senses. They are Superstites, not only in respect to the past, but also the future; and as they in their present shapes have outlived much enlightenment, they will outlive all possible forms of faith and civilization in whatever shape they may be.

"How the natural philosophy and investigation into nature would have stood in regard to the magical appearances of the present and the past, without Mesmer's discoveries, is impossible for us to say. All the mental wonders of history are by no means explained by animal magnetism, so long as the latter is itself a physiological riddle; but they have become anthropologically conceivable through the facts of somnambulism, and their probability thereby justified; and this is the greatest step that man has ever made towards the knowledge of himself. The phenomena of sleep-waking and clairvoyance are, as far as they have yet been observed, of as great importance to the moral as to the physical sciences. It is certain, that by the act of the will, and by outward manipulations directed by the will, the vital powers of two individuals may be conjoined in a peculiar manner, and, as it were, intertwined with each other. The soul of the one most susceptible allows itself in this manner to be placed in a peculiar condition, and compelled to certain actions whose whole character points directly to the source of all ecstasy and convulsions, and which from the earliest ages have been considered by all nations as wonderful confirmations of their superstitious belief, that the secret powers of nature may be seized on and used either for the good of others, or for the purposes of love and hatred. There is no people, however rude or uncivilised, that has not its sorcerers, soothsayers, witches, and wonder-doctors, that has not its religious faith, the greatest terrors and highest aspirations of which have not been confirmed by signs and wonders through spiritual messengers from the heavenly and dæmoniac regions beyond.

"If we regard the varied ranks of these phenomena in space and time, comparing them with the nature of somnambulism and clairvoyance, as we observe them at the present time, we shall discover an historical fact of great value. It is well known that peculiar characteristics show themselves in all

somnambulic conditions, whether naturally or artificially produced. In the state of sleep-waking, of clairvoyance, of ecstasy, &c., the same mental phenomena are always manifested, with the same general characteristics. One fact is particularly important in these mental phenomena, which is, that the degree of education in the individual has much less influence upon the action and condition of the soul than might have been expected. The human soul, spasmodically turned from the day-side of nature, sees, imagines, and gives oracles with the same degree of intensity, generally in the same manner, whether the soul in the waking state is common and rude, or educated and refined. Through the peculiar intensity and increased activity of certain mental powers, we see the ordinary somnambulist frequently placed in thought and expression upon a much higher plain than belongs to him in life. He is elevated to the path upon which the sleep-waking soul involuntarily is conducted to the depths of nature. On the other hand, in the educated seeress many mental advantages of the waking state are not apparent in the somnambulic condition; her sensations retreat of themselves into the universal magical Pentagramm, and follow the same beaten track in which every human soul perceives the same landscape in moonlight, but where in twilight each individual eye perceives objects differently. In short, we perceive that the network of inclinations, powers, and influences, which is spread over the depths of the human soul, and connects mysteriously man with man and with nature, is in all men woven with the same meshes; in this region, averted from the outward senses, homogeniety and equality reign in the same degree, as endless varieties and conditions in the waking state. In this region man hangs, dreaming, to the after-birth of nature: he is upon this the individuality, the intelligent planet upon this planet. That which observation shows us in individuals, also applies, according to history, to nations and to the whole of humanity. The magical cures, the injuring by a glance, word, deed, and action, auguries and oracles, the belief in the spiritual return of the dead, traditional means of communicating magically with the gods, spirits and dæmons, supernatural feelings and visions, violent shaking of the body when this communication has taken place forcibly or voluntarily,—all

this is found not only in nations whose history is known to us, but also is shown to the same degree in whatsoever state of civilization man is, or whatsoever zone he may inhabit. Whether a country is in childhood or old age, whether it is renowned or not in history, whether its manners are still barbarous or enlightened, in all degrees of outward knowledge and science the most remarkable generic similarity breaks out in the conditions and phenomena. It is always the same spirit which whispers into the ear of Socrates, Plotin, and Swedenborg, and acts in ecstatic visions and words, which, though varied in form and expression, yet are always evidently founded upon the same outlines. It is that something which raises the same misty forms from the abyss of the mind in the Jewish Possessed, in the Siberian Schaman, in the Pythonesses and Sibyls, in the Indian fakir, in the temple-sleepers, in the witches of the middle ages, in the modern clairvoyants, or in the women troubled by evil spirits; and these forms are varied as living beings by the movement, the activity of the mind, and the taste of the age. In professors of the black art and fortune-tellers, in ecstatic persons and ghost-seers of all ages and countries, a species of fantastic drama is performed, which in model, invention, and even in the scenery itself, is always the same, though represented according to the costume and expression of the age. As in the sleep-waking of ignorant persons, feeling and expression are often elevated and ennobled much above the average of their waking state, so shall we meet with thoughts and images of surprising depth and poetic bearing in the mythologies and dæmonologies of the most rude and sunken nations. And as, on the contrary, the educated somnambule does not carry the amount of education into the paroxysm, but is involuntarily seized on by the dæmon and drawn into the whirl of one-sided magical feelings, so does education in no wise dispel those forms which rise up from the night-side of humanity. Even in our age, which labours so hopelessly for each day's sustenance, these ancient messengers from heaven or hell, which lie side by side in the human breast, step into the path, now comforting and illumined, now supernatural and frightful. The phenomena of somnambulism, and, to speak distinctly, the poetic history of nations, point out clearly that the ex-

tremes of human existence are conjoined. On one side, in equal relations between the vital power and the conditions of nature, the same primeval form springs up; or, to speak with Pythagoras and Jacob Böhme, the same numeral and signature, in an indistinct consciousness. The feelings retire under the same circumstances,—as it were, in the same corners,—constructing the same figures; and the soul practises divination *ut apes geometriam*. But these images remain unembodied as long as the outer sense, turned towards the light, does not attract them, or explains and expresses them individually. Hence the outward difference of all supernatural representations, of all poetry and philosophy, even with the greatest inward similarity: everything which rests upon the movements of history, which is drawn through any stage of civilization, through the changes of government, of morals and faith, as the enduring characteristic, to the creation of the lower pole, while the other produces the endless variety in the existence of nations, the innumerable developments of the same fixed capabilities, the progress and the decline of nations. That steady characteristic forms the obscure but uniform foundation of all history; as it were, the warp through which the active spirit of nations and ages throws the weaver's shuttle with visible freedom of motion.

"In this manner, the observations which the somnambulic states of modern times afford us may bear important fruits for historic inquiry. This is satisfied, provisionally, with the light which animal magnetism throws into the dark chasms and hollows of history, where, before, the torch of human understanding only served to make the obscurity more visible. It is certainly a great gain that we are able to recognise the grand ideas of the great architect, in the mystically confused images which accompany all portions of the temple of history, or in the grimacing and distorted figures which here and there serve to sustain the arches; although we may not be able to decipher the hieroglyphic writings on the walls with any facility. Their investigation is immediately the business of natural philosophy, and the philosophy of history silently follows its footsteps. This progress has, as yet, been but unimportant; even the theory of the dream-states has been for some time stationary.

The great thing is, to seize upon the physiological roots, through all the deceit and untruth which accompany these appearances as necessarily as shadow does light."

As it is not exactly our province to treat, in a history of magic, of the definitions, explanations, and differences of all those mutually connected conditions, visions, hallucinations, dreams, somnambulism, ecstasy, and clairvoyance, with all their accompanying transitions and reciprocities, we must regard them, in the mass, as a generic complication of facts and phenomena; the phantom as well as the reality; the passing vision as the durable ecstasy, which is but seldom observed, although it is produced in some, where a suitable disposition exists as a normal development of nature; in others, by disease or art: we cannot give direct criterions by which the false may be distinguished from the true, and the possible deceits, which are so frequent, from the real facts. But as I intend giving an historical account of all phenomena proceeding from the somnambulic element, whose sources and conditions may be at the same time inquired into, according to the peculiarities of place, time, and both natural and mental character, in the course of this work I shall, also, not entirely exclude these scientific investigations.

The following may be laid down as an axiom: that all magical phenomena of visions, dæmons, and spirits, of witchcraft and possession, of dreams and clairvoyance, depend upon a natural and instinctive inclination of the soul to be placed in such conditions, as well as upon the outward natural conditions, and artificial means of producing and controlling them, just spoken of. Whilst seeking these instinctive movements in variously constituted nations, we may regard former opinions respecting the supernatural, and the state of civilization, and also the outward geographical conditions with which the instinctive feelings are sympathetically and anti-pathetically connected, as well as others communicating more comprehensively with the powers of nature, in which these almost inexplicable sympathies have their reciprocal influence between spirit and nature, between the soul and the body; for the mental element of the father continues typically active in the fixed style, as the seed set in the plantation, upon which surrounding circumstances

have more or less influence. Religious views play a prominent part everywhere, and it is evident that they have often derived their shape from the inward visionary spirit, as, in return, religion influences the visionary element, by which the various dramatic scenes of national romance are performed in tragic, epic, or comic poetry. Upon the dark ground of the soul, the magical characters are, as it were, inscribed in fixed types, and it only requires an inward and outward impulse to burn up and become active. Either through inward psychological or physiological causes, in a vision with sound outward senses, and with the power of distant or pre-vision,—or as hallucinations in pathological disturbances of the body, where the spirits of within and without show themselves in every variety of form, which, however, a somewhat mature reason may with some consciousness be able to distinguish; or as ecstasy of religious enthusiasm, which possesses the miraculous power, like a far-spreading miasma, to affect others directly, and unfold the germs of somnambulism contained in them. This infection is an historical phenomenon of all ages, and belongs, indubitably, to the most inexplicable problems which the philosophy of history either entirely ignores as a *noli me tangere*, or passes over with a hasty side glance. We, instructed by the phenomena of magnetism, shall endeavour to penetrate deeper into this obscurity, and to procure a satisfactory explanation of much which, under the guise of terror and dismay, passed through countries, crying ravenously for human blood; those death-fires by which, even in the past century, the whole of Europe emulated to show its piety and enlightenment.

In passing to the special observation of magical appearances in the various ancient nations, we need only attend to the results already deduced, to gain fixed resting-places of enlightenment and true discernment.

They are very much as follows:—

1. The somnambulic element lies dormant in the human mind as an instinctive faculty, and only occasionally appears under certain conditions.

2. The conditions are either general and normal, or special and abnormal. To the former belong dreams and presentiments, the subjective production of the inward

senses and imagination, which arise more or less vividly in all men. To the latter belong the pathological conditions of hallucinations, spectral visions, somnambulism, ecstatic and magnetic clairvoyance, which usually present themselves, as nocturnal phenomena, during the inactivity of the outward senses; in rarer cases, however, even during the waking state, so that the inner and outer images alternate in the imagination, or become fused. In rare instances, even waking and conscious persons become aware of things which are unknown to others. The imagination is, moreover, a double power,—it is an "imaginatio activa et passiva." That which the fancy sees is, however, always internal, never external, although not alone, "ex propria phantasiæ operatione, sed spiritus fatidici—or—pythonici," which spirit influences the imagination of men.

3. The subjective images of the imagination are often so clear and vivid to the fancy, that they not only take their place among objective realities, but entirely supplant these, where by complete madness is caused; as even the very feeling of identity becomes extinct, and the idea takes its place which characterises dæmoniac possession.

4. The conceptions of supernatural things and religious belief give the colour and the scene to the creations of the fancy, which never makes anything wholly, but only combines the present and the traditional according to a subjective regularity, and often transforms them in the strangest manner. Jacob Böhme says, "man cannot create by his imagination, but imagines dominantly that which is created." Thereby the various gradations of spirits become angelic or dæmoniac, heavenly or hellish, according to the national romance of peoples and individuals.

5. The somnambulic element, lying hidden in every man, may remain dormant for a long time, especially with an entirely outwardly directed occupation of the senses,—and even be not at all exhibited in individuals (as in nations) excepting in dreams. But it may suddenly and unexpectedly show itself, and the newly awakened poet now poetically creates in his own manner, and sets fire like a small spark to his neighbourhood, and even whole ages, in far-spreading circles.

6. The causes of the more frequent or rare development of the magical states lie partly in hereditary disposition,

partly in outward causes, which influence and excite the inward element: these are psychical traditional communication, and the physical geographical conditions, as well as the mode of life, occupation, and food. Thus education carries at the same time with the treasure of collected experience the teachings of good and evil, and therewith inoculates the judgments of posterity, which are as indelible as scars or moles.

A calm, perfectly quiet, and little occupied mode of life, with absence of outward distractions, gives space to the creations of the inward imagination; for the mind is never quiescent. Abstinence from, or want of food, causes the production of visions, as well as certain means which call them forth.

In geographical respects, secluded, isolated, and but rarely frequented places; solitudes and deserts; waters and forests, are of the negative causes, by which the fancy peoples the outward silence and poverty, and enriches from the cornucopia of its plenty.

7. The magical influence upon others, and at a distance, is the active pole of the soul and the vital powers, as the instinctive perception, in inward contemplation, is the passive pole. The former is not more wonderful than the latter, and as the darkly conscious soul comes to feel and imagine in an infinite sphere, in which the natural, supernatural, and material are reflected; so does the autonomic power act as inexplicably in that sphere, unshackled by mechanical matter, as it influences the muscular fibres or the limbs. The soul has no absolute consciousness of the influence, either in the imagination or the will; it has only a sensation, but no organ of direct perception. Enough that the life-sphere of man is great and unbounded; and this is a fact which offers rich materials for speculation, but which cannot be denied. "The true magic is in the secret, innermost powers of our soul."

8. This fact shows that the life-sphere consists of the reciprocal action of the powers in general, and of the vital ones in particular; that also an universal rapport and a comprehensive sympathy exist, having neither temporal nor local boundaries. Neither rapport nor sympathy requires

any particular element to conduct it; the universal vital powers alone make it conceivable how opposite points or objects may be produced by a modification, an increase, or negative passiveness of the powers, and how thus all individuals of the life-sphere—the world—stand in a great and universal communion. Individuals stand in peculiar sympathy with each other in the life-sphere, and mutually influence each other; for like associates with like. It is according to the modification of the powers of the soul and of existence in individuals, and the mutual increase or negative passiveness, that they reciprocally act upon each other, without requiring peculiar powers for this, and without being clearly acquainted with the process. Everything which is embraced by a mechanical or organic bond sympathises. If the mental and vital powers are not disunited, the infection of visions upon children, or even animals, as in second sight, may be comprehended; for all things which are in the same bond of sympathy are visible to each other.

9. From this we may deduce the following as evident,—that the mental and vital powers are not separated in individuals; for the soul is never active when the vital powers are extinguished, because only life can contain the soul.

It is, therefore, equally comprehensible how between two living persons a peculiar reciprocity is possible; such as the sympathetic influence of the soul of the one upon the vital powers of the other, and in return the influence of the vital powers upon the soul, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but also under circumstances, as it were, atmospherically at a distance,—as is proved by the appearance of magnetism in modern, and magic in ancient times.

10. If the supernatural and super-material may be reflected upon the ensouled vital powers from an unmeasured distance (imaginatio passiva), and therefore influences may take place between the mind and body, of which, however, the soul has no distinct consciousness, then is the direct mental influence and activity undeniable; for that which is spiritual is not separately spiritual, and all wonders of the world of spirits are in the end resolved into wonders of our own mind. Whether, however, spirits are in themselves abso-

lutely supernatural, super-material, or not; from whence they act, and whether directly through powers, or indirectly upon the fancy or vital powers, is not to be explained, and as little to be denied as proved. We may as well conjecture a multitude of spiritual beings unconnected with material nature, as that the physical world consists of a multitude of things and powers: we may conjecture that the spiritual beings act, according to their nature, directly upon the mental and vital powers, upon peculiarly disposed persons, so that the impulse touches the tuned chord like a breath of air. The vital power touched in this manner transforms for itself the spiritual into the material, according to innate forms, and places this before itself in passive or active conditions. But we may also believe that the vital soul-power is self-illumining, and that the spiritual eye of the inner sense under (unknown) circumstances perceives polar perceptions, even in distance of time and space, reflected upon itself,—as if felt at a distance—as if it came upon spiritual, supernatural powers, which it feels in its nature,—and then possibly illuminates by its contemplation. According to Pordage the soul alone perceives external things through its outwardly innate tending power, or by a radiation from outward things into itself. In such a manner the most varied spiritual communications of different nations and individuals may be explained, and all the contradictions in the objective revelations may be solved, which in nations and men of different faith and imagination take place in respect to spiritual apparitions, where each one communicates with spirits after his own nature; for some people will see a human form in a cloud, while others will imagine it to resemble Juno. The Oriental seer contemplates the world in Brahma's light; the Moslem sees the houris in Mahomet's heaven; the rude Schaman hears in his ecstasy terrible spirits under the roof of his hut, and the witch of the middle ages even her communications with the devil: in short, science here only supplies conjectures, not certainties. But these conjectures at least make this in science a certainty, that spirits and supernatural appearances have no objective existence in fixed shapes, for they must, if such were the case, always appear in the same manner; there are, therefore, spiritual appearances without spirits.

If the conclusions already arrived at rest upon a firm foundation, and, as it appears to me, are indisputable, we may conclude as follows :—

1. That there is an universal connection in nature, and a mutual reciprocity in sympathetical and anti-pathetical contrasts, but which cannot be perceived by the waking senses ; so that there is, at all events, a something of which the senses do not give direct evidence.

2. That the world is not a piece of mechanism, which runs down by an objectless necessity, and again winds itself up blindly ; and that the world is also not of a soulless nature.

3. That nothing is known concerning a spiritual world.

4. That the living soul not only stands in sympathetic connection with the body, but also with the principles of nature, between which exist the invisible threads of attraction, limits of which no mathematics can define.

5. That a spiritual communion exists between man and man, and therefore also between man and superior beings, is not to be denied ; for in all history such a communion is not only suspected, but dimly felt, and even spoken of in subjective assertion.

6. That all the propaganda of common-sense explanations will certainly strive in vain and will never succeed in the attempt to entirely eradicate, root and branch, the presentiments, sensations, and convictions of firmly-founded faith or superstition, or to bolt and bar so securely all castles, ruins, and cloisters, that ghosts and apparitions shall not still, as before, take up their abode there.

7. That also dogmatic belief will as little be able to exorcise ghosts, or banish evil spirits, which trouble the brain as visions, and lurk in the dark corners of the mind.

8. Lastly, that in German science nothing yet is certain or fixed respecting nature and spirit, the soul or body, or the possibility or probability of reciprocal influences :

" Dies diei eructat verbum, et nox nocti indicat scientiam" (Ps. xviii. 13.)

True magic lies in the most secret and inmost powers of the mind. Our spiritual nature is still, as it were, barred

within us. All spiritual wonders in the end become but wonders of our own minds.

In magnetism lies the key to unlock the future science of magic, to fertilize the growing germs in cultivated fields of knowledge, and reveal the wonders of the creative mind—

Magnes, Magia, Imago!

FIRST DIVISION.

MAGIC AMONG THE ORIENTALS.

In the East we find civilization in much the same state as it was at the commencement of the world's history,—that is to say, the earliest veracious records of these ancient nations describe their condition much as we find it at the present day. For many ages they have therefore been stationary; the progressive stages of creation, in which nature usually rises from imperfection to perfection, are not found in the history of eastern nations. It seems as if the vacillating life of vigorous youth had suddenly crystallized in unyielding regularity, giving forth the light of life in a changeless and uniform manner. The organization of eastern nations has remained for ages, like a mummy, without progression, and yet without positive decay. We still find in the East that solidity and exclusiveness—that enduring constitution of manners and customs—that calm immobility and separation from the surrounding world—that indolence and indifference towards without, which was attributed to them ages ago. In the East there is no creative spirit to break the inward light into various rays: and the characteristic features of the various nations are the same in all,—silent, stationary, and stereotyped. Western Asia, however, has been an exception, where, from the earliest ages, the inhabiting nations were in movement, from unceasing contests of migratory tribes, as well as from a certain spiritual mobility in their civilization. The coasts of the Mediterranean have, however, always been the boundaries of the outer world, in ancient as well as in modern times; but the influence which it exercised on the western nations, and

the manner in which the history of the world has expanded, has had but little interest for the East.

It is of little consequence whether we regard the East as in its infancy or old age: it is in a second childhood, in which no active conscious mind is dominant, but rather the instinct of a dreamy existence. There is no spiritual progress; no reflection and speculation in science or nature, in religion or legislation; the religion of the mind and the inner life are the leading features of its existence. Cut off from the light of day and the mutual intercourse with active nations, the oriental is sunk in a lethargic sleep, and, as in somnambulism, either a dreaming or a crazy seer, or, at the most, an ecstatic prophet.

From the earliest ages the magic states have been described as such, and they are still the same. As the visions and revelations of the ancient Brahmins were, so are at the present time those of the Indian hermits and fakirs. Clear, startling, poetic pictures; striking predictions and prophecies; elevated thoughts, with an almost supernatural power of drawing others into the magic circle, and of holding them in a state of passive acquiescence; with frequent but uncertain visions and illusions, and spirits and apparitions of every kind;—all these are the most striking characteristics, associated at the same time with great irregularity and uncertainty of composition in word and deed.

Let us take a hasty glance at the original causes of these conditions before we become more intimately acquainted with them.

The primary and most powerful cause is the unfolding and consolidating of the religious feelings, which we have already mentioned when speaking of the distribution of nations, which in their separations established for themselves peculiar religious systems. In no instance was this so striking as among the Shemites, who, originally the especial objects of grace, were also the first instructors of the human race, and then continued to maintain an uninterrupted communication with the gods, whilst other races changed their religions as they would their garments. Although the religious sentiment was universally found among the Shemites, yet it remained generally among the Asiatic nations a mere dormant principle—a central fire without a

peripheric radiance—("a light shining in the darkness,"—excepting the descendants of Eber, and still more especially the children of Abraham, which God had chosen from the race of Shem to be His "people from all nations of the earth.") (For the Israelites, in whom was a deep and inquiring sentiment of religion, were able to conceive the true idea of God and to receive His revelations, while all other surrounding and Shemitic nations remained beyond the sanctuary of the true divine knowledge, sunk in a passive quietism. Therefore it was only in the chosen people of Israel that the yearning and love were found in obedience, strengthening the true faith in the struggle of life, the exercise of patience and resignation, and the constant hope of future redemption; while the other nations looked back with regret towards the glorious world of the past,—towards the loss of salvation, without the hope of a better future.)

The whole Israelitish nation, like its prophets and seers, was schooled in trials and terrible struggles, in the hope of ultimately gaining, first, the promised land, and afterwards the heavenly Jerusalem; while the surrounding nations vegetated in monotonous seclusion, and the visions and dreams of their seers were as the words of a sealed book; for many heathen nations were not capable of a true communication with God, and the Buddhists and ancient Persians had not even a clear and determined mythology, as had other nations, and especially the Greeks. We therefore see that these oriental races are stationary in their history as well as in their spirit; nay, were even lower in civilization than they were, and do not now possess their former degree of civilization; but dimly look back to it as an inheritance of their fathers, which is ever receding from their sight. They certainly possessed the original idea of the Divinity in a spiritual, but only in an elementary manner. Hence is it, that owing to their utter want of a clear knowledge of the real God, the magical visions of the Indian seers are merely reflections of that radiance which divine inspiration diffuses, and hence it is also, that we so commonly deny the inspiration of nations who are enveloped in a confused mythology. It is clear that the intellectual Greeks approached near to the true conception of the divine nature in their varied but perfectly-

designed mythology. As throughout the whole of the East a true spirituality is wanting, we do find in its religion and magic the same quietism. How could we draw any comparison between an Indian seer, full of self-esteem, but luxuriant in imagination though wanting in a true knowledge of science and religion, and sunk in Brahma's light, and the true prophets of Israel, who announced the words of life and converted men from their evil ways?

The philosophy of the orientals was intimately connected with their religious ideas—or rather the theosophy of their sages. The Parseeism, the theories of the Zeruane Akerne, that is, of God before the division into the two principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman; the theories of the seven Amschaspands; of the Izeds and Fervers; and lastly, of the struggle between the two primary elements, the good and the evil, and of the victory of the good, contain so much that is true and noble, that the old Shemitic spirit reappears everywhere: yet all this is but an allegorical representation, and even far from the perfection to which it was carried among the Greeks, and therefore farther removed from a perfect spirituality. In the same manner, the doctrines of Fo, or the Buddhism in India, in Thibet, in Japan, and partly also in China, are not wanting in a species of elevation of sentiment.

"All objects, animate and inanimate, differ only in their properties and forms, and are perfectly similar in their elements, which elements, free from all change, are simple in their nature, and therefore are the perfection of all other substances in their uninterrupted repose. He who will live happily must strive to overcome himself, and to resemble this primary element. But he who has once reached this end need not fear any change; but, freed from all passions, and incapable of any discord, dies only to return to that divine principle from which his soul proceeded."

It is not to be disputed that a spiritual progression, though elevated in its sentiment, is incompatible with this teaching. Its believers, therefore, remained stationary in the undeveloped world of divine sentiment.

Molitor makes the following remarks on the inhabitants of that part of Asia from which the colonization of the world s supposed to have radiated:—"As these nations were mostly of Shemitic origin, their minds were more given to spiritual

reflections, which inclined more inwardly than outwardly, more to reflection than to action, more to feeling than to understanding; thus they were never able entirely to step over the boundaries of their spiritual natures. After they had gained the first stages of reflective civilization, the progressive development ceased. They were unable to return to the pristine purity of the infancy of the world by the progress which they had made; they were too much engrossed by nature, and their national spirit was too languid to carry them further into the free world of reflection. Existence between these two opposite principles lost, by degrees its inspiration, and became more obscure and immoveable, until it at length fell into total torpidity."

Influenced by these religious and theosophic ideas, civilization in the East took a singular shape. The service of the gods, the means to gain their favour and to avert their anger, consisted in humiliation, renunciation and denial of all gratifications of the senses, the avoidance of everything impure and unpleasing in sacrifice, as the pledge of peace and communion with God. All these duties strictly observed could not fail to maintain the religious feelings and inward spirit of the mind. When, therefore, an idea, a thought, or a representation, flashed like lightning from the depth of this mental obscurity, or an impression presented itself to the mind with the unmistakeable certainty of truth, and showed itself in impressive words or actions to others, it was not strange that men should regard it less as human than as the manifestation of the gods, which filled the inspired person and acted directly through him. From such sources arose the religious systems of the orientals in particular, the principal features of which bore a resemblance to each other: changes could alone take place through later prophets, or by admixture with other mythologies, which were more rare, owing to their seclusion from the surrounding world Their mental impressions, thoughts, languages, and actions, therefore remained the same; consequently no change took place in the prophetic spirit, which lay in the nature of the people and the country, and not, as was supposed, in human agency, or by the agency of the priesthood. The priests are the mediators between the gods and men, as servants

and administrators of the religion given into their care, which, like poetry, arises from the national spirit: they are not its founders or originators; but their duty consists rather in an hereditary service than in a voluntary, conscious production, when they were not themselves under the direct influence of inspiration. By this means the priesthood, whose members were often looked upon and venerated as divine, served to transmit magic as well as religion in its primary shape; which was so much the easier, as worldly and religious matters were not separated. A regular service in the Temple, and the peculiar mysteries belonging to it, were not at first customary; and it was only later that it was introduced in India by the powerful sacerdotal castes. The Brahmins constitute a peculiar caste, which, as in other ancient nations, represents the whole people; they are, therefore, isolated, and undergo no change. The religious sentiments excited by pious ancestors—the traditions carefully preserved with religious pride—the simple, peaceful, and secluded mode of life, must have had much influence in giving the appearance of great purity and holiness to the priests, and founding their influence in a favourable ground. The priests, as the confidential servants of the gods—the "pure ones"—regarded, therefore, the exercise of religion as peculiar to themselves, and the gods were nearer to them than to the excluded people; they were the favourite children, to whom they descended for the revelation of that which was hidden in visions and dreams.

Modifications in systems of religion arise everywhere, through the peculiarities of the country, and the manner in which the impressions and appearances of nature are received. Hence local religions, severing tribes still more from the surrounding world. In this manner, each nation was alone acquainted with its own gods, regarding those of its neighbour with abhorrence; its country was to it the only sacred land on which the gods sent their blessings; every other people was to them unclean, and contact with it contamination, and, therefore, these, above all others, were to be carefully preserved from a knowledge of their mysteries. In this manner, priestcraft, in a certain degree, perfected that which nature had commenced.

As the disposing conditions of contemplative life in the East were provided according to the religious principles and the civilization, so were also the outward causes to be found in unusual abundance. To these belong the mode of life and the exclusive system of caste in India; the occupations, food, and geographical positions. It is a well-known fact that the imagination of southern nations is easily led to the supernatural; that an excitable temperament is universal—particularly in India—and associated with an almost feminine gentleness, inclining to repose and reflection. Surrounding nature operates through her mighty universal powers, as well as by the burning Indian sun; by terrible and impressive meteors; by volcanoes, floods, and storms, as powerfully as by the luxurious and varied abundance of her productions, or by caverns, solitudes, and deserts, devoid of any description of organic life.

When the imagination is not engaged with any outward occupation it creates an internal world of its own, from its teeming pictures and imaginations—creating for itself its own heaven or hell. Social occupations, as agriculture, manufactures, and reciprocal trading, were not known, or at most but little, in the East. "It is said that the Persians, particularly the Bactrians, like the Indians, at first occupied themselves alone as herdsmen, till Dionysos, or Siwa, coming from the west, civilized them. Traces of this nomadic life were long perceptible: the especial sanctity of the cow, whose urine and dung were even regarded as means of religious purification; the use of milk and butter as offerings; the preference shown to cattle-breeding over agriculture in the laws of Manus, where the former is pointed out as being the principal occupation of the third class; and the Brahmins are instructed to avoid the latter: therefore the cultivated fields did not lie close to the towns and villages, as in China, but the pasture lands. The immigration does not appear to have taken place in masses, but gradually and in small bodies; as also the further colonization of the country of the Ganges, and the tableland in the interior and the south, was the result of such single expeditions and settlements. From this cause, India was always divided into a number of small states. This division was in general so universal, even in other circumstances, that the cause is

to be sought for in the original position and character of the nation" (Haug, Allg. Gesch. p. 176.)

A nomadic pastoral life is still common in a great portion of India. No country is richer in wildernesses, deep solitary valleys, mournful solitudes, and caverns, than Asia; and the deserts are as numerous and extensive as the mighty rivers and inland seas.

That a secluded life and solitary deserts are conducive to the production of inward visions is shown by the history of all ages, and especially that of the East; and also that these deserts are regarded as being the favourite residence of spirits and apparitions. Even Isaiah speaks very plainly on this subject, and says (xiii. 19, 21): "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in, from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabians pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there." It is also stated that the angel Raphael banished the demon Asmodeus to the desert. In the book of Enoch passages are met with recording instances in which spirits were banished to desert places by magic. It is well known that at the time of Christ those who were possessed by devils and evil spirits had their biding-places in deserts; and, according to the Zendavesta, it was the same among the Parsees and Hindoos. Maimonides also mentions that deserts are inhabited by evil spirits. "Temporibus illis opinio invaluerat, dæmones in desertis habitare, loqui et apparere;" and, lastly, in the middle ages, where every cottage, as well as every palace, and even ecclesiastical buildings, were not free from spirits, apparitions appeared most frequently to the traveller by land and water, and above all at secluded spots and by-paths, and deserts and solitudes were especially the trysting places of spirits of every kind, and of the fascinations of the devil. The inhabitants of the Faroe and the Scottish islands have always been celebrated as particularly subject to the influence of spirits and the

devil; and Cæsar and Plutarch both mention the British isles as deserted and melancholy solitudes.

Second-sight is, as we have seen, still endemic in these islands, which are compared by Horst, at great length, with similar circumstances in other countries. He says as follows: "The most miserable of all spirits—the unhappy souls of the damned, the wraiths of Scotland, were believed to inhabit more or less deserted and uninhabited islands, in which they carried on the malicious pleasures of evil passions, —in short, their earthly hell. Here they appeared as solitary spirits; here they appeared to the living, sometimes in human shapes, sometimes under the hellish forms of animals, to alarm men, and do them every species of evil. This was the popular belief in the Western and Faroe islands in the seventeenth and even eighteenth century, where tormenting spirits often carried away men by force, or killed them by stealth; while the spirits of every other kind—fairies, elves, hobgoblins, wraiths, in England, or even in Scotland and other countries, at that time were less dangerous, more sociable, and, we may almost say, more civilized. All these beliefs are of great antiquity, and originated in the East." The German witches prophesied in their oak forests; and the witches' Sabbaths were held in secluded spots, uninhabited or even visited by men.

In such solitudes not only are the outward distractions of humanity, and the innumerable charms of nature, wanting, but also the mere necessaries of life, with which the anchorites and original inhabitants certainly compelled themselves to be satisfied, were difficult to be obtained, and the powers of the body could not escape injury from these privations; the body suffered, and the imagination brooded on the terrible manifestations of the elements, and an unusually excitable temperament of the nervous system was produced, in the Brahmins, as well as the Egyptian hermits, the Siberian Schamans, and the savages of Africa and America; and in all these cases visions are produced, spasmodic fits, insensibility, and ecstasy, associated with a peculiarly infectious imitation of actions.

The want of food, or the use of such as is unsuited to the organic conformation of man, as raw plants, roots and

herbs, requires not only an abnormal supply of juices, but with them produces organic diseases and abnormal excitement of the brain and the mind. The almost universal vegetable diet in a great part of Asia has produced that apathetic repose, that equanimity and indifference, which is rather an acquired weakness than an active, meritorious virtue. For a weak and inactive sanctity, which certainly harms no one, like the fakir, who looks for months at the sun, cannot be regarded as a virtue by any one who has in any degree the idea of the virtue of action, and especially of that industry which does good to one's neighbour. That an immoderate and long-continued deprivation of spiritual and corporeal nourishment, of care for the body, and sleep, of exercise and daily occupation, must produce an unhealthy state, is as easily proved in theory as it has been exhibited by the history of all ages. As in acute cases delirium and fever have presented themselves in individuals, so do we find in chronic cases in others mental confusion of every kind; or where by gradual use the condition has become a second nature, we find at least a kind of eccentric behaviour, which very nearly approaches to delusions, hallucinations, day-dreams, and sleep-walking, visions and ecstasia. But nowhere are these kinds of visions so frequent, according to history and the accounts of modern travellers, as in Asia. (Högstrom on Lapland; Georgi, Russian Nations; Miners, on "The Sympathetic Excitability of many Asiatic Nations, in the Historical Magazine of Göttingen, vol. ii. p. 1.)

Besides the inner exciting causes, and certain outward ones, in Asia, and many other countries, means are used which assist in producing a state of great excitability and extacia. "Among the Lapps, as well as many of the Mongolian nations, there are peculiarly excitable persons, who are chosen for the so-called ghost-seers and sorcerers; in India, Jongleurs; in Africa, Gangas or Fetischers; and in Siberia, Schamans. In such cases, where the natural disposition is aided by practice and a peculiar mode of life, which is universal among magicians and ghost-seers in all parts of the world, they usually do no more than shout, rave, drum and dance, for the purpose of falling into insensibility or rigidity of long duration, or even into the most terrible convulsions, in which, as they declare after

awaking, "the soul having opened the gates of the body, had travelled over the earth," for the purpose of consulting with other spirits on questions propounded to them." (Horst, Deuteroskopie, i. p. 74.)

Many Siberian Schamans consider it necessary, according to Georgi, to prepare themselves, before their ecstatic states, by a decoction of fungus or other substances; as, for instance, by using strong herbs, or as, in the middle ages, the witches were said to use ointment made from certain narcotic and poisonous plants. Among the Brahmins many such means, as certain herbs and the "Soma" drink, are used to produce extacia; and the Opiophagi of the East are well known, as well as the effect of the Hrachich of the Arabians, which is a preparation of hemp, and produces the most varied hallucinations, so that those who are intoxicated by it at one time imagine that they are flying, at another that they are changed into a statue; or imagine that their head is severed from their body, their arms and legs stretch out to immense lengths, or that they can see, even through stone walls, "the colours of the thoughts of others, and the words of their neighbours." Other preparations—by incense, by ceremonies and prayers, by singing and music—have been known and handed down from the most remote ages in Asia, Egypt, and Greece; and it appears that they were thence transferred, partly by early migrations, partly by the Crusades, to Europe. At a later period we shall devote some attention to this subject. The vapours rising from various spots, the steam in some caverns, have a similar effect to narcotic poisons, and they, as well as somnambulic visions, are nowhere of more frequent occurrence than in Asia.

We have already remarked, that of all others religious visions are most easily transferred to persons of similar temperaments; also, that the same has been observed in dreams, which we have regarded as not at all inexplicable by the laws of sympathy and rapport. We must here make especial mention of the physical infection, which so often takes place under certain circumstances, and more particularly among Oriental nations. Single cases would not be regarded as anything extraordinary; but when it, as it were, appears at certain places and at certain times, and infects

whole families or tribes, spreading like a rapid contagion, it deserves our earnest attention,—all the more from the fact that on one side it is denied as imposition, and on the other regarded as the supernatural work of evil spirits of the other world. The observation of patients who have been treated magnetically, and the history of magic, which in somnambulic manifestations shows so much general uniformity, are calculated to throw some light on the nature of such physical affections.

As in magnetic somnambulism certain powers of the body and the mind are increased in intensity,—for instance, the muscles and the imagination, there are increased powers also which are transferred to persons of similar temperament, infecting them with convulsions, and, more rarely, with visionary delusions. We may mention that in these two species of increased power, convulsions as well as visions, an involuntary and instinctive action takes place, which evidently owes its origin to certain natural and pathological laws, and which is of great weight in a further explanation. According to the historical accounts, and those of travellers among nations where the belief in magic and spirits is still universal, as in Asia, irrespective of the various religions, the seers fall into ecstatic states, in which their visions are on the whole similar to those of our somnambulists. All descriptions of figures of men and of animals, of spirits of known and unknown kinds, appear to them; they possess the power of seeing into the future and to a distance; with all varieties of spasmodic affections, and with the feeling of a double or even false individuality, with all kinds of anthromorphoses, in which always occur the names and ideas of the dschins, degs, genies, and demons, ghosts and wandering spirits, elves, hobgoblins, and sprites, cobolds, nixes, and fairies, bears, dogs, and wolves, vampires and witches.

The contagion of these visions, which are of all the above-named kinds, takes place either by immediate contact, as in second-sight, or, which is more frequently the case, without any communication whatever; so that we may conclude that there exists some unknown sympathy. Accounts of visions seen by various persons at the same time are common in the ancient history of magic; and where this is the

case we always find an unusual amount of susceptibility. I remember the instance of the Proetides, who wandered through Argolis and Arcadia in a state of insanity, because they had despised the secrets of Bacchus. According to other accounts, they imagined themselves to be cows, and ran through the fields lowing like cattle; and this madness seized at last upon the other women of Argos, till at last they were cured by Melampus, the physician and soothsayer. As an example of another, a sympathetic and bloodthirsty madness, Horst (Deuteroscopy, p. 80) mentions a Malay, who stabbed another with his knife whilst in a state of frenzy, and this second a third, and third a fourth, and so on, till at length they fell covered with wounds. In a similar manner the sympathetic contagion is exhibited among the Schamans, the Lapps, and the sorcerers and ghost-seers in Northern Asia, as well as among the Indian penitents.

Of contagious second-sight we have already spoken; and Martin remarks, that young persons are not only infected by the touch, but often by the slightest contact with the seer. The symbols only appear to them dimly, and are not as clear and decided as in the older seers.

The Gnostics mutually saw spirits and the souls of the departed in their ecstasies, which they classified according to shape and colour, much in the manner of the seeress of Prevorst. The Hesychiasts, in the fourteenth century, on Mount Athos, who with bowed heads intently regarded their own bodies, became thereby participators in the divine light. The Brethren had, with Pordage, in the seventeenth century, the most remarkable visions of the worlds of light and darkness, of angels and devils, whose princes they saw pass before them, sitting in great splendour in carriages drawn by bears, tigers, and lions. They even saw whole armies first passing by their windows in broad daylight, and then entering their rooms through the glazed sashes.

Pordage, with whom we shall at a later time become better acquainted, describes their extraordinary sensibility with great minuteness. They not only saw spirits of all sizes and shapes, whether their eyes were closed or open, but the evil spirits left behind them a highly poisonous odour, and their palates were annoyed by the flavour of salt, sulphur, and

soot. "All this," says Pordage, "produced a great and indescribable effect on both our minds and bodies, which only those can appreciate who have experienced, with Job, the tortures of the poisoned arrow."

The physical contagion which was prevalent in the middle ages in country places and monastic establishments, we have at present little to do with.

Lastly, I shall only mention the convulsionairs at the grave of Diaconus Paris, if we do not include those visions of a grander description, as the processions in the clouds and the visions of battles which have often been seen, and especially in Scandinavia, where hundreds distinctly saw the passage of an army of foot and horse in natural shape, and even battles between two armies. It appears that in all cases it was one person who first perceived the vision, and then influenced others sympathetically.

More remarkable than all this, however, is, that not only were men and women of ripe age, but even children, and, as some state, animals, affected by the contagion of these visions. The mother is said to have transferred her vision to the child, which showed this by its terror as long as the apparition was visible to the mother; and animals, as dogs, horses, and cows, fled or stood as if rooted to the spot. Even, occasionally, animals were the first to perceive the apparition and to transfer the power of vision to men.

Magical appearances are, throughout the East, usually visions; that is, a multitude of somnambulic visionary and ecstatic states, where the instinctive lower activity of the inner senses, and the imagination, are dominant, but the higher powers of inward sight and true inspiration are wanting. Associated with this we find great nervous irritability and convulsive movement, or even a total want of activity, fleeting illusions and somnambulic dreams, and we find those spirit-seers most frequently in whom the higher powers of the seer, the power of seeing distant and future events, are but occasionally to be observed.

Whilst the contemplative life in the East is dominant over external, temporal, and spiritual interests, the magical impulse of the East is rather an inward somnambulic dreaming, cut off from the outer world and from the waking state,

than clairvoyance or spontaneous inspiration. The imagination works in its own inner world unfettered and unhindered, and shapes the strangest forms and colours, and concerns itself little with their incessant changes. Those visits of the soul to the supernatural regions, into heaven and hell, to the sun and the obscurity of midnight, which are associated with convulsion and trance, and which particularly are found in fanatics and persons subject to hallucinations, who are considered in many countries as sacred, are most frequently observed in the East. Such are cut off from the waking outer life, and exist in the circle of their visions, in which they are usually convulsively rigid, and never totally wanting in distinctness of vision, and in which the guardian spirits appear according to the time and place, making revelations and calming uneasy minds.

With these spiritual appearances from higher regions we often find that remarkable double state in which the seer so clearly represents the subjective picture of the mind, that he regards it as an object distinct from himself, cognizant both by the organs of sight and hearing, although the seer is occasionally aware that the words are spoken within himself, and that all this is but a delusion, as in the case of the demon of Socrates. The double state also often produces the idea of a really double individuality, one personal and the other of some one else, which seizes upon him, and thus gives rise to the idea of possession, in which the "double" is represented under the name of an evil spirit. The seer hereby falls into a physical quiescence, and is passive towards the possessing spirit, which is so distinct and powerful that, as an objective shape, it overcomes the subjective individuality; while the person acts in such a manner that his movements and words appear to others as supernatural. (Magnetic somnambulism in its lower states shows these phenomena.) Such persons have nowhere been so numerous as in Asia; whereby I refer to the Jews at the time of Christ. These deeply interesting phenomena change in such persons with the finest gradations of imitation; with the most striking theatrical attitudes; with the most piquant madness; with the most finished malice, and then again with deep snatches and glimpses of a

clearer vision or higher inspiration. All this certainly borders on the wonderful, but is not so. A true clairvoyance is but seldom found, and the seer soon falls back to the lower stages of his dreamy visions, in which he only dimly perceives his subjective pictures, and is not in the least aware of that which goes on around him in the world. More than this, the true mental ecstasist lives entirely in his own creations without movement, so that he is in a deeper state than the sleepwalker, who certainly is, to a small degree, somnambulic, but is free in limbs and action; so that in him the mind rather acts upon the limbs, which he uses in a methodical and almost incredible manner, such as no practice, no daring, could perform; and from this cause we may call it, with Fischer, the somnambulism of the limbs, in distinction to the clairvoyance of the brain.

That magic (in its true and original meaning) proceeded originally from Asia as a peculiar and inborn gift of the human soul, is shown not only by Moses, but the oldest known records of humanity—as Manu's Indian Code of Laws, the Zendavesta, the Vedums, and according to later scientific inquiries of Tiedemann (Disputatio de quæstione quæ fuerit artium magicarum origo, quomodo illæ ab Asiæ populis ad Græcos propagatæ sint, &c. Marb. 1787); Wachsmuth (Athenæum, vol. ii.); Klenker (Anhang zum Zendavesta); Meiners (De Zoroastris vita, institutis, &c., in the Commentar. soc. reg. Gotting. vii. viii. ix.); Buhle (Lehrbuch der Geschichte, part i.); and Brucker (Historia philos. crit. &c. p. 1.) Magic, of which theurgy, as the science of the hidden arts, was the child forming a communication between men and the world of spirits, consisted in the instinctive but still obscure consciousness of a direct looking into and working with and a communion and (magical) connection with, the world of spirits. In early ages men were as firmly convinced that the most perfect half, the real man, had originated in the world of spirits, and that he derived from it his vital energies, being as little able to sever himself from its influence as the boughs from the tree stem, or the stem from its roots. According to this innate magical belief, we find in all nations and in all ages the most deep-rooted belief, or at least a conception of such a spiritual relationship, and the desire of

communicating with celestial beings. The theories that have been built up, and the means which have been used, have been of the most varied kinds, and history has the task of recording them.

In the very earliest ages, when man had but just left the hand of nature, and still sat at the feet of the Creator; when the senses were still imperfect and the limbs were not freely under the command of the will, man then communicated directly with spirits. In the Genesis of Moses the patriarchs ate bread and milk with the Elohim, and set before them a fatted calf; and Homer's gods communicated directly with men. Brahma takes up the truly penitent to himself, or descends to them, and illuminates his whole being with peace. At that time there were no ghosts or demons, and the ideas of spirit and matter were not separate. As soon, however, as the primitive community was broken up by a more freely expanding use of the senses; as soon as men had eaten of the tree of knowledge, when they wished to make themselves free from nature and the laws, that they might go their own way without further obedience; then was the Creator no longer in Eden, and the peaceful community was destroyed; for the tree of life was not the tree of knowledge, —"he who sees God cannot live." With increasing knowledge, the vitality of life diminished; but the recollection of that which had been lost long remained, and the desire and striving to regain the former higher state. Man possessed his innate impulses, and cast occasional glimpses into nature and the world of spirits; but magic and the means of sustaining a regular communication were lost, and the gulf between heaven and earth, between God and weak mortals, was impassable. Those deeper insights of the subjective vision and the results of the effects of nature, which they often experienced, were regarded as but the effects of higher powers, which manifested themselves in the most varied shapes. We therefore find universally the same belief in spirits and demons, which in time either became purified by higher civilization, or obscured and debased by savage life. The demons were everywhere, more or less, the beings who communicated with man from the inscrutable beings above, and who brought down revelations and carried up the prayers and sacrifices of men. Plato thus describes, though with a

certain reluctance, the demons as the connecting link between God and men, God no longer having an immediate communication with men, who, according to all old traditions, had lost it by their sins; so that only the angels and the spiritual mediator could sustain the communication when penitent man endeavoured to restore himself. The spiritual mediators, however, were originally homogeneous with the creative spirit; they are invisible spirits to earthly eyes, and only reveal themselves to the original power of mental vision. So, according to Genesis, the angels and archangels are the faithful mediators round the throne of God, illuminated by His glory. The evil spirits are those spirits of Satan which fell away from God, and are always striving to injure and destroy man through envy of his possession of the world, according to the decree of God. The same belief is found in the East under many shapes, as, for instance, Ormuzd and Arihman, the good and bad principles, and their opposing powers of action, which were afterwards clearly increased to legions and the infinite. Plato also says that "God is the highest demon, *μέγιστος δαίμων*, and there are demons in great numbers and of every kind." Thales teaches that the world is full of spirits—*κοσμον δαίμων πλήρη*. And the later teachings of the magicians of Egypt, of Alexandria, and the middle ages, were founded on the views of the Oriental, Jewish, and Greek antiquity, and only changed and varied to suit the age. Spirits being regarded as the causes, or at least the instruments, of all events, imagination had an immeasurable field for its fancies; and whatever was not of everyday occurrence was regarded as an extraordinary wonder, in which it was not easy to distinguish how much was produced by spirits or by the fear of them, by superstition, or deceit. According to the good or bad effects, good or bad spirits were regarded as the cause—*δαίμονες ἀγαθοὶ, κακοδαίμονες στυγεροί* —were invoked or avoided, or exorcised; and of this we shall in the sequel see some instances among the Alexandrians and in the middle ages.

The most ancient records of magic and its progress all refer, if we do not except Egypt, to Asia, and especially to the south-east provinces, as well as higher Asia. In the Laws of Manu, who, according to Sir William Jones, lived

thirteen hundred years before Christ, we find definite enactments against a perfected but misused form of magic, just as similar laws are contained in the Books of Moses. In the oldest Chinese writings we also find sorcery mentioned as an art. Among the Chaldæans and Babylonians sorcery and magical astrology were as old as their history. The same may be said of the Persians, among whom fire-worshipping, as among the Phœnicians—and later even, among the Carthaginians, the Zoroastic dualism—were preserved in the purest shape. The fundamental idea was everywhere that man stood in connection with a supernatural world, governed by a good and a bad principle; but that this connection was not open and direct, but only to be reached by the aid of intermediate beings, or by long mental struggle. The first, according to the Persian belief, was brought about by magic; the second, according to the Indian, by contemplation. We have already spoken of the origin of magic, and have seen some of the original views of Plato, Cicero, and Apuleius, regarding it. The pure, original idea of magic, as a high study of nature, was, however, soon lost, or at least speedily degenerated. The belief in magic, peculiar to the human mind, was shaped in the good to white, in the bad to black, magic. Damascius says (*περὶ ἀρχων*: compare Hyde, De religione veter. Pers. p. 292), "The magicians call the source of all that which is spiritual, and at the same time composite, —that is, the spiritual as well as material substances—space, others time, from which the good and evil powers, or according to others light and darkness, have proceeded." With such views people soon endeavoured to approach the principle of good or evil, and the study of magic degenerated, leaning rather to the darkness of superstition than to the light of wisdom, or what was still worse, as Horst says, "that, without believing in a devil, they cultivated the arts of the devil." Even at the time of Zoroaster's birth magic was misused, and connected with unholy efforts and the black art. But Zoroaster and the Zendavesta are of later date than the older magic, as are also the laws of Manu in India. The distinction between black and white magic was, however, of much later date, so that it is only in the later Greek authors that the word *γοητεία* is found to mean magic in its worst acceptation.

From this we see that from the popular superstitions, as well as from the endeavours of the magicians themselves, the belief in magic became gradually universal, and spread on all sides; and that white and black magic rested on the fundamental ideas of two opposing principles, each having a host of spirits subject to it,—izeds, dews, fervers, amschaspands, demons, dejontas,—who perform their commands. They believed that they had found in magic, not only the means of obtaining a deeper insight into nature, but also, and which was of far greater importance, the means of placing in subjection these spirits, so that they might make themselves unfettered masters of nature and men.

We shall now review the various forms of magic among the Oriental nations, as far as the systems have been explained by ancient and modern investigators. Besides the Books of the Zend, the Vedas, the Laws of Manu, and the universally known teachings of Zoroaster and the Oriental theosophical system, the investigations of Kanne (Pantheon der ältesten Naturphilosophie, Tüb. 1811), Wagner, Schlegel, Görres, Majer (Mythologisches Lexicon, Weimar, 1803, 1 vol.), Colebrook, and Windischmann, are of especial importance. We shall endeavour to describe the magic of the Indians and Chinese, and of the Persians and Chaldæans, according to their principal features. I will only make the observation, that in India, thousands of years ago, the real world rested as now in the higher supernatural world of spirits, from which an unceasing influence was felt by this world, and which higher divine influence man may participate in, and thereby gain the highest initiation of his being. Magic therefore appears rather to be incorporated with a pure theosophy, than resting on a demonology, with which many natural sciences of physic and chemistry were connected among the Persians and Egyptians. Among the Chaldæans, Medes, and Babylonians, magic was intimately connected with the civilization and intellectual systems, especially the divinatory. Besides astrology, soothsaying, exorcism of the dead, and the mysteries of the incubation, were greatly in vogue.

The oldest religious works of India, and which some even believe to be the most ancient records of the human race, are the Vedas, or the Brahminic revelations, and Manu's

Laws. In these the religious ideas, their philosophical theories, and those magical states of the soul, are contained, in which it has community with the divine nature; even God is so intimately interwoven that it remains an inexplicable mystery so long as it is regarded from but one of these sides. It remained so up to the present age, when this mystery has been partly elucidated by regarding it from a physiological point of view, from the magical conditions of the soul, and from a comparison with the phenomena of magnetism. The analogy between the ecstatic visions of the Brahmins and magnetic clairvoyance has been thoroughly proved, from the convincing parallels recorded by early travellers; amongst others, the physician Bernier in the seventeenth century, Coleman (Asiatic Researches), Schlegel (Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*), Windischmann (Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte, zweites Buch, Indien), have all thrown great light upon the subject. We must not, without entering very particularly into this branch of the subject, pass it over entirely, for we shall see, on inquiring into the various stages of Brahminic initiation, not only the phenomena of our magnetic states, as well in their highest spiritual illumination as in their pathological distortion, but also see how, by a one-sided means, by false guidance, and by the misunderstanding of the true ends of humanity, man strayed from the true path and became a plaything of the *kakodemon*.

We must especially remark that the whole contents of the Vedas are regarded as the direct revelations of inspired seers. Veda itself means the clear knowledge in contemplation. That which the soul sees and hears in its trances is regarded as something directly known—learned—an evident revelation, than which nothing higher can be discovered in the material world; and on this account it becomes the leading string, the law of life. The seers receive their inspiration from the heavenly spirits and from God himself, with whom their souls communicate in the trance. The revelations treat of the origin, purpose, and connection of all things, particularly of the peculiar position of the world according to the graduated rank of spirits (the souls of men), and their constitution.

* Translated in Schlegel's Philosophy of Life, &c. (Bohn's Standard Library.)

And they believe also that they understand and perceive in their visions what refers to themselves, the human soul, and lastly, the everlasting and radiant divinity itself. So common, so sure, and so deep is the subjective inward vision among the Brahmins, that the whole objective world, even God and the spirits, appear to them, and not as in Moses, in the prophets, and the oracles, that the external is the determinating influence, and they themselves are but the negative instruments. From this proceeds the characteristic difference in the Brahminic institutions, as well as regards motives and means of placing themselves in the magnetic state, as also regards the religious mysteries and the action and connection of psychological life.

If the peculiar object of the higher spiritual existence among the Brahmins is contemplation and the inspiration of visions, in which the soul entirely gains that after which it strives, so must the whole power of the mind be taxed to gain those means by which they may place themselves in magical rapport, for the purpose of reaching that height of initiation by gradual stages, in which Brahma himself, the divine light and word, appears to them and is incorporated in their being. The preparations for this end are very severe—penance, denial of every earthly pleasure, and extirpation of the desires of the flesh and the body. To free the soul entirely from the fetters of the world, and to place it in perfect freedom, all natural relations must be removed; the turmoil of the world must be left, and the unclean castes avoided; chastity must be preserved by day and night; and the passions must be overcome by fasting. An unhesitating obedience and resignation to the leading hand in every stage of initiation is equally necessary to gain perfect repose of the soul, as the "body must be without any motion; it must be like wood, without feeling or movement, and all the gates of the natural openings must remain closed." According to Bernier (Voyage, Tom. ii. Sur les superstitions des Gentils), the Djogis are regarded as inspired and in direct communication with God: they are men who have renounced the world and have retired into solitude; if food is brought to them they take it; if not, they are said to be able to exist without it. It is believed that they live in the grace of God, sunk in contemplation, in fasting, and unre-

lenting self-denial. They carry this to such an extent, that they remain for whole hours in extacia, regarding God with every sense fettered,—as a very white, pure, and indescribable light. If these ecstatic seers neither eat nor drink, nor perform the natural functions of the body, restrain respiration, and sit motionless with their eyes looking at the point of their nose, in all kinds of weather, in frost and heat, and often in the strangest postures, as if rooted to the earth, such travellers' tales are not to be lightly cast aside without investigation; for we have cataleptic states, and a species of voluntary apparent death, before us, and a total want of all motion: the consumption of nutriment is also restricted to a very minute quantity, and is as it were provided by the air, which has not unfrequently been found to be the fact in similar cataleptic and ecstatic cases, as I shall mention at a future time; and, as I have already stated when treating of the Hesychiasts, who transfer themselves to the world of spirits by fixing their eyes upon some portion of their bodies. Bernier relates that such Djogis (solitary seers), carried away by ecstasy, have no sensibility, and are motionless; pinching, burning, or stabbing, does not affect them. On regaining sensibility they speak of visions and voices which they had seen and heard. The visions spoken of, when associated with such unnatural and severe means of producing extacia, are not to be treated as fables, although much may be exaggerated and subject to poetical license,—as, for instance, a Djoga in Sakuntala (Windischmann, p. 1310) is described, "who, in the full possession of his faculties, directs his eyes upon the sun; his body is half covered by an anthill of clay; many creeping plants twine round his neck; and birds' nests are built on his shoulders."

In the Laws of Manu there are several passages naming outward means of producing inward vision: the influence of fire, of the moon and sun, of sacrifices and songs, as well as of a drink which they call Soma. Soma, that which is illuminated by the sun, refers to the sun-plant, the lotus flower; its sap is used as the soma-drink for the initiation of the Djoga; it is said to produce the magical condition in which, raised above the universe to the great centre, and united with Brahma, the seer beholds everything. This sap of the soma is, according to De Candolle, the sap of the Asclepias

acida, L. (Cynanchum viminale). "This sap is sharp and acrid," says De Candolle, "and would be poisonous if taken in large quantities; in many cases the nerves are affected by it as if by a narcotic; but it is benumbing in its influence, as it hinders the activity of the nerves, without inducing sleep." Windischmann adds to this the following remarks:— "That the use of the soma was looked upon in early ages as a holy action and as a sacrament, by which the union with Brahma was produced, is clear from many evidences of the fact in Indian writings; we often find passages similar to the following: 'Paradschpati himself drinks this milk, the essence of all nourishment and knowledge, the milk of immortality.'"

In the lunar sacrifices the soma-drink was prepared with magical ceremonies, with invocation of blessings and curses, by which the powers of the world above and below were incorporated with it. According to the intended use, various herbs were mixed with the principal ingredient. Mention is also made of opium, which certainly was made use of, as the trances, apparitions, and ecstatic visions bear evidence, and also from the well-known custom of opium-eating in India. Kämpfer also relates, that in Persia, after he had partaken of a preparation of opium, he fell into an ecstatic state, in which he believed that he was flying through the air above the clouds, and conversing with celestial beings. Prosper Alpinus also mentions that dreams of paradisical gardens and heavenly visions were produced among the Egyptians by the use of opium.

The three states of the soul in this world, according to the Laws of Manu, are: waking, sleeping, and trance. Waking in the outer world of the senses is no true being; ignorance and folly are predominant, owing to the influence of matter, and the desire of possessing the things of this world. From this, avarice, inclination for that which is perishable and tangible; shamelessness in false goods; the mixture and instability of good and bad—of high and low —of men and animals—of virtue and vice. This state speaks of darkness, according to the various stages of first consciousness of earthly being, to perfection in vain knowledge, and subtleties of science and actions. In sleep, the service of the sun still is dominant in imaginings; the soul hovers in twilight between silence and motion—between

pain and pleasure—love and hatred—between daring and timidity. Life is vanity and imagination in constant change of colour; a sport of fancies—a breath—a life-dream, without ever reaching the true goal. To this belong the frivolous; the quarrelsome in word and deed; the religious; the ambitious; and the court Brahmins; singers and seducing actors. But they already hover on the verge of a true awaking in Brahma's world.

Trance reveals the true light of knowledge; and the true waking is the vision of light, invisible and intangible to the common eye. It is here that the inner eye is first opened, and the sight is no longer that of the senses, liable to be confused by chance and the sun of nature, but a clear, distinct vision, embracing the whole magical circle, from the circumference to the centre. The true evidences of this condition are: cleanliness, penance, total denial of everything earthly, and unchangeable perception of the true spirit of the great Brahma in unclouded radiance. This trance, however, has various gradations of inward wakefulness, in which, sunk into a deep sleep, it is removed from the visible world. Insensibility and repose, and a half-conscious sense, are also formed in sleep, and all men fall daily into it; but, returned from it, they know little, and fall back, on waking, into the outer world of ignorance.

In the above we find an excellent description of the conditions of the soul of man in its three natures. We shall now enter somewhat more fully into a special description of these states.

According to the Upanischade (Windischmann), one of the ancient sages is reported to have said, in reply to the question, "What is that which is awake and sees the dreams in a sleeping person?" as follows:—"When the sun sets, its rays return to its centre, and in the same manner the senses retire into the Manas (the great sense). The person sees nothing, hears nothing, smells nothing, tastes and feels nothing, does not speak, does not use his hands, and has no passions: such a person is Supta (in sleep). But within the city of Brahma (in the body of the sleeper) the five Pranas (according to Colebrook, the inner breath of life, and radiant reflection of the elements) are awake and radiant. As long as the gates of the body are open, and the heart

hovers in the regions of the outer senses, no true individuality arises, for the senses are divided and self-acting. But when they are concentrated in the heart they become united and reciprocal, and man is elevated in the light of those Pranas; the gates of the body are closed, and he is in deep sleep—perfectly rigid and insensible; inwardly, however, awake, and enjoys the fruits of a knowledge of Brahma daily at the time of sleep. He then sees that which he saw and did by day; he sees everything, seen and unseen, heard and unheard, known and unknown; and because Atma (the soul) is the cause of all actions, it now is the cause of all actions in sleep, and takes its original shape (a reflecting, ever-waking activity). To arrive at this point, the senses and the passions must be chained, and the same power must enter the body and prevent the flow of the gall, for the Manas at that time close the channel which is the conductor of all desires; and the sleeper then sees no dream, but becomes wholly Atma, of the nature of light, and sees things as they are; he acts reasonably, and perfects everything."

We have here a very remarkable and clear theory of the rise and difference of sleep-waking and the higher vision from the conditions of sleep, and the concentration of the outer senses; of the direct inward activity, which is in fact the real waking and conscious existence of the mind, while the waking of the senses is but deceit and falsehood. The remarks upon the effect of the gall show also a deep insight into the physiological causes, that from a disturbance of the gall in somnambulists the subject sees false and is visited by deceitful dreams and sensations. To a higher, more pure vision, besides outward repose of mind and body, a quiescence of the juices of the body is necessary. The highest contemplation must not be disturbed by flesh and blood, and on this account the gates of the body are closed, abstinence from all food and drink maintained; the soul must be unfettered, and strive to approach as near as possible to the condition of death. According to the Indian belief, the highest "clairvoyance" in sleep, or even at the approach of death, is still not that perfectly divine knowledge which is only to be gained in death. "It is only in death that the deceased

is united perfectly with Brahma—a drop of water with the ocean."

Such a double division of the inner sight into a higher and a lower state, was founded in India by their worship of the sun and moon. "The sun is the divine Isvara—Brahma—the diffuser of all light, the illuminator of the living." The true object of their zeal is the sun, and the true believers are called Children of the Sun—the illuminated—Brahmins. To them, as faithful servants, the sun descends, or attracts them up to itself, or in the service of the sun they are drawn up to it in spirit, and in these states placed in communion with the whole universe, so that their inspired glance perceives, with the greatest distinctness, heaven, the atmosphere, and earth. "The condition of the completely clairvoyant—Djogi—in the highest stage is, as regards perception and knowledge, so unfettered by the body that he, as it were, exists out of it, and enters the outer life with a recollection of that which he had experienced and seen." (Windischmann.)

By means of this communion with the sun, it becomes their organ of the world's sympathies and the reciprocality of the universe. The sun acts by its rays upon the moon, and therefore indirectly by her. Here its power is milder, softer, less exciting to the higher life, and therefore the spiritual life remains more in the lower dream stages; for the moon's power and influence act particularly upon the juices of the body and their circulation. The Children of the Sun and Moon, as the worshippers of these heavenly bodies, are found in the whole course of Indian history; and the moon-worshipper follows his god no less throughout the night than the sun-worshipper adores the sun by day. As, however, the female is to the male, and the moon to the sun, so are also the magical conditions of the soul: the soul only passes in perfect freedom through the moondjoga to the sun; or it returns to earth and is again exposed to the dangers of folly. Among the Children of the Sun the clairvoyant states are frequent—among the Children of the Moon, the somnambulic; the former are the most free—incorporeal, the latter more dreamy and fettered by the body. The influence of the moon depends upon her worshippers—

many striking differences of faith existing between them and the Children of the Sun, especially with regard to the manner of sacrifice. Illumination of the spirit, fruitfulness of living things, and the germinating of seeds, are influenced by the moon; but also confusion, sorrow, disease, and death, are occasioned by her influence. The influence of the sun possessed in all cases, the solar character of high energy; still the contrasts are more striking both of light and darkness, spiritually and corporeally, in his influence.

We find in this description not only the simple difference in the particulars and gradations of sleep, but also those rare phenomena when clairvoyance passes into waking, as well as the minute remarks upon the influences of the sun and moon. The influences of these mighty celestial bodies are too little observed; and it is only when striking phenomena are manifested that men become alive to them. I will only now mention the influence of the moon, with which gardeners and woodmen are so well acquainted, observing certain phases of the moon in sowing and harvesting seeds and fruits—in felling and barking trees. The moon has especial influence in tropical countries on animal nature and the human body. All periodical diseases, even the plague, according to Joubert, increase and decrease with the moon. And with us certain diseases are believed to be influenced in the same way. If, therefore, healthy persons perceive the influence of the moon in themselves,—as, for instance, at full moon the sleep is more easily disturbed; if periodical phenomena are not thought remarkable in sleep-walkers, in diseases of the mind and fever, in children and women; if the full moon quickly destroys dead bodies; ought we to feel any surprise that in early ages such great license was given to the imagination, when it is well known that persons suffering from diseases of the juices and swellings were subject to its influence—when moonlight shining full upon the face produced trembling, spasms, or even convulsions? These violent effects are well known in India, and are therefore not without influence on the imaginations of men, inducing them to follow the moon through all her phases and changes with offerings and sacrifices. On sleep-walking, the sun, and especially the moon, have great influence. I will not here extract the almost unanimous reports of

numerous observers, but will simply mention the cases of two somnambulists as given by Kerner, which are very remarkable, and resemble the accounts of the sun- and moon-worshippers of India. Just as susceptible to the influence of the sun was the seeress of Prevorst; but even by all this experience men have not learned to use these heavenly bodies for healing purposes. I will only permit myself to relate a case, which I observed in the Countess M., who was treated magnetically for a disease. After various means which I had used to produce a crisis had failed, she told me that on a certain day at the time of the full moon, at nine o'clock in the evening, I must lead her to the centre of a narrow wooden bridge over the Zepel at Karlsbad, and there magnetise her through the moon. This did not occupy more than ten minutes; and after she had fallen instantly into the mesmeric sleep, she went home; and that very night a favourable crisis was effected. Those co-operating but different influences—the effect of the full moon on the narrow wooden bridge over the rushing stream—give a very significant hint. The same patient was not only acquainted with the influence of the moon upon herself, but also of that of the sun. She often desired to be taken into the fields, and to be placed in the sun's rays for a certain time; particularly in two instances, namely, when she suffered from great weakness of the muscles, produced by copious use of the mineral waters, and when she was not sufficiently clear in her visions. The effect was most singular in both cases. Although in going it was with great difficulty that she could walk, she returned with a firm and buoyant step; and her clairvoyance increased during the time that the sun's rays fell upon her, which were allowed to rest upon the extremities and the abdomen, while the head was carefully protected. For similar diseases, and in one case of dropsy, I have used this influence of the sun with such surprising effect, that I have found the Brahminic theories on the influence of the sun and moon, the male and female, the negative and positive principles, quite confirmed; for the sun acts more on the radiating spirits of the nerves and muscles, and on the inner vision; while the moon, on the contrary, acts more upon the juices and the ganglionic system.

The influence of the moon on women is well known; and the physical night-walking is well named the moon's disease.

In their progression through the various stages of initiation to mental independence, the Brahmins pay particular regard to their intercourse with others, their mode of life and inner state. The road to illumination lies through seclusion; all communication with strangers and inferiors, excepting with the spiritual teacher, is forbidden by the laws. The choice of food and drink is of great importance in overcoming the senses and inclinations; the remains of sacrifices which are attended by particular persons are to be preferred to all others; food coming from other persons can only be partaken of after previously being blessed by passages from the Vedas,—as in our magnetic sympathies articles which come from persons who are included in the rapport are to be preferred to all others. "Food of the Studras (the lower classes) obscures the divine light; the same takes place in a still higher degree in the impure castes; and the food of lewd women is full of evil; that which a criminal has but looked at is excluded without exception." Flesh is certainly not absolutely forbidden, but for far more weighty reasons it is not partaken of by the Brahmins, because it excites the deposit of the juices, and hinders the magic sight far more than vegetables; and they endeavour to bring to a pause the functions of the body, so that the ecstatic seer alone preserves his life in perfect repose by the air and the sun.

Only the seers of the earliest ages, according to Menu, who preserved themselves in such purity of sacrifice, of intercourse and self-denial, reached the highest steps of knowledge, and therefore, as all true Children of the Sun, they were so penetrated by the light that "they were self-radiant, and in their magical ecstasies their bodies were raised on high." This radiance is probably not to be literally regarded as a real light proceeding from the Brahmin, but rather it is the subjective seizure of the observer, or is possibly that light which is often spoken of by our magnetic seers as a radiance, ray or stream of light, which they perceive issuing from the magnetiser, and objects touched by him; or it may be only a figurative expression of admiration. It may, however, be also a species of elec-

trical stream, such as has often been observed in cases of catalepsy or convulsions, issuing in sparks. The countenance of Moses was radiant, and the glory has probably not always been a fiction, or a symbol derived from the artist's hand,—it may often have been visible from natural causes: and to this we shall at a future time advert.

The same may be said of the raising of the body. Cramps occasionally lift up the body in a wonderful manner; and in the witch trials we find many similar cases recorded. Thus we read in Horst's Zauberbibliothek (vol. v. p. 402) of a Maria Fleischer, who suffered from convulsions, and was celebrated for many wonderful actions. It is related by Superintendent Möller in Freiburg, and is as follows:—"When it is most violent she begins to rise in the air, and at this time it is dangerous to touch her; and in the presence of the two Deacons, who related this to us, she was suddenly raised in bed, with her whole body, head and feet, to the height of three ells and a half, so that it appeared as if she would have flown through the window."* Iamblich, the zealous defender of the heathen religions, who from his theurgic writings, his piety, and supernatural powers, was usually called the Divine, was during prayers (so says report) always raised ten feet above the earth, and at such times his skin and clothes assumed the colour of gold" (Horst, vol. i. p. 63.) Similar accounts are given of very pious men, and the legends of the saints also contain many. In my work "Magnetismus im Verhältniss zur Natur und Religion" I have treated more fully of this subject.

That such divinely inspired seers possess great mental influence over others is easily understood, and also that they attract others with magical inspiration, which is nothing unusual in magnetism. We have instances where, not only as in the seeress of Prevorst, but that in others, a species of somnambulic infection spread epidemically. The Scottish seers possess this power, by which they can instantly transfer their visions to others, by laying their hands on the face of another, or by merely touching him by accident: but of

* Precisely the same kind of stories were related by Catholic priests to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and are recorded in his work on "Extatica." *Translator.*

this we have already spoken. Windischmann says—"The Brahminic institution rests upon the word and the inspiring authority of the soul. By this inspiration they create a magical communion, in which they unite such of their race as are most easily influenced; persons also in a high stage of magnetic power may influence others who are in communion with them in such a manner that they, as it were, feel themselves surrounded and sustained by invisible waves." It is well known that by a magnetic infection the visions of clairvoyants pass into those around them, which is the case with easily excited imaginations and timid natures, especially in ghost-seeing.

Lastly, their visions are very similar to our magnetic appearances, and are often mistaken for subjective visions. "The inwardly concentrated soul envelopes itself in the garments of the celestial bodies and the elements; speaks from them as if hearing voices from without, and answering them." "In early records," says Windischmann, "we often find that voices reveal themselves to the seers from the sun, moon, and stars, from plants and animals—even from rigid stones, telling them where and when to seek for light and truth. When such revelations in symbols are unintelligible, are they interpreted by some world-known seer, whom they ask for an explanation." The Brahmins also know that all visions are not real, and that many falsities run through them, as in illusory dreams and the first stages of sleep, when not perfectly freed from the influence of the senses. Even the vicariat of the senses, and vision through the region of the heart, are found among the Indian seers as in our own magnetic states. Seeing by means of the arteries of the heart and the liver, and by the light which is called Pittam—gall—is explained by Windischmann as the vision of the region of the heart, and that the ether in the heart and the intestines is pointed out as the place of sleep, where the soul perceives all things as in a mirror.

The contemplative life has always been so dominant in India that the whole state was subject to the priesthood; the gift of the seer was always looked upon as the most essential part of the priestly office, and therefore of spiritual life. For the priests were created from the head of Brahma, and therefore were the head of the people, while all other

castes and conditions represented the members. Their ancestors were, according to the Indian belief, seers and prophets, which power they had gained by their contemplative and ascetic lives. The whole spiritual life in India has, in a certain sense, always been somnambulic and ecstatic; their manners and customs, as well as their poetry and philosophy, all bear witness to the fact. Passavant says of them, with perfect correctness:—"As the whole social life in India maintained its distinct and peculiar form, so did also science and the arts. It would be impossible to appreciate the Indian philosophers without a knowledge of the phenomena of extacia, and the various ecstatic states. Their philosophy is essentially an ecstatic clairvoyance. When this appears clear, it is the depth and comprehension of their knowledge of the world; but where it is obscure, it is from that unfettered imagination, which, not heeding any outward object, knows no bounds, and produces the most fantastic forms. Superstition is therefore nowhere greater than in this country; for it is the distortion of great truths, and appears here often as the pathological phenomenon of extacia, as madness is often but an unhealthy somnambulism. For as in diseased conditions the eye only perceives subjective delusions, and the ear hears internal sounds, so do subjective pictures of the imagination arise in unhealthy somnambulism—fantastic dreams; in which, however, as in madness, luminous rays are still visible."

According to Colebrooke, the philosophical conditions of the Brahmins are transferred from generation to generation, maintaining this contemplation in full activity. "God is an eternal being, a pure light in a sacred dwelling, and the reflective soul is a revelation of that radiant power. I reflect mentally on that light—Brahma—guided by a hidden beacon which is within me, and by which I think of that which is contained in my heart. May the almighty Brahma who illuminates the seven universes unite my soul with his radiance!" Besides this prayer and the above-named means, the Brahmins have a peculiar method of closing the outer senses, and rousing the inner senses to contemplation. According to Görres (Mythengeschichte der Asiatischen Welt, vol. i. p. 113), this process much resembles that of the

Hesychiasts. For the Oupnekhat (Oupnekhata—the Book of the Secret—written in Persian) says:—"To produce the wise Maschgudi (vision), we must sit on a four-cornered base, namely the heels, and then close the gates of the body. The ears by the thumbs; the eyes by the fore-fingers; the nose by the middle; the lips by the four other fingers. The lamp within the body will then be preserved from wind and movement, and the whole body will be full of light. Like the tortoise, man must withdraw every sense within himself; the heart must be guarded, and then Brahma will enter into him, like fire and lightning. In the great fire in the cavity of the heart a small flame will be lit up, and in its centre is Atma (the soul); and he who destroys all worldly desires and wisdom will be like a hawk which has broken through the meshes of the net, and will have become one with the great being. As the rivers, after they have traversed a great space, become united with the unfettered sea, so are these men become Brahma-Atma. In the greatness of the great one his light has become universal; whoever perceives Brahma becomes Brahma, hundred times hundred times the sun's light does not equal the light of him who has become Brahma-Atma (divine spirit). Atma reveals his form, but therefore there are but few who reach this height, for Atma disturbs their senses, so that they only see outwardly. Who, therefore, enters this path to Brahma must deny the world and its pleasures; must only cover his nakedness; and staff in hand collect enough, but no more, alms to maintain life. The lesser ones only do this; the greater throw aside pitcher and staff, and do not even read the Oupnekhata. The atmosphere is Brahma's covering; he attaches himself to nothing; he is not separate from, or bound to, anything; for him there is neither day nor night, nothing but Atma. Brahma is everything to him."

"The Fakirs in India, says Zimmermann (Von der Einsamkeit, vol. ii. p. 107) have a sect which is called the Illuminated, or those who are united with God. The Illuminated have overcome the world, live in some secluded garden, like hermits, so deeply sunk in contemplation that they look for whole hours at one spot, insensible to all outward objects. But then, as they state with indescribable delight, they

perceive God as a pure white light. For some days before they live on nothing but bread and water, sink into deep silence, look upwards for some time with fixed gaze, and then turn their eyes, in deep concentration of the soul, to the point of the nose, and now the white light appears."

The belief that man ought to become one with God, and despise everything earthly, as being but a snare placed by the goddess Maja to entrap the unwary, is universal in India, as well as the belief in the identity of man with his Creator, according to the old, original belief in the intimate communion of the creation with the Creator. Therefore the soul of man should, like the hawk bursting the threads of a net, break through the corporeal nature and become wholly Atma. Only when man entirely severs himself from the outer world of the senses can he become united with God; if he does not this he remains in nature, but deserted by God, and a mere member of the machine which moves by its own laws, and has no knowledge of God. The two directions of the spiritualism dominant in India, as well as the directly opposing theories, originate in pantheism rising from a state of nature.

In the sacred books of India we find many passages which evidently refer to their ecstatic life. We may mention a few as given by Windischmann and Colebrooke.

Man embraces all things, like the ocean, and is higher than the universe. Whatever world he strives after is given to him, for he is capable of gaining anything after which he strives earnestly, by true humility and unity of spirit, which occurs during the time when the senses are overcome, and the gates of the body are closed, as well as in perfect death; when the spirit of man raises the light spirit-body to the regions of his longing and his works. (Colebrooke.)

In the Upanischad we find:—"The heart (Monas) wanders, during the time of waking, to places where the eye, the ear, and the other senses cannot reach, and affords a great light. It wanders also in dreams to other places, and illuminates all the senses. In deep sleep it is united and undivided, and has not its equal in the whole body; it is the principal of all senses. He who is able, performs his actions by the heart (Monas); and he who perceives, perceives through the heart, which is the cause of all

sacrifices. It is the lamp and the centre of the body and of all the senses. In it reside memory and reflection. Within it is contained the past, present, and future state of the world, everything mundane: but it is imperishable. In the heart lives the immortal person, not larger than the thumb; in the centre of the mind this person (the inward light) is clear as a smokeless flame. In this cavity is Brahma's dwelling—a small lotus-flower, a small space filled with ethereal light. That which is within (in the ether) should be understood. The same ether (Akasa) which is without in the world, is also within that small cavity, and in this space in the heart are heaven and earth, fire and the wind, sun and moon, lightning and the stars. Everything is, and yet is not, in this spot. And if one says that herein everything is contained—all that is desirable, what can remain when Brahma's dwelling, the heart, decays and passes away? To this we must reply: that gentle ether does not change, and does not die with the body. It is Brahma's dwelling, containing all things. It is the soul, removed from all evil —from age; and not subject to disease or death. He who does not know this Atma, goes out of this world into the universe, without power over himself, and receives the reward of his services which is due to him. But he who knows the spirit, departs with power over his wishes, and receives eternal rewards. He from whose heart the veil of ignorance and error has been removed—who has received the gentle form of the ether, has gained all that can be desired. The ignorant step over this spirit as over a treasure buried in the earth, and do not find it; men do not go whither they go, and with whom they communicate every day; when sunk in deep sleep they see Brahma, and withdraw into that inner ether. But he who gains the spirit sees, when he does not see outwardly; he becomes healed when he is sick. To him the night becomes day, the darkness daylight; he is revealed to himself, and this revelation is the world of Brahma. Who has gained this is master of all time and place, when he has severed himself from all connection with the senses. He is then truth."

According to later accounts from India by Jones Forbes (Oriental Memoirs, London, 1813) this gift of divination is still common there.

Forbes says:—"Ghost-seers and astrologers are innumerable in India, and millions believe in their supernatural powers; many wander about like gipsies; but only a few Brahmins use the prophetic power with a certain dignity and modesty. I will give a short account of one of these Brahmins as an example." To understand the following narrative, we must here remark that at Forbes's arrival in Bombay in 1766 there were three parties, At the head of one stood Spencer, at the other Crommelin; the third was under the leadership of Mr. Hodges, who, it was said, had been deprived of the Governorship in an unjust and improper manner. Hodges had on this account written a violent letter to the Governor and the council of the Company, and was, as he refused to retract what he had written, removed from his Governorship of Surat, recalled to Bombay, and dismissed from the Company's service. The Government of Bombay had sent a report of these proceedings to England.

Forbes continues as follows:—"This Brahmin was a young man when Hodges made his acquaintance. He was but little known to the English, but was much celebrated among the Hindoos, at least on the west coast of India. I believe that Hodges had become acquainted with him when he was English Resident in Bombay. Both became as intimate friends as the difference in religion and caste would permit. The Brahmin, an upright man, often admonished his friend never to depart from the path of virtue, which would lead him to success and honour, and to eternal happiness. To impress this exhortation upon his mind, he assured him that he would rise from the situation he filled in Bombay to higher posts in the Company's service; after that, he would be Collector of Tellicherry and Surat, and lastly Governor of Bombay. Mr. Hodges often mentioned these prophecies to his friends, but himself paid little attention to them. It was only when he gradually rose to these posts of honour that he placed more confidence in the Brahmin, particularly when he was named Collector of Surat. When, however, in course of time, Spencer was named Governor, and Hodges was dismissed from the service of the Company, he sent to the prophet, who at that time was living at Bulpara, a sacred village on the banks of the Tappj. He

went to Hodges, and listened to the disagreeable end of his hopes and endeavours. Hodges finished by saying that he should sail for Europe, and therefore did not expect the brilliant fulfilment of the Brahmin's promises. It is even said that he let fall some reproaches during the conversation, on account of these deceitful prophecies. The Brahmin listened to all with the greatest composure, did not move a muscle, and said:—'You see this ante-chamber, and that room to which it leads; Mr. Spencer has reached the portico, but will not enter the palace—he has placed his foot on the threshold, but he will not enter the house. Notwithstanding every appearance to the contrary, you will reach the honours and fill the elevated post I have foretold, and to which he has been appointed. A black cloud hangs before him.

"This surprising prophecy was soon known in Surat and Bombay; it was the topic of conversation in every society; Hodges had, however, so little confidence in it, that he prepared to commence his voyage home. In the meantime, however, the dispatches had been received from Bombay, and an answer was returned with unusual rapidity. The Court of Directors condemned Spencer's proceedings as Governor of Bengal, reversed his appointment to the Governorship of Bombay, dismissed him from the Company's service, and Hodges became Governor.

"From this time the Brahmin gained the greatest influence over his mind, and he undertook nothing of importance without having asked the counsel of his friend. It is remarkable that the Brahmin never prophesied anything beyond the Government of Bombay; spoke of his return home; but it was well known that he maintained a mysterious silence regarding the time after the year 1771. Hodges died suddenly in the night of February 22, 1771."

Forbes gives a second account of the predictions of this Brahmin, given to a widow who was mourning for her son. This prediction was literally fulfilled. A third is as follows: "A few months before my return from India, a gentleman who was to fill a high situation in India landed in Bombay with his wife. Both were young, and had one child. He left his wife with a friend, and went to Surat to arrange his household; she was to follow him in a short time. On the

evening before the day when she was to set out for Surat, the friend with whom she was staying entertained a large company, and among others the Brahmin. He introduced him to the company, and begged him in joke to foretell the future of the young couple who had just arrived from Europe. To the astonishment of the whole company, particularly the young lady, the Brahmin cast a look of pity upon her, and said, after an impressive pause, to the master of the house, in Hindustanee, "Her cup of happiness is full, but rapidly vanishing! a bitter draught remains, for which she must be prepared." Her husband had written that he would be at Surat with a barque. He was not, however, there, and in his stead came one of my friends with the message that her husband was dangerously ill. When she arrived, he was suffering from a violent attack of fever, and died in her arms. I returned in the same vessel with the widow. During the passage the anniversary of her husband's death took place."

The Hindoos rely, according to the Zend Books, on the aid of geniis and spirits, and believe that they are able to drive away sickness by their aid.

Origines relates that the Brahmins are able to perform wonderful cures by means of certain words (Orig. contra Celsum); and Philostratus says, "The Indian Brahmins carry a staff and a ring, by means of which they are able to do almost anything. The Indian sages also observe the course of the stars, and predict from them."

The so-called manipulation is also known to the Hindoos, for mention is often made of it. So says Baldinger (Medicinisches Journal, p. 14), that the Jesuits had learned it from the Brahmins; and Grosse gives a minute account of a manipulation known in the East Indies under the name of Tschamping. According to Reimer, the τελχῖνες or θελχῖνες (from θέλγω, to stroke) knew this manipulation; and travellers narrate that the Indian sorcerers throw those whom they wish to rob into a gentle sleep, by making passes with the hand and other arts.

As in India the priesthood was the foundation of spiritual life, and ranked above social life, so was the paternal care of heaven changed to an absolute earthly monarchy. Among the Chinese there is no such dominant spiritual life,

not even a distinct priesthood, to preserve and transmit in traditions the wisdom of their ancestors. "The Chinese nation," says Hang, "is the oldest and most prominent member of the great family spread over the whole of further Asia, whose heavy, childish, cold, sensual nature explains the peculiarity of their history. Many traits of their character, as of their religion, point to their origin in the bare, monotonous table-lands; of monastic customs we scarcely find a trace: their peculiar appearance rather leads us to believe them agriculturists. To imagine that a perfect mythology or heroic traditions had been determinated by Kong-fu-tse and his scholars, is to misunderstand the character of this people, to whom true poetry and heroism have ever been totally wanting. Its heroes are peaceful sages, fathers and benefactors of the people" (Hang, Universal History.)

The Chinese did not migrate into China as conquerors; neither did they bring any poetic spirit with them; from the commencement they had alone to struggle with nature, and their history begins with severe labour for the mere necessaries of life. In such circumstances the conditions of a spiritual reflective life are wanting, and we shall find visions rarer, or at least of different character, here, where the imagination is so occupied by nature. The division of the land—originally nine hundred acres for every eight families, of which acres the centre one was called heaven's acre, and destined to pay tribute to the king—was applied to the most opposite things, and even to religion, which, compelled to take a certain form, was not made over to a Priesthood. In China there being no division of the people as in India, there were no corporations, no exclusive communities, no tribes, no system of caste, not even an aristocracy above the common people: from this arose the peaceful social life, the repose, the absence of wars, the monotony produced by similarity of manners, customs, and modes of life. Agriculture occupied young and old, rich and poor, the sage as well as the common man; learned men passed from the cares of government to the plough, and the Emperor descended yearly from his heaven to plough a furrow in the earth.

Higher spiritual striving is universally wanting in China; the whole Chinese spirit is absorbed by consideration

for the material interests of a comfortable, or even meagrely-sustained life; there are no religious traditions, no religious systems are maintained by the priests, and no place or time is left free to seclusion, and quiet, solitary, inward contemplation. Universal instruction consists in acquaintance with the five cardinal virtues and duties towards parents, towards ancestors, the king, elder brothers and sisters, as well as the five elements, fire, wood, water, earth, and metal, which provide food for man; for sustenance is the heaven of the Chinese people, and unity and mutual assistance give prosperity: on this account these rules were not only openly taught in the schools, but were impressed upon the people by inscriptions, songs, and admonitions; the officials, and even the king, taking the place of teachers.

As there is no especial priesthood in China, and religion merges itself in the powers of the state, a pantheistic worshipping of the elements, rivers and mountains, heavens, stars, and ancestors, is a natural result. We find here universally a want of spiritual depth, although pantheism is not to be looked for in its rudest shape; for the heavens, the earth, and the ancestors, show glimpses of the monotheistic idea. The sky is represented as the father—as the male; the earth as the quiescent impressible female. The sky, as the active, radiant existence, is so elevated, the earth so subject, that the offerings brought to it are imagined being destined to a celestial spirit watching above all. The souls of ancestors supposed originally to have come from heaven were esteemed most highly; but it has been unjustly said that the Chinese worshipped the material heaven; and that which I have before said of natural religions applies equally here. In their orthography the symbol for air, breath, spirit (according to Hang), is the fundamental portion of most ideas connected with religion. They have also especially distinguished the spirits (powers)—the *Schin* inhabiting natural objects. *Schin* means generally spirit, God, man. Thus the heaven-spirit is distinguished for the heaven—the lord, or highest, *Schang-ti*—seeing without eyes, and earing without ears; always waking and guiding the dreams of the sleeping; always wandering over the earth. "However pure this idea, however proper and dignified it is," says Hang, "however

free from the sanguinary and repugnant cruelties which usually accompany the mythologies of civilized nations, yet, on the whole, it is a poor religion."

The want of a peculiar religious system, and even the unembodied worship of the gods; the distortions, where their barren imaginations endeavoured to create—in fact, the dry coldness with which they treated all things,—betrays the weakness of their religious capacities. To investigate more fully the nature of their gods, or even the present lot of their ancestors, never interested them; it was a practical, earthly object, the welfare of their crops, of the state, which gave the value to their religion; for this is their heaven, the end of all their strivings to obtain perfection. "The arrangement, however, of the seasons, of the weather, the crops, even the actions of men and animals, proceeds from heaven. This arrangement is heavenly reason itself, and to acknowledge it is wisdom; to confide in it, blindly to follow nature, is virtue; rebellion against heaven is, on the contrary, to hinder and confuse it. As the former never remains without reward, so does this never escape punishment, for above all is Schang-ti's severe justice." All ills of nature and the kingdom proceed from the transgressions of men—darkness, floods, malformation, droughts, war! On the contrary, rain and warmth at the proper time, ripening of fruits, peace and prosperity of the kingdom, come when man keeps the right course and remains true to nature and the divine germ (Lin) implanted in him; so that he draws everything upon himself: and especially is this the case with the King, whom Schang-ti has placed over the people. All are Schang-ti's children, but the King is his first-born; from this his sacred title, Tieu-tse—son of heaven. As, therefore, the first-born, the eldest in all, represents the father, so must his dominion not only be over the Chinese people, but also over all men (Schin—Man—Chinese); even over spirits, nature, and their ancestors,—that is, as many of them as have not entered heaven at Schang-ti's side by their virtues, for all come from Schang-ti; and oven the earth, although venerated as a mother, is subject to the first-born. Therefore no difference is made between China and the world; it is the world in the narrowest sense, for all that is under the heaven belongs to it, and which, as a family, has but one father, the heaven but

one sun, the world but one heaven, so can it have but one monarch! It is the centre where heaven and earth join."

Although the Chinese mind possessed under such a constitution but few elements in which magic could strike root and throw out its ramifications and influence, yet we find many traces giving evidence of the instinctive movement of the mind, as well as of magical influence; though certainly not in the manner or abundance that we meet with it in India. The great variety of these appearances is, however, striking, as in no other country are they so seldom met with.

As the King, as it were, microcosmically represents the human races in fortune or misfortune before the divinity, so must his eye be constantly directed to those signs in which the will of the Most High is revealed; "he must observe dreams as much as the phenomena of nature, the eclipses and the positions of the stars; and, when all else is wanting, he must consult the oracle of the tortoise, or the Plant Tsche, and direct his actions accordingly." He is therefore, as it were, the universal oracle of the people, as the popular mind is relieved from every flight of imagination by a highly remarkable mental compulsion.

In the great barrenness of the popular mind, the Chinese language is a means of repression, by which the understanding is compelled from childhood to think in a given manner, and to learn the meaning and nature of their written characters; so is also the outward direction given to the development of the mind, from which it is never able to depart, owing to the monotony of its daily occupations. The system of writing is so difficult, containing upwards of eighteen thousand of the most intricate characters, that all mental energy is directed to it, and withers superficially; so that it is extremely rare to find the comprehension and appreciation so vivid that they rise to symbolism. Development of the mind is therefore wanting, partly from the poorness of the original heritage, partly from the absence of outward opportunities, as we have just seen. Their whole life consists in the uniformity of a childish care for the outward and inferior interests of life.

It is easy to understand from these circumstances where-

fore we find so few of these phenomena of magic and the visionary and ecstatic state, in other parts of the East so frequent, and therefore they are scattered and uncertain. Accounts are, however, not wanting to show that the phenomena as well as theories of prophecy were known in more remote times. Under the Emperor Hoei Ti, about A.D. 304, a mystical sect arose in China calling themselves the teachers of the emptiness and nothingness of all things. They also exhibited the art of binding the power of the senses, and producing a region which they believed the perfection. The mystics of Japan call their deep meditation upon the mysteries of the Godhead, in which man is dead to all outward influences of the senses, *Safen*. The priests of Xaka throw themselves into this state. Dorma, one of the followers of Xaka, cut off his eyelids, thinking that they hindered his ecstatic meditation. He is one of the great saints of Japan. In a peguanic temple in Siam a colossal statue of Xaka is worshipped, represented as sunk in contemplation. The priests daily sit for some time in the same posture, during which they believe themselves to have ceased being men. The Malabars therefore call one description of solitary seers "men without blood" (Zimmermann, Von der Einsamkeit, vol. ii. p. 110.)

Lao-tse, (A.D. 604) one of the two greatest minds among the Chinese, their deepest speculative thinker, withdrew into solitude when he despaired of influencing his fellow men. "Men who no longer exist will be called upon in vain; the sage must only care for himself and his age, and if this cares not for him he must not trouble himself, but enjoy his treasure in secret, and seek within himself the highest good—repose of the soul. Reason (Tav) is the first, eternal, perfect, incomprehensible, without matter or shape—a square without corners; it stands above heaven, and is its measure, as heaven is the measure of the earth and earth of man. It has produced the *One*, this the *two*, this the *three*, then the universe, which receives its light and life from the *Three*. From it the soul proceeded, which strives to return to its origin through everchanging shapes, to which self-government, freedom from passions and want, seclusion from all the outward world, is the way." From this we see the germ of the system of emanation and the

Chinese theory of the soul has great analogy with that of the Buddhists. Such a theory and a self-chosen seclusion is, however, so rare in China that Lao-tse may be regarded as almost the only instance.

Keng-fu-tse, — Confucius,—his celebrated countryman and cotemporary, has nothing of his depth; he is in every respect a Chinese, who does not search for the secret of heaven and the earth, but regards nothing but self-knowledge and the advancement and happiness of his native country founded thereupon. He, however, also acknowledges with sorrow the degeneracy of the age, and strives with his whole energy to counteract the evil. He was of the royal house of Schang (A.D. 552), and born on the peninsula Schangting; studied the ancient history of his fatherland from infancy, and derived from it the conviction that it was only with the restoration of the ancient principles of simplicity and unity that the dignity and happiness of his native land could be restored: above all, the ancient family relationships were to produce this. That virtue consisted in childish obedience, and in willing subjection to the heavenly decrees, as had originally been the case. Travelling from one court to another, he found universal opposition, though swarms of disciples followed his footsteps. The Kings were his works, considered sacred by the Chinese, and consisting of speeches, proverbs, and songs, and a history which has since been continued. His writings appear to be the essence of the ancient traditions. He teaches that above all things the celestial nature implanted in the heart, the inner light, is to be followed; that man must maintain a just medium in all things, and must subject his inclinations and passions, a difficult task only to be performed by unremitting endeavours,—the fruit borne being peace and cheerfulness.

King-fu-tse's scholars formed, according to Hang, a sect which reminds us of the Hebrew prophets. They fought against the spirit of the times with fiery energy; but not against the sluggishness and the passive spirit of the Chinese. The high inspiration of the Hebrew prophets was wanting in them still more than in the Brahmins. Nothing is known of their revelations concerning the highest and the divine word. However, Kircher (China illus-

trata) and other early missionaries relate that since the earliest ages sickness had been cured by the laying on of hands, by breathing on the affected spot, and other means. Osbeck and Torceno (Journey to the East Indies and China, 1765) declare that it had always been customary among the Chinese to strengthen weak, sickly, and exhausted persons by means of a gentle pressure of the hands on various parts of the body. The hour-long feeling of the pulse by Chinese physicians might be almost regarded as a species of magnetic influence.

If we turn our attention westward, we find in those countries which have played a prominent part in the history of man,—as Persia, Media, and Babylon,—a ground as favourable to magic as the highly cultivated China appears. The word magic has been frequently believed unfavourable of Persian origin, and the art itself has often been traced to Persia and Chaldæa. The intellectual system dominant amongst Chaldæans, Medes, and Babylonians, and connected intimately with their civilization, included divinatory magic, soothsaying, and the theory of the spiritual world. Persia was particularly the land of Devs—the Demon world and Magic, where Theurgy had its roots in a peculiar science, and from whence its idealism flowed westward, and in later times spread and reproduced itself in the Christian world.

The belief in the origin of all living things from the eternal fire is one of the most ancient in the East, and has been maintained in the purest form in Persia. Ormuzd and Ahriman, as the good and bad principles, were first derived from that original unity, and the Dualism of Zoroaster belongs, in fact, to a later period of development and speculation, which degenerated into fire-worshipping and black magic ; which, however, never became naturalised in Persia, where magic, in its better acceptation, remained dominant as a deeper insight into Nature and the secret powers. It only received its distorted form from the Jews and Alexandrians, and was sustained by them throughout the middle ages.

According to the Parsee faith, all things in the world arise from two original principles. The first is without beginning, the light, the fire, the living inscrutable principle ;

the light of nature is but a symbol of the original, eternal light. Everything which has a form takes its shape from the male or female principle. Ormuzd, the good principle, is the emanation—the word. He is of a purely spiritual nature; surrounded by the geniis of heaven as his servants. As the opposite of the good and the light, is the principle of darkness, of evil—Ahriman. From the former the spiritual, from the latter the material, beings are said to have arisen; both, therefore, are continually in a state of conflict. Everything visible is a picture, an expression of the invisible celestial, which constantly influences the visible; from this the influence of good and evil spirits upon man,—who, however, may, by his conduct, his pious and pure life, approach the light, and thereby place himself under the protection and community of the good spirits; and, on the contrary, man may give himself up to the power of evil, and only do evil things.

The magical unity of the subjective and objective, or the supernatural and spiritual materials, was at first but little distinguished in the emanation-system. In this the distinction follows the laws of psychological development of the human mind. In a child the subjective and objective, the reflection and real, are at first not at all distinguished, but only become clearer gradually; they are at first confused. In an increasing power of comprehension and a wider development of the understanding these reflections and the reality separate; the imagination seizes upon the ideal world and separates the shadow from the reality, and now man begins to distinguish the outward from the inward, or at least to look upon them as not identical but as separate and self-existing. The process of analysing these contradictions is in the generality of men the same as in children, but of great length, and differs in individuals according to the time and the progress of development. The separation gradually takes place; the ideal forms of the imagination and dream-like pictures change to firm, enduring visions; they become fixed, and ideas arise—consistent unities—which either are acknowledged as inward ideal pictures of the mind or as reflections of outward objective things. The mind forms certain characteristic remarks on the conflictions of the inner ideal visions and on the reflection of

actual outward things, to which it holds firmly; and this is called science. And thus arise the dogmas, the real rather than the inward—subjective; and outward—objective, the spiritual than the material—natural. It is easily understood, however, that this separation is very difficult, if we are to count upon perfect composition, and that there is a certain unvarying form of classifying these dogmas; for reason has to form itself, and does not at once arise like Minerva from Jupiter's forehead; because the imagination possesses an unconquerable inclination to attract all things into the circle of its influence, so that it is always difficult to know how much reason has arranged as a useful and completed work, and how much imagination the dogma still contains.

The dogmatic beings of the spiritual world are not reliable and correctly defined works of the reason; for reason easily oversteps its own laws, and seizes on delusions, as a child grasps at its own reflection in a mirror, thinking to possess a reality. As in the first infancy of the dreamy life of the imagination, man, in the second or higher period of development, easily become confused in the separation of the true individuality from the material non-individuality, and as he formerly existed wholly in the subjective dream-world, so does he now only live in the objective world; or he regards his inward pictures as real outward objects, and considers that to be a work of the reason which is but a production of the imagination. From this cause arise the innumerable fancies and delusions of nations, in their higher periods of development, as well as of individual man; in the dogmatic reason of science as in the progressive spirit of nations.

If we regard the age when the Western Asiatic nations stepped upon the stage of history, and gave evidence of their civilization, we shall find that their views are sound in respect to magic. It was the period when theoretical views were formed and ideas embodied, and among the philosophical thinkers the age of scientific dogmatism created by inquiring speculation. Their conceptions required names, and names as a distinction often associated with material ideas, instead of being merely ideal signs; therefore the reflections of things, not the things themselves. And thus the Oriental regarded the pictures of his

imagination as material forms of subjective realities: turning his inner world outwards, and regarding it as a reality, the objects of his fancy became to him real things, and by his inquiring science he placed the whole fabric on a dogmatic foundation. If formerly the airy beings of the imagination floated lightly through the world, these spirits now became embodied, and analytic reason increased their number and importance, so that they now appeared in the world as objective individualities, with good and evil natures: the same spirit, therefore, "which in the first period of childhood endeavours, like a hieroglyphic serpent, to climb the tree of knowledge, now influences the world as the personal enemy of mankind,—as the head of a regularly constituted lower world of darkness. Behold here Satan! Ahriman; Belial; Beelzebub; the Devs; the Darwands; the Scheilims and Dschinas; the devils of the witches; even the crafty—and poetically renowned—Mephistopheles! In short, the whole innumerable army of the evil spirits, devils, and demons of all nations, countries, languages, and religions. On the other hand, the Cherubims, Seraphims, the Amschaspands, Izeds, Fervers, Sephiroths, Malachim Ben Elohim, &c.,—lastly, the millions of astral and elementary spirits, of intermediary spirits, ghosts, and imaginary beings of all races and colours!!!" (Horst, Zauberbibliothek, vol. v. p. 52.)

The religious philosophers of the second stage of the civilization of nations, such as the Persians, Chaldæans, Indians, belong, with their spiritual theories, to these stages of speculative dogmatisms. The human mind endeavoured to form theories upon all these magical phenomena of the spiritual world, whether subjective intangible hallucinations, illusions and delusions, or real objective outward developments; and to gain a certain stage in which the individuality of man might be clearly distinguished, and to gain a definite view of that which before had been chaotic.

All old teachings of the Chaldæans, Indians, and Egyptians, are very similar to the Dualism of Zoroaster. The good and evil principle is the same with the Egyptian Osiris, the Isis, and Typhon. The Chaldæans, according to Plutarch, had even two principal good and evil spirits, and many others who were neutral. In the Indian Dualism

the forms are less severe than in the faith of Zoroaster, but the demons and devs are not less in number than in Chaldæa and Babylon, as their theosophic system, the poetic songs and traditions, show. From this last country the Jews, after their captivity, brought magic and theurgy, with the whole Oriental demonology; that sorcery which was so sternly forbidden by Moses, awoke in the spirit of the medo-persic dogmatism, through their ideas of the devil and the angels, with their various ranks, striking such deep roots that it was no more to be eradicated. Tiedemann says, "For if we are candid, we must admit that the teachings concerning spirits—demons—and Satan, by Christ, the apostles of the New Testament, even of the whole of the early Christians, was no other than the then universally accepted belief of the East, as it had been received in Judæas, but modified according to the new belief of the world, and by the magical knowledge of the age assisting to destroy the power of Satan, and of demons, by the teachings of Christ." That the Jewish sages transplanted the oriental belief in magic to Alexandria, which, in a modified state, was later spread over Christendom, will be shown subsequently.

The entire system of oriental magic is in accordance with the principal doctrines of the Zendavesta; the various Amschaspands are represented as male and female, good and bad, but the idea of evil is especially associated with the female; this is also the case with the spirits of a low degree, the Izeds. The Peris, or the femals Devs, are synonymous with devil (Zendavesta, vol. i. p. 116). Their common residence is, according to the Zendavesta, the Desert of Cobi, where they are to be found in immense numbers, and from whence they issue into the surrounding countries, to work all kind of evil upon men. Here, therefore, we again find that uninhabited deserts are named as the haunts of spirits.

The Peris are also mentioned in the Zendavesta as being in communication with sorcerers; Peridar is a sorcerer who is possessed by evil spirits. "In the oldest Books of the Zendavesta—in the Vendidat—they are particularly called the teachers of all sorts of magic; and in the remotest ages

men appear to have regarded them as having bodily intercourse with magicians; which reminds us, in the most remarkable manner, of other beliefs in perverted races of spirits. Among the meritorious actions of Sosiosch,—the saviour of the world—is reckoned that through him the Peris, with all their seductions and stratagems, were trodden under foot" (Horst, Deuteroskopie, p. 233.) Horst here mentions that the Peris of Arabian romance are not to be confounded with the original Peris. In the Persian romances, which are tinged with Islamism, they are represented as the beau ideals of female beauty; and the greatest compliment that a modern Persian poet can pay to a lady is to compare her to one of those airy beings.

The Devs of ancient Persia are our devils, according to Horst, such as they were represented in the popular mind of Europe; evil, baleful, ill-disposed beings, with horns, tail, and bristly hair. However enchanting the Dschins or Devs of modern Persia are represented as being, they are not the less described as deceitful, cruel, and treacherous: and the male Devs are considered the most dangerous. The Koran does not trust the nature of these spirits, but warns the faithful against their tricks and temptations, and recommends prayer as the best safeguard against them. It is remarkable that the Deschins are supposed to undergo occasional changes as serpents. As many European spirits, such as fairies and nixes, undergo similar transformations, the question is admissible, whether the idea of a serpent-metamorphosis has not reached us from the East, and is not alone derived from the Mosaic history. The serpent is the symbol of Ahriman; in the form of a serpent the arch-fiend fell from heaven and transpierced the earth; his Devs often take the serpent's shape as well as the Peris of Zoroasterism; lastly, the whole of Parseeism is full of serpents and serpent symbols. That Zoroasterism admitted the sexes among the spirits, and entered in it particulars of male and female intercourse among them, has probably given rise to the frightful superstition which was current in the middle ages, and reached the highest degree of mental confusion in the, so-called, Incubus and Succubus, that the human mind has ever fallen into, where the devil was supposed to

transform himself into snakes, wolves, cats, and dogs; to satisfy his desires and produce monsters which performed every description of evil and wickedness.

The actuating motives of magic are here similar to those in India; religious principle, and philosophical contemplation, were the inward motive powers favouring the natural and hereditary disposition to indulge the imagination, which, in China, where religion or philosophy are scarcely found, is almost entirely wanting. However, we discover many difficulties.

Religion did not here strike root so deeply as among the Hindoos; the spirit of the Medes and Persians was more volatile. As in India religious enthusiasm is dominant, we find in Persia poetic inspiration, which, though different in the varied flowers it produces, is still as closely connected with the somnambulic element as the former. May not the highly original poetry of the Western Asiatic nations often have been the expression, or rather imitation, of ecstatic visions?

The philosophical idea in the good and bad principle, and of the spiritual world which influences this earthly life, must have assisted tradition in forming visions; must here have produced those terrible visions of heavenly and hellish shapes, and the most frightful distortions, which, in India, were much more simply produced by a more enthusiastic fanaticism: there the seer received by divine light, here he lost himself in a multitude of outward objects, with which he confounded his own identity. Convulsions, accompanied by the mind's absence from the body, in distant countries, were here common, for the imagination was less firm, and also less spiritual.

The outward causes are also different; the modes of life, geographical position, and artificial means, producing various modifications. The mode of life in those Western Asiatic countries has always been very variable, and therefore disturbs and distorts the occupation of the senses, and the outward life is therefore reflected upon the inner dream-world. The spirits, therefore, are of endless varieties of shape, and incline men to gratify their passions, showing them the means of so doing, and descending even to the

minutest particulars, which was far below the elevated natures of the Indian Seers.

The country possesses everything which can give the imagination scope for visions; mountains and valleys, caves and deserts, and the remarkable eruptions of steam and fire: and therefore in this respect we find superabundant materials for these varied and attractive romances.

The sparing, but nutritious and strengthening food of the hunter and herdsman, produces an easily flowing blood, and does not admit of melancholy fixing itself in stagnant juices. A deep and dreamy contemplation is therefore but seldom met with here.

Lastly, the methods of producing the magical states at will and artificially are here of ancient date and universal knowledge. Of narcotic substances, opium, hemp, and deadly nightshade, we find the most accurate accounts, and they are still in use among the modern Persians, Moslems, and Arabs. Theurgy even contained the art of communicating with spirits and of subjecting them. Thus the nature of the vision often shows that they are produced by artificial means; the flying and absence of the soul; visions and transformations of animals; and lastly, the very common infection by such visions of easily excitable natures, which, however, are also produced by fear of spirits and similarly excited religious enthusiasm.

We find that dreams were first systematically cultivated in Asia, at the magnificent temple of Belus at Babylon, where, each night, according to Herodotus, a woman sacred to the god slept in a celestial bed. Strabo mentions another oracle at the Caspian Sea.

According to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, the Chaldæan priest of Jupiter and Belus maintained that the god often appeared in his temple, particularly at night, and revealed himself there to a woman whom he had chosen. It was a universal belief that the gods revealed themselves to men in many ways. The Chaldæans, who are counted among the most ancient soothsayers by Cicero, ascribed a certain magical power to herbs, by aid of which they declared themselves able to perform all kinds of miraculous actions. Thus Galen mentions one Pamphilos, who had written that by means of certain sentences and magic

formulæ, he could very much increase the virtues of herbs. (Galenus de simpl. medicament. facult. iv. provem.) The astrology of the Chaldæans has become a proverb. They were accustomed to prophesy according to the movements and stations of the stars, and gained such renown in their art that astrologers, even among the Romans, were called Chaldæans. It has been said that astrology spread from the Chaldæans to all other nations. According to Plutarch they maintained that the planets influenced the earth in various manners; some beneficially, others injuriously. They also frequently used talismans, inscribed with various images and symbols, which not only were to prevent and cure sickness, but also and especially for soothsaying. (Tiedemann, De quæstione quæ fuerit artium magic. origo, p. 16.)

The Chaldæans had three orders of priests for the cultivation of magic: firstly, the aschapim, or the singers, exorcisers; secondly, the magicians, the sages, and highest; and thirdly, the star-gazers. That the Chaldæan priests cured diseases and worked wonders by means of laying on of the hands, by words, by light and sound, all of which were connected with their system of magic, has always been an universal tradition, and other nations are said to have learned these from them. It was a general belief among the Persians that their kings were illuminated by a celestial fire which proceeded directly from the fountain of light, Ormuzd; the holy fire was therefore carried before the king. (Zendavesta, vol. i. p. 39.)

Among the Persians the Maginsi, Magi, represented the priesthood, and magic was synonymous with their religious rites; Plato therefore says (Alcibiad. edit. Ficin. i. p. 457), "The Kings of Persia learned magic, which is a worship of their gods." Magic embraced everything connected with science and religion. Soothsaying was regarded by them as a higher revelation by the gods, and thus soothsaying was practised by the Persians, according to Cicero and Sositian. (Laert. provem. sect. 7.) To make themselves susceptible to the prophetic spirit, and to propitiate the spirits, they used such powerful prayers and chaunts that, according to their account, they were soon heard; they also pro-

phesied by the use of certain herbs. (Plin. histor. nat. xxiv. 17.)

To make themselves susceptible to the gods, the Magi led a life peculiar to themselves, and their chief commands were to abstain from wine and from flesh. (Clemens, Alex. strom. iii. p. 446.) Everything which could excite the senses of the body was strictly forbidden. According to Cicero, however, they only possessed the power of natural prophecy.

I will only mention here, Buddha the son of Maja, the ninth Avatars or Incantation of Vischnu, who is revered by the Indians, the Thibetans, as the symbol of Divine wisdom, under the form of a handsome youth sunk in deep meditation. He usually is robed in a scarf called Dschara, the sign of penance. The eyes are cast down in deep internal reflection. The universally spread Buddhism of India, which is everywhere the same in its principal features, is a proof of the common origin of these nations.

The present nations of Asia among whom ecstatic states and visions are to be met with are worthy of mention from their habitations rather than the time. Among them are the Siberian Schamans, the Arabian Dervishes, and the Samozedes and Lapps. Among all these nations a species of somnambulism is common, into which they fall either by means of natural susceptibility or by peculiar movements and exercises of the body, and rarely by the use of narcotic substances. Among the northern nations the phenomenon of second-sight is said to be frequent. Among the many Mongolian tribes, and also the Lapps, particularly excitable and susceptible persons are chosen as ghostseers and sorcerers; in India as Jongleurs; in Siberia as Schamans. With such natural disposition, strengthened by practice and mode of life, the majority require nothing more than to shout violently, to storm, to dance and to drum, to turn round in a circle, to induce insensibility and convulsive rigidity. Among the Siberian Schamans, as we learn from Georgi (Russian Völkerschaften) narcotic substances are used, such as a decoction of fungus or other exciting vegetable substances, to produce visions, in which they see and communicate with spirits, learning from

them future and distant events. They also see distant countries and the souls of the dead, to whom they ascend from the body through the air to the seats of the gods, which Högstrom especially relates of the Lapps, among whom such a high degree of susceptibility exists, that the most remarkable phenomena are witnessed. If anyone opens his mouth or closes it, or points to anything with his fingers, or dances, or makes other gesticulations, there are many who will imitate all this, and when they have done so enquire whether they have done anything improper, as they knew nothing of what they did. These Lapps are excitable to such a degree that they are thrown into insensibility and convulsions by the most trifling and unexpected occurrence, such as a sound, or a spark of fire. In the church, they often fall into insensibility when the preacher speaks too loud or gesticulates too much; while others, on the contrary, jump up as if mad, rush out of the church, knock down all who oppose them, and even strike their friends and neighbours." Pallas relates (Reisen durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs, p. iii.), that the Schamans among the East and West Jakes, the Samojedes, Tunguses, the Burates, Katschinzes, and other north Asiatic nations, are so extremely excitable that it is only requisite to touch them unexpectedly to disturb their whole organization, to excite their imagination, and make them lose all self-command. Each one infects the person next to him sympathetically; so that in this manner whole neighbourhoods fall into fear, uneasiness, and confusion. Pallas relates of some girls among the Katschinzes, that they feel simultaneous suffering as soon as one of the number becomes ill. "For the last few years," says he, "a species of insanity has made its appearance among the young girls of the Katschinzes as if by infection. When they have these fits they run out of the villages, scream, and behave with the greatest wildness, tear their hair, and endeavour to hang and drown themselves. These attacks last usually some hours, and occur, when their sympathy has been excited by the sight of other girls in a similar condition, without any certain order, sometimes weekly, at other times not appearing for months." All these and similar phe-

nomena are related by Georgi of the Mongol and Tartar races, who all have the same common origin.

From this remarkable excitability and mobility, Horst deduces with great probability that mechanical imitation which is observable in all rude nations—among Asiatic as well as negro tribes. The weaker but more excitable nations far excel the stronger and more civilized inhabitants of Europe, in the free use of their limbs, and in the most difficult postures of the body, and resemble in climbing, rope-dancing, and jumping, in fact in every description of jugglery and feats of agility, monkeys and other families of animals.

How soon the imagination creates objective pictures among these excitable people, is shown by an anecdote recounted by Pallas, of a Samojedic sorcerer, upon whose hand he drew a black glove. He looked fixedly at his hand, began to tremble, and in a few seconds to scream aloud, and, lastly, to roll upon the ground, exclaiming that Pallas had changed his hand into a bear's paw. He could not be tranquillized before the black glove was drawn off his hand. The sorcerers by profession, have a drum, which they call Caunus, or Quobdas, a hollowed piece of wood, with painted ass-skin stretched across it, and which is struck by bone hammers. They accompany this with a certain song, and turn rapidly round. The ecstasy does not take place with regularity; it often lasts several hours, so that the face and the limbs are distorted, and they remain lying insensible on the ground. While a species of coma, or stolid rigidity, takes place, the Schaman falls into a species of convulsive mania, in which he utters obscure speeches, and answers questions regarding the future. A letter from H. von Matjuschkin, the travelling companion of Baron Wrangel in his North Pole Expedition, to a friend in St. Petersburg, in 1820, which was first published in the "Morgenblatt," then in Horst's "Deuteroskopie," and in Fischer's "Somnambulismus," describes particularly the magical appearances of such a Schaman in the notorious Alar Siciit—(Murder Forest)—on the banks of the Tabalog. The Schaman, who was dressed in skins and wore long black hair, commenced his incantation in an assembly of Tunguses, in a Jurta, in whose centre a bright fire burned,

and which was hung round with everything necessary to incantation,—amulets, bells, and pieces of metal; he fell into insensibility and convulsions, with dancing and various movement, till the inspiration seized upon him, and he replied to the questions put to him by Matjuschkin; he awoke after four hours, but remembered nothing of his trance. A few days later Matjuschkin met another Schaman, whom he begged to exhibit his powers, which he did after some little hesitation, being promised brandy and tobacco. On this occasion a daughter of the family became uneasy, and wished to absent herself from the exhibition, as she felt in herself a susceptibility to a state similar to that of the Schaman, which turned out to be the fact. H. v. Matjuschkin now received answers to various questions he put respecting his journey and its results, and these answers proved to be correct. "Many of the answers were, however, so obscure, almost poetical," says Matjuschkin, "that none of my dragomans were able to translate them: the language was, they said, that of romance."

Similar bodily movements, particularly turning round in a circle, are found among the Arabs, by which they produce dizziness and spasmodic ecstasy; and this is extremely common in religious processions and gatherings. The Dervishes, like the Schamans, endeavour to impress the common people by their mystic ceremonies,—partly with intention, and partly from hereditary custom, having at the same time visions and revelations. Schubert describes, in his Travels in the East (second volume) such a Dervish dance, which he saw at Cajoro. There is but little difference between this and those of the Schamans; convulsions, rigid insensibility, unconscious ecstasy, and visions, are found in the former as in the latter. But it is worthy of remark, that among the Arabs the belief in spirits is preserved much in its ancient state, as the Arabian romances show. The Dschins and Devs are male and female, good and bad, but with the difference I have already mentioned, that the modern Devs are the ideals of female beauty. Such Devs are considered the especial guardians and guides of the Arabian seers. The male Dschins are evil and dangerous, and are regarded as spies and deceivers, and anecdotes are

told of them which remind us of Goethe's Mephistopheles; of that hellish brood,

> Who still denied and still accused,
> Now evil will achieve yet good perform.
>
> ---
>
> I am that spirit still denied;
> And that with justice, for whate'er is done
> Deserves that it should perish.

The visions which the Arabian seers describe remind us also of those of the ancient Persians;—the celestial gardens, the moonlit rose bowers, the nectar drops of the rainbow, and the houris of paradise. In fact, Arabian romance is so much of a fairy vision, that we ask, is life a vision, or is the mind's vision life itself?

SECOND DIVISION.

MAGIC AMONG THE EGYPTIANS.

We now come to that remarkable land and people which are so important to our subject, that we must linger somewhat longer with them, in order not only to regard the ancient temples and Egyptian pyramids, but earnestly to investigate the peculiarities of the customs and belief of this ancient people, that we may see wherein lies the reason of calling Egypt, at one time, the land of darkness, at another the parent country of the sciences. It appears that magnetism has provided us with a clue by which we are tolerably able to decide with some certainty wherein consisted a portion of their secrets. We believe, namely, that the Egyptian priesthood was well acquainted with the phenomena of magnetism, and also the methods of its production, and its means of application to various diseases; and that, for this aim, they concealed the greater portion of their religious customs from the eyes of the uninitiated.

We find in Egypt, more than in any other country, that Physic is connected with religion and the priesthood; and, moreover, in such a manner, that we have grounds for believing that the practical use of medicine was more attended to by the priests than the observances of religion; for we find that the first hospitals in Egypt were in the temples, and that they made the sick persons themselves the means of revealing the wishes of the gods. Among others, Diodorus writes (lib. i.):—

"The Egyptians declare that Isis has rendered them great services in the healing science, through curative methods

which she revealed to them; that now, having become immortal, she takes especial pleasure in the religious services of men, and occupies herself particularly with their health; and that she assists them in dreams, revealing thereby her benevolence. This is proved, not by fable, as among the Greeks, but by authentic facts. In reality, all nations of the earth bear witness to the power of this goddess in regard to the cure of diseases by her influence. *In dreams she reveals, to those who are suffering, the most proper remedies for their sickness,* and by following exactly her orders, persons have recovered, contrary to the expectation of the world, who have been given up by all the physicians."

Strabo says the same of the Temple of Serapis (Lib. xvii.), and Galen of a Temple of Memphis, called Hephæstium (Lib. i. de med. sect. genes. c. i.)

Of no one nation of antiquity do we possess so much knowledge concerning the treatment of disease in the Temples, as of Egypt, where the priests knew how to awaken that inward voice in man, with which he usually is not himself acquainted, and which was regarded as a direct gift of the gods,—where this voice was so universally used for the cure of diseases, and for other purposes of life, but where at the same time the process was veiled from the eyes of the ignorant with the wise intention of preserving it from profane and evil use. In this we find the idea of the Oracles, upon which we may say a little before proceeding to observe the usages and customs of the Egyptian priesthood. Lastly, we shall also learn something of their theory.

Let us here regard the facts from a biblical point of view; from the circumstance that it will also explain the rise of the oracles, and that this point of view is at least worthy of examination for its historical value.

According to this, man, created after the image of God, led originally a paradisiacal life; at peace with himself, he lived in harmony with the whole of nature, and in perfect clairvoyance; the inward sense, his deep mental life, being dominant over the outward world of the senses. Man, however, lost this inward perception of God and nature, seduced by the treacherous serpent of this evil and deceitful enemy, who excited his senses, and by sinful passions obscured his inner eye, and withdrew from it the celestial

peace of the golden age. Adam was the first to sin, and the last inhabitant of that Garden of Eden, the key of which was taken from him for his transgressions, and which he afterwards sought for in vain, in misery of heart and the sweat of his brow.

As long as man lived harmoniously with nature, in unity, and without sin; as long as nature in all her shapes was revealed to his inner senses, so long were there no such things to him as time and space,—the past and the future were to him as the present, and distance was unknown to him. When, however, he sinned by disregarding God's laws, and tasted of the tree of outward knowledge, he became material; the bond of harmony was broken, and man awoke as if from a long, deep sleep, of which he now only retained dim shadowings of a past happiness. The Mosaic history of creation only points obscurely to the traces of these dreams, and man has, in fact, no true records of his original communion with God: "For no one, saith the Lord, can see me and live."

As the inward voice now spoke but seldom, and in obscure words, man was thrown upon his own resources: before him he only saw the thorny path to endless labour; naked, he was obliged to defend his body from noxious influences, and inwardly to stay his hunger by the bread of the earth, instead of as before satisfying his soul by the living word. His unvarying health, his perfect clairvoyance, were lost, and instead, disease and misery in their innumerable forms appeared; and when no light illuminated his desecrated sanctuary, man could regain his former state in no other way than by a willing renunciation of his outward sensualism, and by a true repentance of his sins. A faint ray of that innate light, however, occasionally struggles through diseased or dying nature, like a phosphoric radiance issuing from decaying wood.

According to the belief of rationalists, nature alone becomes conscious in man: to that point she strives in her works towards the perfection of her own being; it is alone in man that nature knows herself; the true end of man alone consists in self-contemplation, and of nature in himself, in which he, as a drop of water in the ocean, loses his individuality. This species of philosophy explains

all things with ease; it regards everything that is related of magic and oracles as the efflorescence of natural instinct; as the production of a wonder-loving imagination, or, as is most often the case, as lies and deceit. Paradise, the fall, and its consequences, the insight into futurity, the wonderful effects through the will,—are all regarded as fabulous. How much more worthy of respect, how much more accordant with history and experience, is that other biblico-mystical view of the being and working of the spirit! How far does it not go back into the first ages! How little it requires these artificial bridges to traverse in the quickest manner many puzzling questions! and with how many far-fetched theories does it fill up those chasms which vanish before an earnest attention into air!

The origin and destiny of man is, according to the mystical and true view, divine, placed above earthly nature; and therefore the spiritual being is far more profound than rationalism can fathom with its logical acuteness. Let us pause a moment at this attractive mysticism. We shall find much that is beautiful and instructive which may serve as an introduction to this section.

With the fall of man the whole of nature was disunited, and became antagonistic with itself and the elements; its whole life and activity became strife and sickness, an eternal creation and decay. It is certainly said that the ancient Egyptians and Indians possessed a higher degree of knowledge; that the regular and secret practice of medicine in the temples was but the early development of the mind, which had not been lost; that its truths have been transmitted by tradition throughout the world, and by this means the Egyptian knowledge had been spread over Greece and other countries; that nothing is known of a perfect early state, and that according to all ascertained natural developments such could not have been the case. To this the mystic replies,—that ancient wisdom of the Egyptians and Indians is not a creation of history, a gradual development, as in natural objects, for man is not a production of nature, he is an immediate creation and image of God, which resembles Him, and is perfect in soul and body. That ancient natural wisdom of early nations was but fragmentary, for the original perfection had been lost before recorded times. Those sealed temples were illuminated by

but a faint ray of that originally pure spirit,—a small and confused consolation to fallen man; here a few rare blossoms of prophecy appeared occasionally on the barren stem. Are we to believe that there was no health before disease, —that the Creator had placed in nature, such a helpless creature as, given over to all the elements, must certainly have perished? Could he have gained these supernatural powers of the mind, which no other being in nature possesses, by his own endeavours? Let us see what Schubert says upon this subject: his words are worthy of great attention.

"An old tradition (a prophecy of the Voluspa) appears to announce that nature first became conscious through the living word, through the soul of man. The word, however, appears as a higher revelation. We know that among the Persians a creative spirit and a power over the nature and being of things is ascribed to the living word. Language, like the prophecies of the poet and seer, was created by higher inspiration. To the speaker of the living word the future and past were revealed, because the eternal spirit, in which the future as well as the past is contained, spoke in him. In the early ages of the world, speech was an immediate result of inspiration; and certainly the theory that social wants had created it by degrees from various simple sounds could only be of modern date. This view of the early ages, which derives language from inspiration, can only be appreciated through the most ancient natural philosophy. According to this, all beings exist in and by the high influence which is common to them all. In those moments when the existence of things is most developed it is the spirit of this high influence which is revealed in them. This is the flame in light, the spirit in language, love in marriage. This belief in the one common spirit of all things is perceptible in the religious doctrines of the Persians and Indians; perhaps even the Egyptians. By these theories it was plain through what means man became acquainted with the secrets of nature, futurity and the past, by inspirations and prophecy. That higher, universally common spirit, in which the laws of the change of time, the cause of everything future as well as present, becomes the connecting medium, through which the souls of those who are separated by time and space approach each

other, and the mind, when in the moments of inspiration it is sunk into the depths of the spirit of nature, is placed in a spiritual communication with all things, and receives the power of influencing them.

"Those portions of knowledge which among us have only been drawn forth singly after a long and tedious investigation, are but a small portion of that comprehensive knowledge which antiquity preserved. It was the human will that caused the fall of man from his pristine elevation, and a peculiar development of his being has rendered him less susceptible to and more independent of nature.

"Thus has the history of man, when the happiness of the early ages was superseded by the strivings of the new which raised man to independence, found a connecting link—Christianity—by which that has been restored to man in modern times which he lost in the earlier ages of the world. The important question, why that high degree of natural science having once appeared, vanished, and why in early ages happiness was shown to our race in such a manner that the loss became only more felt, may be answered as follows: that here, as in all laws of nature, one high endeavour was superseded by another still higher. This belief was common in early ages, and is found in the mysteries of the oracles. In this law of nature, whose deep meaning was indicated by the mysteries, lay the compensation for that premature loss of happiness. The ancient form was alone lost from the fact that it had become too narrow for the newer and higher striving which had awoke in that very moment which conducted the former endeavour to its final blossom and death."

The origin of the oracles in the temples necessarily is of the same date with the increase of agriculture; for the temples are the indications of a consolidation of society which could not subsist without agriculture. From the very constitution of things man was compelled to entice, and as it were snatch, the fruits from the earth's bosom, which when he lived in peaceful harmony with her and God were freely given to him.

"Undoubtedly," continues Schubert, "much more was contained in the mysteries than the mere maxims of agriculture; the confidence in future happiness which was to

spring from the new endeavour. Agriculture is characteristic to the new age, and forms a beautiful transition from the old to the new age.

"In it, or at least with it, the Egyptian priests preserved the remaining relics of the former wisdom of nature. These were not imparted, as the sciences are, in our age, but to all appearances they were neither learned nor taught; but as a reflection of the old revelations of nature, the perception must arise like an inspiration in the scholar's mind. From this cause appear to have arisen those numerous preparations and purifications the severity of which deterred many from initiation into the Egyptian priesthood; in fact, not unfrequently resulted in the scholar's death. Long fasting, and the greatest abstinence, appear to have been particularly necessary: besides this, the body was rendered insensible through great exertions, and even through voluntarily inflicted pain, and therefore open to the influence of the mind. The imagination was excited by representations of the mysteries; and the inner sense was more impressed by the whole than—as is the case with us—instructed by an explanation of simple facts. In this manner the dead body of science was not given over to the initiated, and left to chance whether it would become animated or not, but the living soul of wisdom was breathed into them.

"From this fact, that the contents of the mysteries were rather revealed than taught—were received more from inward inspiration and mental intoxication, than outwardly through endless teaching, it was necessary to conceal them from the mass of the people. Among all priests of this age, from the Egyptians to the ancient Scandinavians, the punishment of death was awarded to any of the initiated who desecrated the contents of the mysteries by cold words or descriptions to those who had not received the inspiration. The people only saw the truth in obscure pictures and parables, and even these parables were not confided to writing among the Scandinavians. So firm was faith in that old world, that truth and wisdom could not be communicated from man to man, but must be received by the mind through divine influence.

"The insight into the future, the gift of prediction, is not

strange to human nature; yet there is one which is sickly and false, as well as one which is healthy and truthful. That is healthy which was peculiar to the early ages, and even now appears occasionally in good men in moments of inspiration. The spirit of prediction appears to have been healthy and powerful, when, as has often been the case, it has seized upon whole tribes and even countries. Those predictions which approach the nature of oracles are of sickly nature. Travellers have related circumstances referring to the savage inhabitants of America, Madagascar, Borneo, and Java, which very closely agree with the nature of oracles, and with that of demonism. We here find that insane prophets, or persons of a sickly nature, have foretold future events, the weather, or even the arrival of strange vessels. Those theories which, also in the early Christian ages, regarded oracles as produced by the unhealthy states, class the predictions of the prophetic priestesses of the early Christians in the same category, denominating all demonism. Lucan describes the inspiration of Pythia as similar to an epileptic fit. Some phenomena exhibited in the history of this oracle are very similar to those of somnambulism (they are perfectly the same). We must mention here the remarkable power of the Christians over those persons who were said to be possessed or inspired by Apollo. Thus Tertullian considered the power over demons such an universal peculiarity of the Christians that he wished to sentence to death, as unfaithful and false Christians, those in whom this power was wanting. We find the power of the Christians over those persons who were inspired by Apollo mentioned by Lactantius; and many others mention the impotence of the Pagan gods against the Christians. Numbers of cases are narrated by Justin, Tertullian, Athanasius, Cyprian, and Eusebius, of unhealthy prophetic spirits which had been unsuccessfully treated by physicians and magicians retiring before the power of some simple Christian; and we must, as regards the outer form, admit the effect of a diseased human nature in the oracles. At least this was the case in later ages, even when we perceive in them some traces of a more noble origin and a more perfect age, to which perhaps the metrical form and arrangement of the earlier oracles points. The predictions of

the oracles themselves confirm this view, from the fact that in them the future is but indicated in an obscure and ambiguous manner like a dream. Still more so is it confirmed by the manner in which those states of inspiration were produced in which the priests predicted the future; for this often took place by artificial means. We find on all hands that that state of wild inspiration in which futurity dimly reveals itself was produced by violence, the direst of which was the shedding of human blood. We, however, know from the history of these ages that the oracles ceased with the discontinuance of human sacrifices." (This is not true.)

"Those violent measures, by which the later heathendom produced a false inspiration, show how different the high influence which inspired the old world was from that to which the new world gave itself when it had departed from its pristine innocence. We certainly find the latter in communication with nature, but in a narrower sense. On the contrary, as we have already seen, it was the higher divine influence, from which this nature and man were created, whose reflection man had at first seen in nature, till, with the awakening consciousness of the will, man lost the divine portion of nature; and the erring races still sought for the lost power in the empty shell, and gave themselves over to the influence of a lower nature, which deteriorated that which was noble therein to a low idolatry.

"The more ancient, better heathenism, shrinking from all spilling of blood, alone made itself worthy by abstinence and pious innocence of the revelations of higher nature, and in this manner obtained glimpses of its secrets. When, however, the gates of nature's sanctum were closed to the gradually ripening human mind, it sought in an inhuman manner to find another road through the gates of death and terror, and over bleeding and mangled corpses. In vain; the former sun did not rise, and there was only a faint light in the vault of the former nature; healthy inspiration degenerated into diseased insanity.

"Lastly, the sanguinary struggle was stilled by Christianity in the impoverished human mind. The star which these sages saw rising has become a sun, and behold a great portion of the earth already enjoys its radiance."

The voice of the oracles is an echo of the original national language of mankind, which the priests knew how to call forth; it was generally the result of an unhealthy state, but also in rare cases the utterance of a sound inspiration.

The most ancient race in Egypt was, according to Sprengel (Geschichte der Arzneikunde, vol. i. p. 64), a tribe of priests, and its government priestly, which endeavoured to unite the people in striving after a common purpose. When several other tribes had in course of time gathered together, this older caste of priests still remained the most honoured; and from it the kings were chosen. The practice of physic was most intimately connected with that of religion. The priests distinguished themselves by continuous and strict observance over themselves; they remained withdrawn into themselves, and to despise the outer senses was their chief virtue. They never laughed, were laconic, and only saw each other at occasional festivals. "The priests," says Iamblich (De mysteriis Ægyptiorum, edit. Gale, p. 173), "occupied themselves alone with the knowledge of God and of themselves, and of wisdom; they did not desire any vain honours in their sacred practice, and did not give way to the imagination." We now see in all monuments of Egyptian art the priests represented in one unvarying position, as if with rigid hands and feet.

In this manner the way to every innovation was closed, and outward knowledge and science could certainly not rise to a high degree of external perfection; but that rude sensuality, inclination for change and variety, was suppressed as the chief source of all bodily and spiritual vices, is clear, as well as that here, as in India, an ascetic and contemplative life was recommended.

They imparted their secret and divine sciences to no one who did not belong to their caste, and it was long impossible for foreigners to learn anything; it was only in later times that a few strangers were permitted to enter the initiation after many severe preparations and trials. Besides this, their functions were hereditary, and the son followed the footsteps of his father. In Homer's age Egypt was by its early civilization the fatherland of science, and Homer makes his sorcerers Egyptian, as Xenophon and Plato describe their ideals as Persians. The Bible speaks of the wisdom of the

Egyptians; of Babylonian and Egyptian soothsayers and sorcerers. That the magic of the Egyptians reached a high degree of perfection is shown by the many wonders done, in imitation of Moses, by the Egyptian magicians, till at length the Lord smote "all the first-born of Egypt;" but "against the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue."

The first foreigners who were admitted to the secrets of the priests were Orpheus, Thales, and Pythagoras. But how difficult it was for them to gain their ends is seen from the History of Pythagoras.

Porphyrius (De vita Pythagoræ) says, "That Pythagoras, before his journey to Egypt, begged Polycrates, the King of Samos, to give him a letter of recommendation to the Egyptian King Amasis, that the priests might initiate him in their secrets. The king did this; but the Heliopolites, to whom he first addressed himself, sent him to Memphis as if to the elders. At Memphis, he was sent under the same pretext to the Diospolites or Thebans. As then, out of fear of the king, they dared not make any more excuses, they determined to frighten him from his determination by excessive labours and hardships. But as Pythagoras fulfilled everything most perfectly, they felt so much surprised, that they initiated him, and permitted him to assist at their mysteries, which had never before been permitted to a stranger."

According to Iamblichus, Pythagoras spent twenty-two years in Egypt, learning the sacred sciences and customs. In this manner several more were gradually admitted, and their secrets more or less revealed; but so mixed with Grecian fables that the truth was almost wholly lost.

At a later time, many Greeks travelled to Egypt to enjoy the instruction of the Priests; as, for instance, Dædalus, Homer, Democritus of Abdera, Œnopis, Euripides, Eudoxus, Solon, and many others; but, as Jablonski says, no one gathered so much knowledge there as Pythagoras. (Illud extra dubitationis aleam positum est, ex Græcis non ostendi posse quemquam, qui æque præparatus omnibusque illis beneficiis ex fructibus tam copiose donatus fuit atque Pythagoras alumnus genuinus totius disciplinæ sacerdotalis Ægypt. Jablonski, I. c. iii. proleg. cli.)

The priests were held in the greatest honour, and their dignity was placed beside that of the king: this was especi-

ally the case with the highest caste of priests; for, according to Sprengel, even at the time of Pharaoh, there were various ranks among the priests. In the time of Herodotus there were arch and common priests. The highest healing power, which acts not through papable means, but by the aid of the will, was practised by the priests of the highest rank; they were the soothsayers and sages, and knew how to produce many supernatural effects (magic). Their mode of life was strict, and their first law, purity. By day and by night they were obliged to wash twice; their garments were of cotton or linen, and their shoes were made from the papyrus. Their revenues were derived from farming their own land, and from the offerings which sick persons brought voluntarily. These revenues were placed in a common treasury, from which the lower priests, the pastophores and guardians of the temples, received their salaries. Every priest was, however, free from all taxes, but was obliged to exercise his skill in the field (Sprengel, i. p. 71). Their food consisted principally of vegetables, but also occasionally of flesh, but which was first inspected by properly authorized persons, and being found healthy and sound, was marked by a peculiar seal; for they knew that eruptions, various diseases of the eyes, and other ailments, arise from bad food. Pork they only ate once a month at full moon; fish, particularly sea-fish, were also forbidden to them. Among vegetable productions, they refused shell-fruit and onions; the first, from the fact that, as Plutarch believes, they contain too much nourishment and injure the digestion; the latter because they excite thirst.

According to some, the priests were not permitted to drink wine: others, however, state the contrary. According to Sprengel (i. 75), this contradiction may be explained by the fact that, during the reign of Psamettichus, the use of Greek wine was first introduced into Egypt, and that then only the higher ranks, among whom were counted the priests, made use of it.

Their mode of life varied in different districts, but was yet subject to certain laws which might neither be transgressed by the people nor the priests: their laws, however, were on the whole directed to the preservation of health. Many varieties of food and drink were forbidden to the king, who dared not partake of them. In the Temple at Thebes was

an inscription denouncing King Menes, who was the first who had set the people an example of extravagance. Each occupation had a certain time allotted to it—to the occupations of the body as well as of the mind, and one was never allowed to gain mastery over the others—a medium was to be maintained in all things. Thus, according to Plutarch, a mummy was always placed in the room during an entertainment, that during pleasure death might not be forgotten.

The priests possessed no small knowledge of physic. Their procedure was certainly very simple, and confined itself to general rules: they were not acquainted with the enormous number of fluids, gases, mineral poisons, salts, earthy and vegetable poisons, which are known to us, and probably were no worse off than we are with whole sacks, barrels, and measures full of remedies. Their medical substances were, according to Isocrates, very simple, and there was no danger in their use; they could be taken as food.

Their treatment consisted principally in bathing, anointing, friction and fumigation, &c. By fasting, and being dressed in white robes, the sick persons in the temples were prepared for those prophetic dreams by which the oracles became so famous. The prophets or high priests conducted these prophecies, and told the patient, on his waking, the means to be used and the issue of the disease; through which the error arose, that the priests prophesied themselves. It is, however, probable that priests prophesied through their extraordinary abstinence and seclusion, which would be favourable to a contemplative life, but it was certainly not always the case; but, with considerable wisdom, they ascribed the predictions and regulations of the patients to the gods or themselves; for, as we now know, after magnetic sleep there remain but few remembrances; and even in that case it was easy to persuade them that the gods had revealed strange things to them by especial favour.

The lower ranks of priests had to care for the sick, according to stated rules, which they were obliged to follow minutely.

Galen has recorded several remedial means which were

preserved in the temples; and also Celsus and Paul of Ægina make similar observations (Herm. Conring. de hermetica medicina, 1669, p. 114). It is remarkable that they also made frequent use of a species of magnetic or iron ore (ἀετίτης). In Galen's time a universal medicine was called Isis.

A regular system of oracles and care for the sick was certainly first adopted in Egypt; for in India, Persia, and especially in China, the prophets were usually but ascetic enthusiasts, and among them we do not hear anything of a regular curative system practised by them in their temples or elsewhere. Strabo alone makes mention of an oracle in a very early age at the Caspian Sea; and that of Belus at Babylon is well known, where, as Herodotus states, there was a celestial bed, in which each night a woman slept who was sacred to the god. Strabo also says, in his account of Moses (xi. 761), that it is easy to receive prophetic dreams from the Divinity in the Temple after a virtuous and righteous mode of life, while persons of the opposite character hope for them in vain. (On this account, Aaron, who was inclined to idolatry, had no good visions, like his brother; who, resembling the Eastern saints, was accustomed to retreat to solitary mountains.)

The most celebrated temples in Egypt were those of Isis at Memphis and Busiris; the temple of Serapis at Canopus, Alexandria, and Thebes; the temple of Osiris of Apis and Phthas. Isis, the wife of Osiris, is said, from the Coptic word Isi, to mean plenty (Jablonski, Pantheon Ægypt. p. 31). Some call her Pallas, the earth, others Ceres, but she is mostly represented as the Goddess of the Moon, the Hornbearing—κεραόφορος—from the changes of the moon; also the Dark-robed—μελανόστολος, because the moon shines during the night. Under the name Isis, the word wisdom was also here and there understood; and in the pavement of her temples this inscription was to be read:—"I am the all—ἐγώ εἰμί πᾶν τὸ γέγονος—that was, that is, that will be; no mortal can raise my garment." (Plutarch. de Iside.) The divinity was, according to Sprengel, without doubt the moon, through whose periodical changes the periodical return of various diseases is caused. From this cause peculiar medicinal powers were ascribed to Isis, and many diseases were supposed to arise from her anger. Besides, she had shown

her miraculous powers by recalling her murdered son Orus to life. The Egyptians also believed her to be the inventor of several medicines, even of the healing science itself, and therefore, even during the time of the Romans, an universal medicine was called Isis (Galen. de composit. medic. etc. lib. v.) As an immortal goddess, she delighted in restoring sick men to health, and therefore indicated the necessary means and treatment in dreams. In commemoration of the great event, that Isis had expelled Typhon, festivals and ceremonies, lasting ten days, were annually held.

To immortalise the invention of agriculture, and at the same time of medicine, they carried round sheaves, and performed various secret customs; in imitation of which the Eleusinian games of Erectheus are said to have been founded. The fable of Typhon, who, as the chief enemy of the family of Isis, even murdered her husband Osiris, may refer to the desolating effects of the simoon, a wind blowing from the sandy deserts; for this destroyed the beneficial effects produced by the Nile and the sun, which were worshipped under the symbols of Isis and Osiris. Many temples were built and dedicated to Isis, who was placed in the Mythology on account of her extraordinary cures and benevolence: the principal of these temples were at Memphis and Busiris. In her temples gums were burned in the morning, myrrh at noon, and kyphy in the evening. The latter, a mixture of sixteen substances, in the preparation of which special regard was to be paid to the sanctity of the number 4, and to other secret rites (Sprengel, i. 50). Cows, as in India, were sacred to Isis, as the symbols of extraordinary fruitfulness, and their utility to man. The temples of Isis were the most celebrated for the treatment of disease, where, during sleep, the oracles containing the directions for their cure were received; and her priests had the general name of Isiaci—priests of Isis. According to Herodotus, they were forbidden to eat the flesh of swine or sheep (lib. ii.); and Plutarch says (Sympos. v. c. 10) that they did not even eat salt, that their chastity might not be endangered. They shaved their heads, and wore shoes of papyrus (Herod. lib. i.), and a linen garment, because Isis first taught the use of linen—being therefrom also called *Linigera*—the linen-bearing.

Horus, the son of Isis, learned the healing art from his mother. Horus is synonymous with light—king or the cause—spirit of the sun; on which account the Greeks called him Apollo (Horum interpretantur Apollinem, qui medendi et vaticinandi artem ab Iside matre edoctus, &c.) In the hermetic books, *Orus* is especially called the power by which the sun moves (Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride); and Horapollo explains this divinity as the symbol of the dominion of the sun over the seasons; therefore the *Horæ* —the divisions of the day. Hawks were sacred to him, as being able to look at the sun with an unflinching eye. Homer also calls a hawk the "swift messenger of Phœbus." On the sceptre, the symbol of his power, was an eye, signifying that he saw and animated all things.

Another, no less celebrated, divinity was Serapis, who is by some confounded with Osiris. He was particularly in great renown among foreigners; and he maintained his influence over men much longer than any other of the gods. Several temples were sacred to him in Egypt, and, at a later time, in Greece and Rome. According to Jablonski, four-and-twenty temples were dedicated to him, of which those at Memphis, Canopus, and Alexandria, were the most celebrated.

Serapis originally meant, according to Sprengel, Nilometer, or Nile measure, or the Lord of Darkness, because the rise of the Nile was traced to the Egyptian horizon; he was therefore the symbol of the sun below the horizon. Serapis was called by the Greeks Osiris, Jupiter Ammon, Pluto, Bacchus, and Æsculapius; and he was particularly venerated for his healing powers in the neighbourhood of Athens and Patræ. One of the most celebrated temples was at Canopus, and another at Alexandria. In the temples of Serapis, as well as in those of Isis, a statue was generally erected with its finger on its lips, representing Silence. This silence does not probably mean, as Varro imagines, that none were to speak of these divinities being mortal, but that the secrets of the temple were to be preserved. "In this temple," says Strabo (xvii. 801), "great worship is performed, many miracles are done, which the most celebrated men believe, and practise, while others devoted themselves to the sacred sleep." Eusebius calls Serapis the prince

of evil spirits—of darkness (Præparat. Evang. 4), who sits beside a three-headed monster, which represents in the centre a lion, on the right a dog, and on the left a wolf, round which a dragon winds, whose head the god touches with his right hand.

At Canopus, Serapis was visited by the highest personages with great veneration; "and in the interior were all kinds of sacred pictures, pourtraying miraculous cures." Still more celebrated was the temple at Alexandria, where the sacred or temple-sleep was continually practised, and sick persons were entirely cured. It was here that a blind and a lame man received the revelation that the former was to be touched by the spittle, and the latter by the foot, of the Emperor Vespasian, and, according to the accounts of Strabo and Suetonius, they were thereby cured (Sueton. in Vespas. c. 7). Tacitus tells the story in the following manner (Histor. lib. iv. c. 8):—

"When Vespasian was at Alexandria many miracles occurred (miracula multa evenere), by which the particular affection and inclination of the gods towards Vespasian was evident. A common person, a well-known blind man of Alexandria, came to the emperor, on his knees, by advice of the god Serapis, imploring aid with tears. He begged the former to touch his eyes with his spittle. Another, who was lame in one hand, also begged, by advice of Serapis, that the emperor would touch him with his foot, and the sole of his foot.

"But Vespasian laughed at first—was enraged; and feared, when they pressed him, to be called vain; but at length he was moved to hope by their prayers, or by the advice and caresses of others. At length he inquired of the physician whether such blindness and lameness were to be cured by human means. The physicians were of various opinions, and said that the power of sight was not entirely gone if the hindrances could be removed. According to Suetonius, there was no hope of cure by any means (rem ullo modo successuram); but the emperor made the attempt before the assembly, and the result was successful. The other might regain the use of his hand if some healing power were used; that this divine mission might have been reserved for the prince; and, lastly, that the renown would

belong to the emperor, while the disgrace of failure would fall upon the sick man. Vespasian, therefore, in belief that everything was possible to his good fortune, executed the command of the oracle with a joyous countenance, before a large assembly. The lame man regained the use of his limb, and daylight appeared to the blind. The spectators were unanimous concerning the truth of the cures; and the sceptical were confounded."

Apis was another divinity, worshipped under the shape of a spotted ox. Several temples were sacred to him, of which that at Memphis was the most celebrated. Here Æsculapius is said to have acquired his skill. Apis is, however, also considered to have been Serapis, as well as that the temples of Osiris, of Serapis, and Apis, were the same, though under different names. For after the death of Osiris, when his body was to have been buried, an ox of remarkable beauty appeared to the Egyptians, who regarded it as being Osiris, and therefore worshipped him in the form of Apis—Apis in Egyptian meaning ox. Augustin (De civitate, lib. xviii.) says, that Apis was a king of Argos, who went to Serapis in Egypt, and was regarded after the latter's death as the greatest Egyptian god. Pliny (lib. iii. c. 46) says as follows:—"In Egypt, an ox, which they call Serapis, receives divine honours. He has a brilliant white spot on the right side, which begins to increase with the new moon. According to Herodotus, he is quite black, with a square mark on the forehead, the figure of an eagle on his back, and, besides a knot under the tongue, has double hairs in his tail. He can only reach a certain age, according to Pliny, when the priests drown him, and seek for another to succeed him, with lamentations. After they have found one, the priests lead him to Memphis, where the oracle predicted of the future by signs and symbols. They prophesied from the various movements and actions of the ox, giving him consecrated food. From his inclination to take or refuse this the oracles were drawn. Thus, for instance, he pushed away the hand of the Emperor Augustus, who shortly afterwards lost his life. Apis lives in great seclusion; but when he breaks loose, the lictors drive the populace from his path, and a crowd of boys accompany him, singing verses to his honour, which he appears to understand."

As Jablonski says, the worship of Apis was clearly in Egypt but a symbolical representation having reference to the effect of natural causes. Phtha was the eternal spirit, the creator of all things, and his symbol is the ethereal fire, which burns day and night. The human mind is but a reflection of this fire, which rises above all stars and planets, and illuminates men to the knowledge of futurity. Clemens of Alexandria (Stromat. lib. i.) says that Apis, a king of Argos, built Memphis, and that the Egyptians worshipped him, on account of his numerous benevolent actions, as a deity. His tomb was called Sorapis.

A temple dedicated to Phtha is said to have been built at Memphis. In all these temples soothsaying and the cure of the sick were customary. The oldest was on Mount Sinope at Memphis; and it was only at a later date that others were erected in the neighbourhood. Osiris is said to have had a temple in Acanthus; another at Lake Mœris, where was the celebrated labyrinth. Many wonders are said to have occurred there. In the magnificent temple of Phtha at Memphis, the same inscription was to be seen that was found in those of Isis. A temple was also dedicated to Butus or Salina, the symbol of the full moon, of increase and fertility, in a town of the same name near Sebenyth in Lower Egypt, where there was a very celebrated oracle, to consult which people came from far and near, according to the testimony of Herodotus. Horus was also worshipped there.

Among the wonders of the world was reckoned the floating island of Chemnis, covered with shrubs and woods, on which stood a celebrated temple of Horus (Apollo): it was moved by the wind.

Lastly, Thout, Thot, or Taaut, was worshipped as a god, whom the Greeks called Hermes, the inventor of all arts and sciences; his name has been derived from *Thouodh*—a column—because he inscribed his knowledge on columns. Even Pythagoras and Plato are said to have learned much from these inscriptions. Others derive the word from the Coptic, where it means Head,—the symbol of understanding. But all historians are unanimous that Thout was a friend and associate of Osiris; that he taught the Egyptians all useful arts and sciences, and that he deserves a prominent

place among the physicians who have received divine honours.

Concerning that which passed within the temples, and of the manner in which the sick were treated, we have but fragmentary accounts; for to the uninitiated the entrance was forbidden, and the initiated kept their vows. Even the Greeks, who were admitted to the temples, have been silent concerning the secrets, and have only here and there betrayed portions. Jablonski says, "that but few chosen priests were admitted into the sanctum, and that admission was scarcely ever permitted to strangers even under the severest regulations." ("Non nisi pauci selecti digniores admittebantur. Peregrinis vero vix ac ne vix quidem unquam, certe non ante superatas incredibiles molestias patebat aditus, idque semper previa circumcisione." Jablonski, Pantheon Egypt. iii. proleg. cxli.)

When, however, we collect all traces which remain from various sources concerning the Egyptians, we gain the certain conviction that the treatment of the sick and the phenomena of the oracles were exactly similar to our magnetic somnambulism. We have, however, historical evidence of the preparation of the sick; secondly, of the temple-sleep, and the appearances connected with it; and thirdly, of the treatment of the sick, partly in direct account, partly in indirect memorials, in pictures and hieroglyphics.

The preparation by fasting, bathing, purification, anointing, and friction; by prayers and songs in praise of the god; the sacred ceremonies in darkness, occasionally musical tones, the impressive sacrifices, were calculated as much to produce an harmonic state of the body, to calm its excitability, as to incline the mind to expectation and veneration. "Ipse sacerdos antequam det oracula, multa rite peragit sacrificia, observat sanctimonian, lavatur; triduum prorsus abstinet cibo, habitat in secessu, jamque incipit paulatim illuminari, mirificeque gaudere." (Iamblichus de Mysteriis Ægyptior.)

As in the interior of the temples there were not alone bare walls, but magnificent paintings and decorations, baths, gardens, walks, and water, and everywhere the deepest silence; as moreover the mode of touch and manipulation

exactly resembles that of the present day; it is clear that all circumstances were highly favourable to the magnetic sleep. The sleepers were attended by the priests in rooms set apart, and we find representations of them placing their hands on the head, the stomach, or the back.

We may here give all that has an historical interest to us concerning the importance of the hand; and among the Egyptians, we find, before all others, not mere traces and dubious hints, but certain accounts of the use to which they put the hand, and its signification in general. Some consideration of this subject may give us certain views concerning their magical treatment, and help to explain in some degree the celebrated Egyptian mysteries.

The Jews who lived so long among the Egyptians, or at least in Egypt, are here the most reliable historians; and Moses, in sacred writ, is described as a man "learned in all the wisdom of the Egpytians." We find in the Bible expressions and accounts, which indicate the hand as the magical organ, not only metaphorically, but in a direct manner, and moreover with the same views which have been deduced from magnetism. For by the hand *magnetic power* is imparted, and *somnambulism* artificially produced, either by immediate contact with the hands, or by the approximation of the hands and the fingers, or only one finger. We find passages in the Bible which give the same destination the same effect, even the same direction to the hand—namely, that by the touch of the hand visions and the power of prophecy are produced. When God desired to inspire a prophet, what expression do we find made use of?—This, "The hand of the Lord came upon him, and he saw and prophesied." When Elisha was asked by the Kings of Israel and Judah concerning the war with the Moabites, he called a minstrel, "And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him. And he said, thus saith the Lord, &c." We find similar expressions in the Psalms, in Ezekiel, &c.: "The word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel, the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldæans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was there upon him." Ezekiel, i. 3.—"Now the hand of the Lord was upon me in the evening, afore he that was escaped came; and had opened my mouth,

until he came to me in the morning; and my mouth was opened and I was no more dumb." (Ezekiel, xxxiii. 22.)—"In the five and twentieth year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, &c., the hand of the Lord was upon me and brought me thither; in the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me on a very high mountain." (Ezekiel, xl. 1.) Wherefore mention here the hand of the Lord? God has not human hands! The Bible therefore evidently indicates the divine act, by the means common among men when any one was to be thrown into ecstasy, and should prophesy.

There are many other similar passages in the Bible concerning the importance of the hands in producing visions and ecstasy, as well as the magical influence of the hand generally. The laying on of hands was customary on many occasions, and thereby the communication of a certain power was signified, although such power was not tangible or visible. It is still customary in religious ceremonies, and was used in bestowing a benediction, in sacrifice, consecration, and miracles. (Mark, v. 23, vi. 5, vii. 33, viii. 23; Luke, iv. 40, &c.) In raising the dead, &c. In Daniel, Chapter X., we find the following passage:—"And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is Hiddekel; then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen; whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz, &c., and Daniel alone saw the vision; for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me; for my comeliness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength. Yet I heard the voice of his words, and when I heard the voice of his words then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face towards the ground; and behold an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands."

In the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream we find (Daniel, ii.) when all the astrologers, magicians, and Chaldæans, could not explain the king's dream—"Then Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would give him time, and that he would show the king the interpretation.

Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions, that they would desire mercies of the God of heaven concerning this secret, that Daniel and his fellows should not perish with the rest of the wise men of Babylon. Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision." According to the explanation of Calmet (Dictionnaire Hebr.: article Main) the hand laid upon the prophets means ten hands; making Daniel and his fellows wiser then the wise men of Babylon.

When we find "the hand of the Lord was with him," it signifies the counsel and aid of God, to speak truth and do good. In chapter i. v. 66, of Luke, we find of Zacharias that "the hand of the Lord was with him;" and of the Apostles, that "the hand of the Lord was with them, and they did signs and miracles."

In these passages, therefore, the hand is spoken of metaphorically as producing prophetic inspiration, and working miracles. The Apostles laid their hands on those who believed, and they received the Holy Ghost.

We see here the same proceedings as in magnetism,—the same attributes of the hand, the same functions, the same results; but with the difference between the divine power and will and that of man. The laying on of hands is not absolutely necessary in magnetism; a finger suffices, or in some cases contact is unnecessary: in perfect communication the will is sufficient, without using the hand as a conducting medium. In the Bible we also find the finger of God often used metaphorically; miracles and signs were by the finger of God.

The following passages are examples:—"Then the magician said unto Pharaoh, this is the finger of God" (Exodus, viii. 19). "And he gave unto Moses two tables of stone, written with the finger of God" (Exodus, xxxi. 18). "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained" (Psalms, viii. 3). "But if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the finger of God is come upon you" (Luke, xi. 20). The finger, according to the belief of the magicians, is the means by which the wisdom of the Egyptians worked its wonders. Why did not the magicians rather name the arm,

or another part of the body, if the finger were not the sacred member with which they worked their wonders in the mysteries. Christ says clearly that they drove out devils with the finger, and that therefore it was a sign that the kingdom of God was at hand. This fact, that the finger possesses miraculous powers, has become a proverb—"The finger of God is visible in it."

It is in vain that we seek in other quarters for similar expressions; neither among the Greeks nor Romans do we find anything similar respecting the hand and fingers. From this we may conclude that the secret influence was only known to the contemplative spirit of the Egyptians and to the pious Jews; and we cannot then feel surprise at the frequency of the expression, when we remember the innumerable cases of cure by mere touch among the Jews. So deep and universal was the conviction that to attain this divine power was not difficult, that prayer and laying on of hands upon the sick person would be sufficient to a cure. Naaman, the Syrian captain, was leprous, and journeyed to Elisha in Samaria. Without permitting him to enter the house, Elisha told him to wash seven times in the Jordan. Naaman, irritated by this, said, "Behold, I thought, he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper."

If, therefore, the Jewish priests and prophets had this custom, and from the date of their departure from Egypt, where they spent four hundred and thirty years, we may conclude with reason that they could not have been ignorant of it. However closely the Egyptian mysteries may have been concealed, it appears that we are enabled by the aid of the magnetic hand to raise the veil of Isis, under which they produced somnambulism and cured disease in their temples, without the aid of Iris and Serapis, and in the same manner in which it is now done openly.

After these preliminary remarks, we may turn our attention to the mysterious monuments with which many antiquaries have occupied themselves; but without any other result than conjecture. Here, also, it appears to us that the magnetic finger gives us the key of many riddles. There are the antiquities which Montfaucon endeavoured to ex-

plain (Antiquité expliquée, tom. ii.)—bronze hands with several fingers, which a French writer had declared to be votive offerings, dedicated, by persons who had been cured magnetically, to Isis and Serapis. (Annales du magnétisme animal, No. 34, 37.)

In these hands the thumb and the first two fingers are stretched out, and the other two closed. The first hand carries the figure of Serapis between its two first fingers, and a band round the wrist, under which a woman with a child is perceptible. At her side is an ibis. Above the same hand is a serpent and several Egyptian hieroglyphics,—as a tortoise, a toad, a lizard, a pair of scales, a water vase, &c. Without doubt the hand was dedicated to Serapis. Serapis is represented with a human countenance. A serpent symbolises wisdom, or is intended and does suggest the idea of Æsculapius, who was considered by the Greeks to be Serapis. The woman and child appear to be the *ex voto;* to thank the godhead for one or the other.

Why does the votive tablet here represent a hand? A votive tablet among the ancients, as among us, usually represented the healed member; we cannot say the same of the hand of which we have spoken. It shows that the woman or her child was healed; but why a hand, and a hand with two fingers and a thumb extended, as in magnetic manipulation, the two others being closed? All authors agree that such was *ex voto*,—something very uncommon. (" Vota porro in tabellis ac fictillibus insculpta non usque novum est, at in manu nulla in hunc diem occurrit. J. Ph. Tomasius super manum auream Cecropid. votum apud Gronov. Antiq., tom. x. p. 662.)

If we consider that this *ex voto* was dedicated to Serapis in gratitude for a cure, and moreover by an oracle or somnambulism, it appears reconcileable with the magnetic manipulation. What emblem could be more appropriate than the hand which performed the cure?

Another hand in the same metal, and of very fine execution, bears a fir cone on the thumb, representing Isis: a serpent's head of Æsculapius looks out from between the two last closed fingers. In the ball of the hand a ram is represented,—perhaps the symbol of Jupiter Ammon, or the sign of the ram as the epoch of the cure. Round the wrist there

is again a band enclosing a woman and a child. This, therefore, is probably a votive tablet for a cure; for we read on the pedestal—Cecropius, V. C. Votum S. = Cecropius voti compos votum solvit. This, like the other hand, is provided with symbolic figures.

A third hand bears Serapis on the thumb, and a ram's head between the two last fingers; a serpent surrounds the wrist and creeps towards the thumb; lastly, a fig-leaf, sacred to Isis, is found in all the hands: but on this last one there is no woman or child.

A fourth has a fir cone surrounded by a moon on the thumb,—another symbol of Isis: in the palm is a serpent curled round the wrist.

We must remark that all these hands are the right, and all the fingers have the same direction. In magnetising, the right hand is open, and often the three first fingers are only used,—as the French magnetists maintain that the three first have the greatest influence; which is certainly true, though it is not an universal custom to magnetise with three fingers. The Egyptian priests may have used this method in certain diseases, or it may have been a common custom. Undeniably, however, these hands were dedicated to the two or three divinities in whose temples the cure of the sick was practised. In Montfauçon we also find mystic fingers, which appear to have had the same signification. These fingers are of bronze, and end in a long nail, showing that they were fastened to a wall, or that they were borne on a staff in the festivals of Isis, as in such festivals other symbols dedicated to the gods were carried. Pierius Valerius (Hieroglyphica Basil. 1556, lib. xxxvi.) says that the forefinger was called *Medicus*. These bronze fingers are forefingers. Is it that the Egyptians magnetised especially with this finger? Magnetic somnambulists often magnetise with the forefinger alone, and order, in cases of cramps, that it is to be used.

Another remarkable but unknown antiquity is to be found in Montfauçon. It is a naked youth crowned with laurel, who tramples a skull under his right foot. In the left hand he carries a wooden lancet, which bears such a mysterious bronze hand; but with this difference, that here all the fingers are expanded. A serpent is coiled round the wrist,

its head placed near an egg, which is held between the thumb and forefinger. On the pedestal we read,—*Tullino.*

This statue, says Montfauçon, was broken by the Bishop of Brescia, Rampert by name, in the year 840; but the hand was preserved, and was, at the time when Montfauçon wrote, in the possession of an antiquary named Rossi, to whom it was given, with a description extracted from an old manuscript. "To explain this figure," says Montfauçon, "Rossi lost himself in vain conjectures. The foot upon the skull, and the laurel round the head, appear to show that Tullinus triumphed over death, and was immortal." In addition to this, the French author remarks, in the "Annales du magn. anim.," that he had been unable to find any god "Tullinus," and that there was great foundation for the belief that it was a statue of Serapis or Æsculapius, as the immortal conqueror of death; that among the Greeks the egg was the symbol of the world; the serpent, whose head lay near the egg, representing Serapis or Æsculapius. But this egg is between the thumb and forefinger, and the serpent is wound round the wrist. Does not this possibly indicate the natural allegory which we have mentioned, as on the other side death is trampled under foot? If the laurel crown round the youth's brow has any other signification than that of victory over death, we might believe it Apollo, the god of Medicine, and the conqueror over death. The ancients often confounded Apollo with Serapis, Æsculapius, and Isis, in regard to the curing of disease. With respect to Tullinus (it ought to be written Τυλινος, Tyllinus), we find that *Tull*, in the Celtic dictionary of Bulest, means "uncovered, naked."

Learned men have stated that, in the festivals of Isis, the symbols of the divinities were carried, and especially a hand upon a short staff, and quote Apulejus, who describes such a festival, and the various persons who went before the statue. He says: A fourth in linen bore the symbol of justice and equity—namely, a left hand at the end of a palm branch. This left hand appears, on account of its natural awkwardness and disuse, more adapted to be the symbol of impartial justice than the right. (Apul. Metamorph. i. ii.)

The conjecture of Apulejus, however, appears unfounded, that the hand was borne in processions; for Isis and

Serapis were not worshipped as the patrons of Justice, and the left hand cannot signify Justice any more than the right; and certainly not according to the views of Apulejius, because it is more awkward and less used than the right. But there are persons who use the left hand instead of the right. According to Diodorus Sicculus, an expanded right hand is the symbol of generosity, and the left, when it is closed, that of avarice and penury. (Diodor. Rerum antiquar., lib. iii. c. 1, de Æthiopibus.)

This hand of Isis appears to have had quite another meaning; like the former, a symbol of the cures which the goddess performs by her hand. The various other symbols which were described by Apulejius as being carried in the procession were also objects dedicated to the goddess, whose signification he knew as little as we do. They were,—a torch, an altar, a hand, a vase, a staff, a basket, an amphora. Most of these things are found associated with the mysterious hand. "This Isis hand," says the author, in the Annales du Magn. anim., "reminds us of those hands which our kings bear during their coronation, and which are called the hands of justice. But these hands of Isis could not have had a similar signification, as the two closed fingers suggest, according to Diodorus, rather the idea of avarice. At first these hands were not called hands of justice, but the king's hand; and Montfauçon gives this signification another origin, which appears to agree better with our previous remarks. He says as follows:—Such a hand is first found on a seal of Hugo Capet, now preserved at St. Denis. It is not known whether this hand descended upon Charlemagne from heaven. Such a hand would have no reference to justice. We also see this hand descending from heaven on the head of Charles the Bald, on whom, in two portraits, the same hand is pointing with four fingers towards his head, to illuminate him in his duties and justice towards his subjects. We also occasionally find hands on the medals of the emperors of Constantinople. The hand of justice of the St. Denis and the French kings extends two fingers and a thumb, and contracts the two others. The mystery, if there is one, is obscure. They, however, appear to have had the same origin with those which are represented on the heads of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald. In the first painting

of Charlemagne as a patrician, in an arm-chair, with two magisterial persons in togas beside him, a hand is stretched from the clouds with three extended fingers. In that of Charles the Bald, who sits crowned upon his throne, bearing in his right hand a sceptre ending in a lily, and in the left a globe or a species of helmet, surmounted by a cross, we see a hand stretched over his head from a drapery. In another picture, the throne is surrounded by a drapery, above which an open hand is descending upon the head of Charles the Bald, sending forth rays from the fingers. Who does not recognise the allegorical hand mentioned in the Scriptures? "And his hand was upon him;" meaning the divine inspiration, or the Holy Spirit. But what painter could represent the magnetic fluid better than by rays proceeding from the fingers?

Mention is also made of a monument of Dagobert at St. Denis, where a hand is seen descending from a cloud, with three fingers extended over Dagobert, who, naked, and with a crown on his head, is raised over some drapery by two bishops, with two angels near him. This hand, in such an early age, is clearly traditionally allegorical.

That, according to Montfauçon, these hands are also found with the emperors of Constantinople about the time of Charlemagne, and also showing three extended fingers, appears clearly to point to the symbol of a divine origin: it is the "*Hand of the Lord*" of the Scriptures, which endowed the prophets with their miraculous powers and the divine inspiration.

Tomasini makes the important remark, in his dissertation on the mysterious bronze hands, that they have the same position as that which our prelates were accustomed to place theirs when blessing the people; as well as that in which painters of all ages have been accustomed to represent the hand of our Saviour. (Tomasius apud Gronov. thesaurus græcar. antiq. t. viii.)

If, therefore, the bishops gave their blessing in such a manner, it has at all events a reference to magnetic manipulation in disease. The three extended fingers are found in the ancient representations of our Saviour, who healed the sick, and also in the religious ceremonies of the popes,

when they gave the benediction; and St. Januarius, on the St. Magdalen bridge at Naples, appears to exorcise Vesuvius in the same manner.

The blessing which everyone desires and children long for from their fathers is seldom given by the will alone, or in words only; but the extended hand gives the direction of the mental effort to its influence, and executes objectively that which the mind has determined. In a physical view the hand gives the direction, and the touch attracts or repulses; the hand of the magnetiser assuages pain and cures disease without further use of medicines, and even produces ecstasy and clairvoyance. Does not all this give us a clue to these mysterious Egyptian hands? The accordance between the hand of justice, the priestly benediction, and the magnetic manipulation, is clear: if this accordance is not sufficient to confirm a common origin, it must still give occasion for reflection, and rouse the mind to observe and show us in everything that surrounds us, in the natural and spiritual world, far more analogies with magnetism than is usually believed.

The French author now proceeds in his search of analogies in the "Annales du magnét. animal." No. 36 et 37, and not in mere fragments but in continuous facts, as they are met with in magnetism. I shall quote his words as follows:—

"Magnetism was daily practised in the temples of Isis, of Osiris, and Serapis." He commences his investigations thus:—"In these temples the priests treated the sick and cured them, either by magnetic manipulation, or by other means producing somnambulism. We shall turn our attention to such Egyptian monuments—'de préference'—which give us whole scenes of magnetic treatment." Although these Egyptian hieroglyphics are regarded with great daring and boldness, yet much that is probable results, and the more so from the fact that all things in these monuments are not hieroglyphic. There are also purely historical paintings, which represent sacrifices, religious ceremonies, and other actions, as well as things which refer to the natural history of animals, of plants, and the stars.

It is usual to imagine that all Egyptian subjects were emblematical, when in fact they were not; for hieroglyphics must not be confounded with emblems. The former

(caractères hieroglyphiques) are symbolical representations of whole chains of ideas, which at a later time were condensed; the latter are representations of separate actions. The hieroglyphics, he further remarks, were probably at first whole figures, but as they occupied too much space they were gradually abreviated, and portions alone remained —lines, from which it was impossible for strangers to discover the original meaning. Among the emblems he includes the remarkable representation on a mummy case given by Montfauçon. Before a bed or table, on which lie the sick, stands a person in a brown garment, and with open eyes, and the dog's head of Anubis. His countenance is turned towards the sick person; his left hand is placed on the breast, and the right is raised over the head of his patient, quite in the position of a magnetiser. At both ends of the bed stand two female figures, one with the right hand raised, the other with the left. The bed was supported by four feet, which bear the Isis head, hawk's head, dog's head, and a human head, the symbols of the four healing divinities —Isis, Osiris, Anubis, and Horus. Other hieroglyphics on a talisman, bearing similar representations, are mentioned; and upon other mummies where standing figures touch the feet, the head, the sides, or the thighs; and many other magnetic actions are represented: these are reproduced in Montfauçon and in Denon's "Voyage d'Egypte," tom. iii.

These scenes manifestly represent a magnetic action. The reclining form is a patient; the magnetising person is a priest under the mask of Anubis; his position is positive; and at the two ends stand two other priests, who appear to assist by their actions. As regards the dress and the animals' heads, it is well known that the Egyptian priests chose the shapes under which they represented the divinities, or by which they expressed any peculiar worship. Athanasius Kircher explains these figures in his "Sphinx Mystagoga," as follows:—"In sacrificiis, simili, quo deos referebant, habitu comparebant sacerdotes. Tutulos in capite gerebant floribus, pennis, serpentibus, vasis, aliisque similibus, quibus geniorum proprietates et ideales rationes exprimuntur, illisque putabant se in eam intelligentiam, quam continui mente volvebant, transformari."

The hawk's head clearly proves the figure to represent

a priest of Osiris, the highest divinity, which is shown by the dress. The same may be said of Anubis; it is not intended to represent the god, but a priest, and we therefore see that their head-dress was provided with a dog's head to be worn by the priest. Lastly, the two women below also appear to assist, and in the position of magnetisers.

"It is, therefore, very natural," he continues, "to look upon this as an example of magnetic treatment with those expressive forms and costumes of the priests, who work together, or alone, as the mysterious symbols here show. In every case the same religious costume is to be met with, and we can easily understand how it was that this monument, overlooked by Montfauçon, remained unexplained before magnetism was understood."

The Abraxes, mentioned by Montfauçon, form another subject for investigation. They are carved stones of the early, and partly Pagan, ages. In them the Gnostics mixed the service of the true God with that of the Egyptian, and occasionally the Greek and Roman divinities. They were regarded as talismans and amulets.

In such an Abraxes we see a figure stretched upon a table, and having the form of a wild boar. The person with the dog's-head mask, standing in an upright position, has one hand on the feet and the other on the head of the patient; he has three small feathers or flowers on his head; and the figures are turned towards the left. At the end of the table are two figures in long, narrow robes, similar to the patient. Their heads are covered with a species of turban, ornamented with a flower. They raise one hand, and let the other fall; but it cannot be distinguished whether they are men or women. There are no pedestals under the bed.

What is the meaning of this? The Abraxes were talismans against sickness, and curative properties were ascribed to them. Magnetism here again gives us a clue towards the elucidation. A third and fourth carving shows a sick person covered from the head downwards, the eyes open; and beside him a person in a dog's-head mask. Hands are placed upon both sides of the patient. The other shows a person having the shape of a lion, lying upon a bed. The patient bears a strange species of mask; the person stand-

ing beside him in the usual dog's-head mask places his hands upon the thighs of the sick person, with his eyes fixed upon the countenance of the latter. Under the bed are pedestals with birds' heads; and at both ends are nude female figures with one knee upon the earth; one of them holds a round vase upon her head with one hand, and steadies it with the other. At the foot of the drawing are Egyptian words in cursive characters. The mask of the reclining figure appears to betray a sick Egyptian priest, with one of those animals' heads under which they represented the idea of the gods; for they believed that they by some means embodied themselves in it, in the same manner that, during the middle ages in Europe, the dead were enveloped in a monk's cowl, believing that by this the forgiveness of his sins and the protection of the patron saint of the order would be gained. In the analysis of these drawings, although taken from various monuments, we find the same events described with but slight variations: but it is worthy of mention that all these drawings represent various species of magnetic manipulation. In the first, one hand is laid upon the stomach, the other upon the head. In the second, one hand is upon the feet, and the other upon the head. In the third, the hands are upon the loins; and in the fourth, on the thighs.

Without doubt the question will be put why the magicians almost always bear the mask of Anubis—that is, the dog's head? To this we may reply, that among the Egyptians, the dog, according to Horus, often symbolised the sage and prophet, which would be quite in accordance with the magical representations. But granting that that picture represents Anubis, we find that Kirche, who occupied himself much with the unravelling of Egyptian mysteries, can assist us with an explanation which conforms well with the subject. He says that Anubis is the faithful guardian of life (Anubis fidus vigilque vitarum custos, l. c. p. 69). The magician, therefore, is naturally represented as Anubis. Osiris, according to the same authority, was regarded as the creator of the world. All the gods were called upon by the sick, and they, therefore, figure on all the pedestals, which are seen under the beds upon which

the sick recline. "Therefore," says Kirche, "he who reflects earnestly upon these symbols will find that they represent the common invocation of the united divinities;" and these, according to Kirche, are Osiris, Isis, and Anubis, as we see them represented. We also understand why the two figures seen at the bed's foot are kneeling in prayer to Osiris, who is symbolised by the bird's head.

These remarks are still more striking if we follow Kirche's explanation, which regards the vase upon the head of one kneeling figure, and the pedestal in the shape of a T, which supports the other, as "the symbol of divine power and its influence upon creation." (Nos vero congruentuis dicemus cum Abunephis, illum characterem—the vase and the pedestal—nihil aliud apud Ægyptios significasse, quam divinæ mentis in rerum omnium productionem, motum et diffusionem.)

In this we find a belief in that system which accepts an universal fluid in the influence of magnetism.

Denon, in his Journey to Egypt, provides us with several analogous drawings. In the hundredth plate of his work he speaks of a roll of manuscript which he had discovered in the hand of a mummy. The vignette of this manuscript represents a mummy upon a couch; it has the form of a lion; above it is a vulture with expanded wings, and in front a man, who is invoking a deity who bears a scourge and a hook. Denon connects this with other paintings, by which means a certain rapport is formed. The couch in itself does not appear to have any particular meaning, for Denon himself says that the seats among the Egyptians often had the shapes of animals; he especially speaks of a sitting figure, which holds a staff to guard the sacred birds. The mummy itself he, however, looks upon as the body of an animal. In that case, what would be the meaning of the man invoking the god before at the foot of the bed? The god with the scourge and the hook is Osiris, the good spirit of the Egyptians, who often is represented with a whip, to drive away Typhon, the evil principle. The vulture, or rather hawk, above the bed, is Osiris, under another symbol. He was invoked under this shape to prevent infection by the plague (invocatur accipiter ad pestis conta-

gionem arcendum, Kircher). It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Osiris should be invoked under his various symbols for the restoration of the sick.

Denon, however, returns to his error when he says that the extended body is no mummy. The 126th plate shows four small pictures from the third chamber of the great temple at Tentyra, which was sacred to Isis. Denon is not aware for what purpose that chamber was used; whether as an oratory, or observatory, or sanctum, or merely as an ordinary chamber.

To judge from the subjects which are engraved it might be regarded as a study, or observatory of astronomy, or the tomb of some celebrated person. In the first plate we see a mummy placed against the right-hand wall, under which a long inscription is to be read. In the third chamber are seen four small figures carved in stone, of which it here treats. Denon imagines that they represent the position of the earth or the seasons:—"Is eternal living nature sleeping under the guardianship of the emblems of the good divinities?" In the second plate we find the same sleeping figure under the sign of a lion's skin. The four figures standing below may represent the constellations, or the four months of rest, during which time a guardian deity is supposed to preside over them.

No. 10. The same figure, with four other emblems under the couch. *The sleeper appears to awake.*

No. 9. The same figure, fully awake, is preparing to rise.

From these figures, which Denon represents, we see that the reclining figure can neither symbolise the dead Osiris, nor the reposing Horus; neither a mummy nor sleeping nature under the shape of a god; but a diseased, lethargic person under the guardianship of a divinity, which rouses him again to life; moreover, as we are strikingly reminded, by magnetism; for, on a narrower observation, we find that the plate No. 2 has great resemblance to the first of Montfauçon. A figure is stretched upon a couch in the shape of a lion, whose tail ends in a serpent; it wears a species of pointed cap and a veil from its chin; at the feet is a person in the position of a magnetiser; the four figures under the

bed are no constellations, but four similar pedestals, agreeing perfectly with the first plate in Montfauçon; above is the hawk with expanded wings. The only difference is that there is here no woman in company with the magnetiser, and that the latter does not wear the dog's-head mask, which is a clear proof that Isis and the mask had no influence upon the act which this picture represents. When the priests did not wear this symbolical dress, they were naked, to show the veneration they felt for the divinity.

In every case, however, Denon's explanations are incorrect, when he sees in the figure of the lion an emblem, and considers the form below the lion as sleeping. How could the sleep of nature agree with the sign of the lion, as in this time nature is most luxuriant—namely, August? The bed in all cases retains the shape, which could not be the case if it referred to the seasons.

We have, besides, seen in Montfauçon that the couch below the reclining figure is not always in the shape of a lion, but also that of a wild boar; which cannot refer to the zodiac. We may remark that the lion is very frequent in all kinds of beds, couches, tables, seats, &c., in Egypt. The figures upon the pedestals cannot represent constellations; the Isis, hawk, dog, and human heads, represent the beneficent divinities—Isis, Osiris, Anubis, and Horus.

If it were desirable to seek for something emblematical in these figures, it would be far more natural to accept the metamorphosis which the Egyptians believed in. The extended body could be regarded as dead; Anubis, as the guide of the soul, is found at the side; Osiris, the master of a new life, is above. To this may be added the tomb and the swathed mummy. "But does not magnetism represent a species of metamorphosis?" asks the French author. "The body falls into sleep, which deprives him of all his senses. The soul, which to a certain extent leaves its outward shell, appears to fly towards the divinity to acquire new mental energy and new light in a new existence, which as it were estranges the body left behind."

According to our belief, therefore, the real meaning of

these pictures is nothing more than a representation of magnetic treatment. We cannot ascribe any other motive to the actions of Anubis above the extended body, than that he places one hand upon the head and the other upon the breast of the sufferer, or upon both his sides; all of which actions would undoubtedly be magnetic. We must not overlook the fact that the reclining figure has in all cases its eyes open, which could not be the case if it were a mummy. The magnetic power which expels disease is represented by Osiris as the creator and preserver of life, under the emblem of a hawk. Anubis, the faithful guardian of life (fidus vigilque vitarum custos), makes use of his power, and distributes it, according as it is required, over the various parts of the body.

Thus we see, in various stages of recovery, that the patient gradually rises from his couch; a fact which therefore excludes the idea of a dead body. All hypotheses of other kinds than that of magnetism leave room for doubt.

As, therefore, direct accounts of the magnetic treatment in the temples of the Egyptians and of the magnetic sleep are to be met with in many directions, hypothesis aids us in explaining those mysteries which the priests incorporated in the hieroglyphics, and veiled from the eyes of the uninitiated. That temple at Tentyra, with its chambers, to which Denon was unable to assign any meaning, appears to have been especially an hospital, and its chambers were dedicated, at least in part, to the magnetic sleep.

In this point of view the Egyptian statues which represent priests or custodians of the temple are very remarkable; several of them are at Paris and Munich. In their hands they hold a short staff, which is regarded as the commencement of the crook and the fan, which were the usual attributes of the Egyptian priests. For what were they intended, and why should they be placed in the hands of the custodians of the temples? I do not find an explanation anywhere. Are they magnetic conductors? The short staff resembles in size those iron staffs which are used as conductors by magnetisers in certain diseases, and the fan might be used in applying the magnetized water.

How little do we know of still existing monuments! how

many temples may still be buried beneath the Libyan sand, and how many are all but destroyed! Thus, at all events, it is now very difficult to form any true historical theory in the universal ignorance of the symbols and hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. But, with the desire which is now shown on every side to unravel that which is mysterious in the great and lesser Egyptian mysteries, with the increasing knowledge of the hieroglyphic writings, and the industrious collecting and comparing of the materials already in hand, we may expect that the clouds hanging over this subject may be dispelled.

There is no doubt that the sciences were highly cultivated in Egypt; curious monuments of all descriptions are not alone proofs of this, but also the writings of ancient authors bear the same testimony. Moses tells of the Egyptian wisdom, and in the New Testament we find that "Moses was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in deed and word."

The ancient writers maintain that the sciences were developed by the Egyptian priests, and from them passed to the Phœnicians, Arabians, Greeks, and Romans: some even say that the Persians and Indians learned from the Egyptians. The heads of the Egyptian belief, as far as they are known, may be stated as follows.:—

Phtha is the emblem of the eternal spirit from which everything is created; they represent it as a pure ethereal fire which burns for ever, whose radiance is raised far above the planets and stars. In early ages the Egyptians worshipped this highest being under the name of Athor; he was the lord of the universe. The Greeks transposed Athor into Venus, who was looked upon by them in the same light as Athor.

Apulejus calls her the Divine Venus; and Cicero also speaks of the omnipresence of Venus (quæ autem dea ad res omnes veniret, venerem nostri nominarunt). Ovid sings, that she governs the circle of all things, commands in heaven, and on the earth, and in the waters. Ptolomæus (in Tetrabiblo) and Proclus say, when speaking of the Phœnicians and inhabitants of Asia Minor, that Venus was there worshipped as the mother of the earth.

Among the Egyptians Athor also signified the night, as

the commencement of all created things; for everything originated from darkness. We find this theory among all those who first derived their knowledge from the Egyptians. Hesiod also calls the night the origin of all things; and Orpheus says, that the dark night is the creator of gods and men.

In the history of the creation, as given by Moses, we find—"And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep." According to Orpheus, the ether created by God appeared first in the world; from this was created chaos and dark night; and this covered all that was beneath the ether; but the highest, invisible, incomprehensible Lord had existed before all things. Orpheus evidently derived his theory from Egypt, for the Egyptian sages worshipped the Eternal Spirit as the origin of all things, who could not be perceived with the senses, but only with the reason; he created, rules, and preserves all things. The theory of Thales agrees with this,—and he also gained his knowledge in Egypt. According to Thales, the water was the commencement of all things, and God that spirit who made all things out of the water.

According to the Egyptians, says Jablonski, matter has always been connected with the mind, and, moreover, in an endless chaos; the spirit of chaos, after a time, took the shape of an egg, and, in the separation of its elements, developed its power in the creation of all things. The mind (mens) has a double nature, male and female—that is, the principle of nature, by which it works, is active and passive.

The principle of evil is also found in the theories of the ancient Egyptians; Tithrambo, according to Epiphanias, which Jablonski translates by *ira furens*, and the Greeks called Hecate. Typhon was the evil power of the Egyptians, from whom everything noxious in nature originates; the unclean animals were sacred to him. He was represented as a crocodile, ass, or hippopotamus. He was the symbol of the destructive south wind. The Egyptian priests also maintained that the gods appeared to man, and that spirits communicated with the human race.

The souls of men are, according to the oldest Egyptian doc-

trines, formed of ether, and at death return again to it. Their other teachings consisted in a profound natural philosophy, which they represented in pictures and emblems which were unintelligible to all but the initiated, and gave rise to the strangest fables. We may form, however, some indirect ideas of what those doctrines were from the Greek philosophers who had been in Egypt; as Orpheus, Pythagoras, &c. According to them, the motion of the earth round the sun was known to the Egyptian priests. "This theory," says Jablonski, "Pythagoras took from the Egyptians; and it also proceeded from them to the Brahmins of India. (Jabl. Pantheon Ægyptior. iii. prolegom. 10.) "Neque etiam prætermitere hic possum, videri celeberrimam illam Copernici hypothesin, terram circa solem moveri, sacerdotibus Ægyptiorum olim jam ignotam non fuisse. Sciunt omnes hoc docuisse Philolaum aliisque scholæ Pythagoræ alumnos. Pythagoram vero placitum hoc astronomicum ab Ægyptiis accepisse et in scholia sua dogmata esoterica tradidisse ex eo non parum verosimile mihi fit, quod idem etiam ad Indorum Brahmanas, Ægyptiorum priscorum discipulos dimanasse intelligam." Aristotle and Laertius also mention this theory of Pythagoras.

Astronomy and astrology were also principal branches of Egyptian magic. According to Herodotus (lib. ii. c. 82), the Egyptians were the first to name the days after the stars, and to perceive their meaning, so that they could foretel the fortunes of man. They have left symbolical references to the power and the mutual influence of the sun and moon, the planets, and the stars, in all their temples and pyramids, as may be seen after the lapse of thousands of years. The Egyptians also possessed physical and chemical knowledge more than any other nation of antiquity, as is shown by their buildings and works of art. Lastly, the secret knowledge of the priests and the service of their temples were lost during the dominion of the Persians in Egypt and the continuous internal disturbances, or were so distorted that they were regarded as fables. Magic, in its true, higher signification, most probably reached great perfection among the Egyptians, of which at a later age we only find traces in theurgic arts or sophistic juggleries. Magic is shown under

a perfectly different shape in Greece, and is found among the Israelites in a sparing and peculiar manner; but it was only in the age of Constantine that magic became wholly disused in Egypt. Theodosius caused the temples to be closed, and he himself is said to have destroyed the temple of Serapis.

THIRD SECTION.

MAGIC AMONG THE ISRAELITES.

THE most perfect and reliable history of divine and human nature, of divine revelation and influence through divine or pious god-like men, is to be found in the records of the ancient Hebrews in Holy Writ.

The Bible has with truth been called the Holy Scriptures, for it contains the knowledge of that which is holy, agreeing as it does with immoveable laws, and combining and interweaving deeds and laws, words and actions. It shows the true connection of man with the Almighty; it has the most intimate connection with the profoundest truths of the intellect and the senses; it speaks of the origin of the universe and of laws, according to which all things were created; of the history of man before and after the Deluge; of his future destiny, and the means of attaining to it; of the living and invisible agents which God employs towards the great work of salvation; and lastly, of the highest of all beings, the Saviour, who combined in his person all divine powers and actions, whilst those who had gone before him were but the representatives of single powers and perfections. It shows to fallen man the light and radiant goal of his life, and prescribes all the various actions of purification and regeneration.

Having seen among the nations of the East the stages of magic, the degrees of development in somnambulism and clairvoyance, and the most varied modes of producing unusual effects, we shall now see all this among the Israelites, but in a perfectly different character. In the former it was *self*

and the *present;* in the latter it is no longer the individual which is influenced by magic, but humanity and the future: there the light shines from the natural powers of man, though often excited by artificial means, even of the lowest description; here a pure, unclouded, calm light is seen, gently influenced by the breath of God, and illuminating the future, to which all life and being tends. To the Israelitish seer the fate of individuals was not only revealed, but of whole nations, even of the human race, which is guided, as it were, in a magical manner to its development, and the great end of reconciliation with God, which in the old covenant takes place in an almost instinctive somnambulic manner. In regarding first of all the history of the old covenant, we see this remarkable people standing alone like a column of light in the obscurity of Pagan night.

If we find in the noblest men who, in other nations, strove to attain to perfection, uncertainty and doubt, the men of God show the impression of confident truth, representing the higher powers by living words and deeds, by proofs which separate life and death, truth and falsehood; and where the remains of other nations show only theories or adaptations, we find here a continuous chain of events and actions,—a living and divine assistance. The sacred writings speak of all this with a connectedness, with a dignity and perfection, that no other nation's history, interwoven with fables, can show. The Bible contains the light which shines through all the clouds of life; it is the foundation of all human actions, the guiding star of the earthly to eternity, of material to divine things, the means and end of knowledge. It is the first of the three great lights which guide and rule our faith. The Bible is also of greater weight to our subject than all other records; and I shall therefore quote some of the passages which have reference to the principles as well as the practice of magnetism, especially as regards the healing of the sick according to biblical precepts. Those regarding dreams may be first mentioned.

A. *The Old Covenant.*

The dreams mentioned in Holy Writ are extremely numerous and remarkable; for those voices with which God spoke

to the chosen men and prophets were usually heard during sleep: thus, as Moses shows, the visions of the first men were during sleep. Numbers, xii. 6: "And he said, Hear now my words. If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream." Job, xxxiii. 15: "In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed." 1 Kings, iii. 5: "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said, Ask what I shall give thee." Genesis, xx. 3, 6: "But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold thou art but a dead man for the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife.... And God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me; therefore suffered I thee not to touch her." Genesis, xxxi. 24: "God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." Joseph's dream concerning his brethren is very remarkable. Genesis, xxxvii. 5: "And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it his brethren; and they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed. For behold we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo! my sheaf arose and also stood upright; and behold, your sheaves stood round about and made obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams and for his words. And he dreamed yet another dream, and told it his brethren, and said, Behold I have dreamed a dream more: and behold, the sun, and the moon, and the eleven stars made obeisance to me. And he told it to his father and to his brethren; and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?"

History proved that Joseph, after he had been sold by his brethren to the Egyptian merchants, was in reality, at a later date, their king at the court of Pharaoh. Joseph's power of expounding dreams is shown by his explanation

of the dreams of the king's cupbearer and baker, as well as Pharaoh's dreams of the seven fat and lean cattle, and the seven full and withered ears of corn. In the New Testament instances of dreams in which God spoke to the faithful are not wanting. Thus, an angel announced to Joseph in a dream that Mary had conceived, and would bear the Saviour of the world; and afterwards that he should flee to Egypt with the child, to escape the murderous designs of Herodias. God also commanded the three wise men to return by another way from Bethlehem, and not to see Herodias (Matthew, ii. 12). Visions often appeared to the Apostles by night: for instance, that Paul should go to Macedonia; and Acts, xviii. 9, we find: "Then spake the Lord to Paul in a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace." There are many similar passages—Acts, xxiii. 11; xxvii. 23, &c.

Let us commence with the Mosaic account of the creation. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." In this is contained the original principle. God is an uncreated being; the heaven and the earth were first created; the contrast being created by God. As of a second creation, Moses speaks of light and darkness: "And God said, let there be light; and there was light." Here, too, light is spoken of as being created, but having its opposite in darkness. The ancient Egyptian belief regarded night as the commencement of all things, and the words used by Moses express a similar idea: "And darkness was upon the face of the deep." But if the Egyptian belief is to be regarded as of very early orign, the error must have arisen from the fact that they imagined the night as actually having existed before the day, as the Persian regarded the light as having been created by God before darkness. The light was created with the darkness, as its natural contrast, as Moses clearly says: "And God divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night." The Bible shows another contrast in the first forming of the world, namely, in the water and the spirit. The water as matter, as the germ of organisation, and the spirit, the elohim, the fructifying principle. "And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." One-sided views on this point

have led the earliest philosophers to many errors and false explanations. Thus, Thales imagined everything to proceed from the water, and overlooked the spiritual activity, which from his time all the defenders of materialism have also done. The other view is to consider everything to be spiritual, and matter as but a dead weight: this has been the case with all spiritualists and defenders of the world of spirits from the earliest ages. Moses, therefore, shows that he is raised far above all disciples of the Egyptian temple-knowledge, or the modern theorists, as, illuminated by the divine light, he does not regard the subject from a distorted point of view, but represents it in its true form and worth; he places the spirit beside matter. Moses has, moreover, excellently described the creation, as the separation of the water and the dry land took place; the gradual growing of herbs and plants, which propagated in the earth, of fruitful trees which carried their own seed; of the living creatures which inhabited the waters, and the birds under the heavens, and the beasts of the earth, each one according to its kind. How God made man: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth."

The Mosaic Eden is the habitation of the original, purely created man, within whose reach grew the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The symbol of the serpent shows the nature of man's fall. I have already spoken of the original purity and natural wisdom of man, when treating of his life in God. This is the place to make a few observations according to biblical principles. For this purpose a mystical, interesting work will be useful, from which the following is taken. It is called "MATIKON; oder das geheime System einer Gesellschaft unbekannter Philosophen," printed at Frankfort in 1784: it is a scarce book, and its theories have much similarity with the Brahminic doctrines.

"Through this divine origin as the immediate reflection of God, Adam was not only the highest step of creation, having precedence of all others by the impress of divine power, for his being was not derived from any mother; but he was a celestial Adam, created by God himself, and not

originating in the flesh; and by his nature he enjoyed all the attributes of a pure spirit, surrounded by an inscrutable covering. This was not the present body of the senses, which is but a proof of his degeneracy, a coarse husk under which he shelters himself from the attacks of the elements; his garment was sacred, simple, indestructible, and of imperishable nature. In this condition of a perfect glory, in which he enjoyed the most perfect happiness, he was destined to reveal the power of the Almighty, and to rule over the visible and the invisible. In the possession of all natural rights and insignia of a king, he was able to use all means to fulfil this his elevated destiny. For as a combatant for unity, he was assured against all outward attacks by his inward and outward nature; as his covering, whose germ is still in us, made him invulnerable. One advantage of the original man was that no poison of nature or the power of the elements could affect him. In the regeneration of man, Christ promised the Apostles, and all who should follow him, this invulnerability. He also carried a fiery, two-edged, all-piercing lance,—a living word, which united all powers within itself, and by means of which he could perform all things." This lance we find mentioned by Moses, Genesis, iii. 24: "So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the Garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life." Under this sword is understood the living word, which man originally possessed, and will only regain in his regeneration, and return from rude outward sensuality. It is the word of which it is said (Hebrews, iv. 12): "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of souls and spirits, and of joints and marrow."

The Honover (or word of power) of Zoroaster is remarkable in its resemblance to this, by which Ormuzd conquers Ahriman and all evil. To proceed with our quotation: "In this condition of regal dignity and power, man might, as the living image of his Father, whose representative he was, have enjoyed the purest happiness, if he had remained in Eden. Instead of ruling the senses, and striving for the spirit to which he was destined, he was filled with the unfortunate idea of confusing the cardinal points

of light and truth (that is, he lost the light of truth in the darkness). Losing sight of the bounds of that kingdom over which he was to govern, he confined himself to one portion (the senses, whose manifold light dazzled him, so that he forgot all else), and flattering himself that he could find the light otherwise than in its original spring, he fixed his lustful eyes upon a false being; was enamoured with the senses, and became himself sensual. By this failing he sank into darkness and confusion; the consequence of which was, that he was transferred from the light of the sun to a night of many small twinkling stars, and now felt a nakedness of which he was ashamed. This misuse of the knowledge of the connection between the worlds of spirit and matter, according to which man wished to make the spiritual material, and matter spiritual, is a breach of marriage, of which that which since has been carried on with woman is but a shadowing and consequence. Through sin man lost not only his original habitation, and was obliged to go the way of all flesh, but he also lost that fiery lance, and with it all that had before made him invincible and all-seeing. His sacred garment now became a material covering, and this mortal, destructible body no longer defended him against the elements. The mind also shared in the confusion of the weaker half of the body, and inharmonic sounds were heard in the dark realms of the world of spirits.

"Although man sank deeply through sin, yet a hope of restoration was left him under the conditions of a perfect reconciliation. Without this reconciliation he sinks deeper and deeper, and the return becomes more difficult and dangerous. In this reconciliation, however, he must inspire himself, and avoid the seductive attraction of the senses, and endeavour to gain the beneficial influence of a higher power through prayer, without which he cannot inhale one breath of a purer life. To gain this reconciliation, man must gradually conquer and cast from him all that which obscures his true inward nature, and holds him back from his original state; for man neither can nor will be at peace with himself and nature till he has overcome everything that is inimical to his own nature, and has conquered his enemies. This can, however, only take place when he has retraced that path in which he diverged from his original state. He

must, therefore, gradually free himself from the influence of the senses by an heroic life, and like a wanderer who has many mountains to cross, always climb upwards, till he has gained that goal which is lost in the clouds. Overcoming one obstacle of time after another, he must dispel the clouds between himself and the true sun, so that at length the rays of light may reach him without hindrance."

The following is purely biblical, without resemblance to the Brahminic teachings:—

"God has, however, given us help and assistance to gain this reconciliation. They were inspired agents whom God always awoke to reclaim man from his errors. But man only gained perfect reconciliation through the Saviour of the world, who at once perfected and represented that which those agents had but partially and individually performed. Through him his powers are first roused and heightened; through him he approaches the sole true light, the knowledge of all things, and especially of himself. If man endeavour to use this proffered help, he will certainly gain his end, and becomes so certain of this himself, that no doubts are able to turn him from his destination. If he raise his mind to that degree of purity in which it becomes united with the divine nature, he is able to spiritualise his being to such a degree that the whole realm of the soul is so clearly shown to him, that he feels the presence of God nearer than he had ever imagined it possible; all things are possible to him, because he can make all powers his own; and in this harmony and unity with the fulness of activity, the inspired instruments of God, Moses, Elias —even Christ himself, are revealed to him, and being surrounded by thoughts, he no longer requires books. In short, man can here reach such a degree of perfection, that death has only to remove the coarse husk, when his spiritual temple may become visible, and he live and act for ever. It is when he has passed through this valley of darkness that by every step he gains increased existence, intenser power, purer atmosphere, and a more extended horizon; his spiritual being tastes more delicious fruits; and at the termination of his earthly life nothing intervenes between him and the harmony of those spheres, of which the senses only give a faint idea: without the distinction of

the sexes, he will commence the angelic existence, and possess all those powers of which below he had seen but emblems and symbols; he will then enter that eternal temple, the source of all power, from which he had been banished, and Christ will then be the everlasting high priest. Hebrews, vii. 17—24, 25. Man will then not only enjoy his own gifts, but also participate in the gifts of all the chosen, who constitute the counsel of the wise; that holy prince will then be even more elevated than he was here below. Without rising or setting of the sun, without change of day and night, without innumerable languages,—all beings will at the same moment read the holy name of the eternal book, from which springs life for all beings." Hebrews, xii. 22, 23. Here, also, we find a resemblance to ideas of Zoroaster when he speaks of the celestial companies, of the eternal sacrifices of Ormuzd and his servants, and of the participation of each servant of Ormuzd in the sacrifices and prayers of the others."

I have not made any remarks upon the preceding extract, on account of its clearness and truth; and from the fact that it seemed to me suitable to this work, as showing that only pure and truly Christian men can do the miracles which Christ promised them, and see visions of which the material worldly man cannot even have an idea. Regarding the appearances and proceedings which have a magnetical character, so copiously recorded in the Bible, I shall make extracts of the most remarkable.

The first is found in Adam. Moses says, Genesis, ii. 21: "And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept." The question now arises, what kind of sleep was this? The answer is, a deep sleep. It must, therefore, either be a sleep of death (*κάρον*), or lethargy (*καταφορά*), or ecstasy (*ἔκστασις*—raptus divinus); or was it only a profound common sleep? The first seems to me improbable; and if it had been the case, we know that in the greatest freedom from the bonds of the body, or shortly before death, the most perfect clairvoyance often shows itself; that there is no mention of a heavy sickness, but only of a "deep sleep." If it had been a lethargic state, that inward sight was only the more probable. The seventy-two interpreters of the sacred writings look upon

this sleep as an ecstasy; and Tertullian says directly, that the power of prophecy of the Holy Spirit fell upon him (Accidit super illum spiritus sancti vis operatrix prophetiæ).

Another remarkable fact is the building of the Ark of Noah before the Flood, which he had long foreseen. Further, Abraham's call to leave his fatherland, Ur, in Chaldea, and to go towards Haran in Canaan. Abraham's visions were numerous; or, are the words of the Lord spoken to him to be regarded as a symbolical expression of his inward contemplation? Through these visions or words, as it may be, it was shown to him that he would be blessed, and the founder of a great people. The Lord appeared to Abraham, and said, "This land will I give to thy seed."

The unsophisticated life of a shepherd naturally brings the mind to the highest degree of contemplation, and the more so when the mind is occupied alone with God and divine things. This is especially shown in the history of the pastoral life of the God-fearing Israelites, not only in the Patriarchs, but also afterwards in the age of the kings and judges. Isaac and Jacob had similar visions to those of Abraham, of which the ladder ascending to heaven, seen by Jacob on his journey to Mesopotamia, is a very remarkable instance. We find, Genesis xxviii. 10: "And Jacob went out from Beersheba, and went towards Haran. And he lighted upon a certain place and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillow, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold the Lord stood above it, and said: I am the Lord, &c.; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed, &c. And in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of. And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

How remarkably has Jacob's dream been fulfilled! The promised land became the possession of the Jews; through his seed were and are, all nations of the earth blessed—through Christ, who is the heaven's ladder on which the angels ascend and descend. Another, and still more remarkable passage, is found in the history of Jacob. It is this: Jacob agreed with Laban that he should have all the spotted lambs and kids which should be produced by those which he singled out from the black ones. Laban was contented, and Jacob became immensely rich. It is worth while to quote the whole passage, and to draw some conclusions from it concerning the magnetic theory. When Jacob would no longer tend Laban's sheep, and wished to depart with his wives and children, Laban said to him, Genesis, xxx. 27—43: "I pray thee, if I have found favour in thine eyes, tarry, for I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake. And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how thy cattle was with me. For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude; and the Lord hath blessed thee since my arriving; and now when shall I provide for my own house also? And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me anything; if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock. I will pass through all thy flock to-day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle; and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats, and such shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me. And Laban said, Behold I would it might be according to thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hands of his sons. And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks. And Jacob took with him rods of green poplar and of the

hazel and chestnut tree, and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks towards the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flock by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle. And it came to pass that whenever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods. But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in; so the feeble were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants and menservants, and camels and asses."

We see from this that even the sheep and goats could be influenced by the staves which Jacob laid before them in the water from which they drank. The fact that mothers influence their children by that which they see, has been disputed, notwithstanding that its truth has been demonstrated in all ages, and is as deeply founded in the nature of mutual existence as that children may inherit the bodily and mental peculiarities of their parents. That Jacob's sheep were influenced by the peeled wands, which he laid with so much art in water from which they drank, has a deep meaning. Jacob either did this from experience, or some vision or dream taught it to him. And in fact we find, Genesis, xxxi. 10: "And it came to pass at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and behold the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ringstraked, speckled and grisled." With the water, in which, as it were, they reflected themselves and the wands, they drank in the image which impressed a new form upon their young, and thereby satisfied the imagination as well as the body. We have not space enough here to enter into fully, and to defend the natural theory, by which is explained the manner in which spiritual impressions are even more easily propagated than is generally supposed possible in the

matter-of-fact and tangible world. That numerous class of materialists who wish to turn the spirit of Holy Writ into a subject of every-day life, that it may not appear that there is anything concealed in the sacred book, for which they have no understanding, will not be convinced; and for those others, it would be superfluous, who, under the mild influence of a higher light, build at that temple of the eternal spirit, which will endure for ever.

With Moses himself, the great man of God, we find no less remarkable appearances. The visions of Moses were principally dreams—some of them ecstasies; and added to this, he was initiated into the secrets of the Egyptians, whom he far surpassed in miraculous power; and on account of his extraordinary piety and wisdom was chosen to be the saviour of his people from the bondage of Pharaoh. His visions were manifold; even the whole guidance of his people and their legislature proceeded from the depths of his mind. If we look upon this as the fruits of inward contemplation, or as the consequence of a direct command through the voice of God, as, according to the Scriptures, the Almighty spoke directly to Moses, it is in the first case a purely magical contemplation; in the last case, if we rather incline to the belief, we shall find confirmation in the idea that a pious mind is open to the divine influence, and can perform miraculous actions.

Moses received his first vision on Mount Horeb, where he was still tending the flocks of Jethro, his father-in-law. Exodus, iii. 2: "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush; and he looked and behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And the Lord said to him, Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

Moses, the prophetic seer, acquainted with the misery of his brethren, and full of religious enthusiasm, with a glowing imagination, was placed in such a position with his father-in-law, Jethro, in Midian, that he had time and opportunity, as a shepherd in the wilderness, to sink his mind in religious contemplation until he heard the voice of God, and saw the means and ways of becoming the leader and shepherd of his people. His innermost heart

was opened to the voice and influence of God, who appeared to him as a light in the burning bush which did not consume, and with whom he conversed, having covered his face. We see in Moses the inward psychological contest of fear and hope, of vacillation and confidence; of resignation, veneration, and obedience; of reliance, and, lastly, of enthusiasm, which overcomes all worldly obstacles: he was provided with superhuman powers to command the elements, and to give evidence of the power and glory of God by miracles. Moses passed much time in such ecstasies during his journey in the desert and during his seclusion among the mountains, and was regarded by his people as more than human. The visions of Moses referred to the present and future, as well as to the events passing immediately around him. He not only gave his laws from the Mount, but also beheld from thence the sacrifice made to the Golden Calf; he saw that he could only preserve Israel from returning to idolatry, and prepare it for a purer mode of worship, by a long isolation in the desert, from the influence of the surrounding Pagan nations, and by a severe legislature in Canaan. From these intimations we may direct attention to the visions of Moses, his power of transferring the light of prophesy to others, as a magnetic *rapport;* the kinds of sacrifices; blessing with water, oil, and blood, and by the laying on of hands; as well as his remarkable commands against the participation in sorcery, false prophesy, exorcism, and the questioning of the dead.

Of some proceedings similar to magnetism, the most remarkable are the staff with which Moses performed his miracles before Pharaoh, and the stretching forth of his hands before which the sea divided. Exod. xiv. 16. "But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea." This stretching forth of the hands, and the miracles wrought thereby, are not without a deep meaning. With this staff he struck the rock in Rephidim, and caused water to pour forth to calm the thirsting and murmuring people. Exod. xvii. 15: "And the Lord said unto Moses, go on before the people, and take with thee thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the water, and thou shalt smite upon the rock, and there shall

come water out of it, that the people may drink." And when Amalek came and fought against Israel, Moses said to Joshua,—Exod. xvii. 9, 11—"Choose out men, and go out, fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed."

The gift of prophecy appears to have been communicated to the pious elders of Israel through communication with Moses; for we find, Numb. xi. 23—29, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not. And Moses went out and told the people the words of the Lord, and gathered the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them round about the tabernacle. And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders: and it came to pass that when the spirit came upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease. But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad and the name of the other was Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and they were of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp. And there ran a young man and told Moses. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them. And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!"

The various conditions of inward sight are clearly defined in the writings of Moses. When Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses, on account of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married, they said, Numb. xii. 2—8, "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not also spoken by us? And the Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam: and they came forth. And he said, Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine

house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches." Thus, therefore, there were among the Israelites, as among all other nations, and especially in our magnetic phenomena, visions, in dreams or the language of a dream, or dark words and symbols, as is particularly the case in the lower stages of sleep-walking; but in the highest state of vision in the purest minds, as Moses', it is a direct contemplation of truth.

In the oral intercourse of the Lord with Moses, and the vision of his form as Biblical expressions, we must not take the letter but the meaning of the Scriptures. For the Lord speaks in revelation as by light, and not with a mouth; neither is he visible to corporeal eyes. Thus the Lord says at another place, "He who beholds me cannot live." This language is the expression or impression of the divine words and the reflection of the eternal light; it is the spiritual communication and revelation of the divinity to mankind, which, according to the degree of illumination, is variously accepted and understood by men: as in material nature light produces various effects according as it falls upon near or distant, dense or thin, hard or soft, substances. This language was understood by the prophets and inspired men of all ages, who were certainly unable to render the received light otherwise than in the language of the lips, although that which they felt was simpler, more impressive and spiritual, than any such interpretation could be. The influence or word of God consists in an influence of the divine light by which the soul through which it penetrates is as it were electrified. God, as the centre, only influences the centre of all things,—that is, the soul and the outward manifestations follow naturally. Not less remarkable is it that the bite of the serpents was cured by looking upon a brazen serpent: we find, Numb. xxi. 4—9, as follows,—"And the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way, and the people spake against God and Moses. And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and much people of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses and said, We have sinned; pray unto the Lord that he take the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses,

Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it on a pole; and it shall come to pass that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live."

The visions and prophecies of Balaam the son of Beor, to whom Balak sent messengers that he should curse Israel, are very remarkable. "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more,"—Numb. xxii. 18. The most remarkable of his predictions is that of the star of Jacob (Numb. xxiv. 4, 10, 16, 17, 19), in which he foretells the advent of Christ. "And the spirit of God came upon him, and he took up his parable and said: Balaam the son of Beor hath said. He hath said, which hath heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open,—I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion." That not alone the sacred seers had visions is shown by the history of Balaam. Balak, the king of the Moabites, wished, through fear of the Israelites, to join the Midianites. But, as neither of the allies had any desire to fight, they wished to have recourse to magic; and as they themselves had no soothsayer they sent to Balaam at the water of Pethor, who was celebrated for his powers as a soothsayer and magician. The messengers came to Balaam with the reward of the soothsayer in their hands,—and we may therefore suppose that it was customary to pay for his predictions,—and begged him to curse the strange nation. Balaam told them to remain overnight; and in the morning he announced to the messengers that God had not permitted him either to curse the people or to go with them to their country, for that that people had been sent by God. Balak, in the belief that he had not sent sufficient presents, sent others still more magnificent, that Baalam might be prevailed upon to go to him and curse the people. Balaam, a mixture of faith and vacillation, of love of truth and avarice, of true prophecy and the black art, said to the servants of Balak,—"If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go

beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." And yet, after he had communicated with the Lord during the night, he arose and saddled his ass, to go to the prince of the Moabites; and at a later time he gave to these enemies of Israel the counsel how they could lead them to idolatry. Now follows the history of the perfectly somnambulic Balaam. He, being inclined to inward visions, became at variance with himself, wishing to serve God and mammon. His conscience racked him. "And God's anger was kindled because he went: and the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against them." The ass, seeing the angel with the drawn sword standing in the way, turned aside into the field, and being forced by Balaam crushed his foot against the wall,—upon which he struck him; and there being no room to turn aside to the right or left, the ass fell, and Balaam's anger being roused he struck her with his staff the third time. Lastly, the ass spoke to him, upbraiding him with his treatment, and he so far recovered himself that he, instead of the ass, saw the angel. But his conscience tortured him; he acknowledged his sin, and wished to return: but the angel permitted his journey with the condition that he should not speak otherwise than as the Lord placed in his mouth: this he kept against all promises and attempts of Balak, so that "he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face towards the wilderness," and according to his inspiration blessed the people of Israel instead of cursing it; foretelling its increase, and afterwards prophesying the star of Jacob.

This false prophet had no genuine inspiration, but he was and acted like one of our magnetic seers. For he always went on one side in silence when he wished to prophesy, that he might concentrate his thoughts inwardly without outward distraction, which true prophets do not. 2. The inward eye was open, while the outward senses were closed—"the man whose eyes are open;" for evidently the Angel with the sword was a vision, and the speaking ass was nothing wonderful to him, which certainly could not be the case in the usual waking state. According to the Arabic, Balaam means "the man with the closed eyes," which occasioned Tholuck to compare Balaam's visions with magnetic ecstasy. 3. Balaam was so little able to distinguish

his subjective visions from the objective reality, that the speaking ass did not surprise him; and he, when he had recovered himself, saw the angel standing before the ass, and bowed his countenance before him. 4. He used certain means of producing ecstasia which true prophets do not; for he secluded himself, and must have been well aware of the influence of locality, as he was led by different places to produce visions which should be acceptable to Balak. He must even have been accustomed to use "magical means;" for it is said that "when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face towards the wilderness." 5. Lastly, Balaam's ecstasies were uncertain and various, like those of magnetism; their ideas and expressions often symbolical,—as. for instance, we find, "He crouched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion." The false prophet then returned home, and appears at a later time in the Midianite camp, where he at length fell by those Israelitish bands who were sent by Moses against them.

During the age of the Judges and Kings, dreams and prophetic visions were synonymous.

In Numb. xxvii. 18—21, we find that when Moses prayed for a worthy successor, "The Lord said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hands upon him, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation; and Eleazar shall ask counsel for him." I have already quoted many passages from the Bible in which the dreams and prophetic visions were synonymous; they even understood under the term dreamer, a prophet,—so well known and important were their dreams. "And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by visions, nor by the prophets" (I. Sam. xxviii. 5, 6.)

"If there arise among you a prophet or dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and he sayeth, Let us go after other gods, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams, for the Lord proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul"—(Deut.

xiv. 1—3.) From this we may conclude that others had prophetic dreams, who were no prophets, and were not pure in heart.

It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the visions and actions of the prophets. Yet some of them cannot be passed over in silence. In I. Samuel, chap. xvi. we find the history of Saul, who, after the spirit of the Lord had departed from him, became melancholy and troubled, and could only be relieved by music. "But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And Saul's servants said unto him: Behold, now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our Lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on an harp, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well. Wherefore Saul sent messengers unto Jesse, and said, send me David thy son. When the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him."

When Saul saw the host of the Philistines his heart failed him, and he called upon the Lord, and the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by illumination, nor by prophets. "If there arise among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, thou shall not hearken unto the words of that prophet or dreamer of dreams." Saul was seeking after signs and wonders; asking Samuel concerning his lost ass; seeking the witch of Endor, and consulting deceitful dreams. Samuel said to him, "Wherefore dost thou ask of me, seeing the Lord is departed from thee? moreover the Lord will deliver Israel with thee into the hands of the Philistines."

In the Books of Samuel, who even as a boy had ecstatic visions, we find several prophetic visions. Those of Samuel and David were the most remarkable. And Saul also prophesied till the spirit of the Lord departed from him. The history of David, who when in years could not become warm, although he was covered with clothes, has been already mentioned. A virgin was obliged to sleep in the king's arms, and caress him, by which means the old king was warmed (I. Kings, i. 1.)

Among the prophets of the old covenants, none were more elevated than Elijah, whose name expresses the idea of all classes of higher being. Besides teaching the most vital doctrines, we find a history recorded which is of great weight in regard to magnetic treatment, and, as a remarkable instance of recalling apparently dead persons to life, deserves a literal quotation:—"And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore that there was no breath left in him. And she said unto Elijah, what have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son? And he said unto her, give me thy son; and he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed. And he cried unto the Lord and said, O Lord my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son? And he stretched himself upon the child three times and cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord my God, I pray thee let this child's soul come into him again. And the Lord heard the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived. And Elijah took the child and brought him down out of the chamber into the house and delivered him unto his mother; and Elijah said, see thy son liveth" (I. Kings, xvii. 17—24.)

Of the same kind, but still more remarkable, is the striking instance of powerful magnetic influence in the account of the recalling to life of the Shunammite woman's child by the prophet Elisha: II. Kings, iv., 18—37. "And when the child was grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father to the reapers. And he said unto his father, my head, my head. And when he had taken him and brought him to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and then died. And she went up and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and shut the door upon him, and went out." She now went to the man of God, who lived on Mount Carmel, to seek aid. "And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught him by the feet. Then she said, did I desire a son of my Lord? did I not say, do not deceive me? Then he said to Gehazi, gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way; if thou meet any man, salute

him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child. And the mother of the child said, as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her. And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child; but there was neither voice nor hearing. Wherefore he went again to meet him, and told him, saying, the child is not awakened. He went in therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the Lord. And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he stretched himself upon the child; and the flesh of the child waxed warm. Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him; and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes. And he called Gehazi, and said, call this Shunammite. So he called her. And when she was come in unto him, he said, take up thy son."

What may we learn from this? Before all things that it required a man of God like Elisha; secondly, that he must have been well acquainted with the transmission of the power through conductors, or he would not have sent his servant on before with his staff, to awaken the child by merely laying it on his face. Thirdly, the command which he gave his servant, not to address any one on the way, has a deep signification. He was, namely, to direct his attention solely to the important object of raising the dead person, and not to allow himself to be turned aside from it by any cause whatever: a proof how necessary and important it is that the magnetic physician be entirely free from interruption, in order to occupy himself solely with his patient. Fourthly, the manipulation in this case is unsurpassable. Fifthly, it is a proof that patience and application are requisite in magnetic treatment; that no tree can be overthrown with one blow; for Elisha rose after a short time and walked to and fro in the house, and it was only in the second attempt that the child sneezed. We can also learn from Elisha (and Saul) that the clearer conditions of the inward senses may be especially called forth by music. For when Elisha was to prophesy to the Kings of Israel and Judah against the Moabites, he said, "But now bring me a minstrel. And it

came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him." That the curative effect of laying on the hands was known to them is shown by the passage in II. Kings, v. 11, where the Syrian captain said, "Behold I thought, He will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the leper."

We often read that the bones of saints have performed miracles after their death, and have cured sickness. This was also the case with Elisha, for we read (II. Kings, xiii. 20) —"And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year. And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha; and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet."

If, however, it were supposed that in the earliest ages men were only capable of prophecy and inward contemplation, we may quote instances from the Bible of women; as for instance the witch of Endor, to whom Saul went in person, the prophetess Huldah, Deborah, and the woman Lapidoti, &c.

Let us turn again to the history of the people of Israel, and to the early Oriental nations, and compare the magic among them with that of later ages. We find many and striking differences. In the first place, as I have already remarked, the Israelites stood alone among all the surrounding Pagan nations, and magic among them had a peculiar form. For although the Jews had spent so long a time in Egypt, they carried with them but little of its magic; that is, of the real theurgic magical arts, which are perfected by natural powers and human inventions. The magical ecstasies and miracles were rather inspirations of Divine power; and the influence of the black art, producing supernatural effects by natural means, was forbidden under severe penalties. In heathendom the contrary is everywhere the case, as there the true knowledge of the divine nature was either entirely wanting, or was distorted by traditions, or obscured by mysteries. As, for instance, in Egypt, *Ather*, the dark night, was worshipped as the unknown being in *silence*, while the

Jews hailed the light of the unity of God with hymns. The power of natural principles was dominant in the whole of heathendom, and dragged down mind to the earth. The true divine magical influence was hidden from the erring races by a veil through which only a few stray rays penetrated. The light shone in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. "Heathendom was only capable," says Hamberger, "of receiving a few single rays, as it were obliquely, while the chosen people of God, who descended from Shem, enjoyed not a peripheric, but a central revelation of God. They were a people dedicated to the Lord. He had chosen them as his people from all the nations of the earth."

Israel was destined, not so much to grasp the outward glory of God, as to comprehend his inward nature; to be led still deeper into the holiness of the Divine Being. This could not, however, be achieved at once, and if it was not Israel alone who was to be blessed, but all nations of the earth were to be blessed through Israel, this could only be brought about by degrees and through time. "Longing, or love," says Schlegel, "is the beginning and root of all higher knowledge and divine wisdom. Patience in seeking, in faith, and in the struggle of life, is the middle of the way; but hope alone, the end, remains here for man. The necessary epoch of preparation, of gradual progression, may not be overstepped or thrown aside in this noble struggle of man. Until this is sufficiently observed, the character and even the history of the Hebrew nation cannot be understood. The whole being of this people was built upon hope, and the highest point of their inner life was placed in a far distant future. In this also consists a principal difference between the sacred record of the Hebrews and those of other ancient Asiatic nations. In the oldest records of the other nations, in the really historical portions, the eye is always directed towards the glorious past, with a melancholy feeling of that which the world and man had lost. Of all the abundance of these touching recollections, and of the most ancient records, Moses in his revelation to the Israelitish people made but sparing mention, wisely choosing only that which was indispensable and necessary for his people, and the divine intentions concerning it. As

these writings from those of the first lawgiver, who raised his nation from the nature worship of Egypt, to those of the prophetic king and psalmist, and to the last admonitory words in the desert, are, according to their contents and the inward sense, prophetic writings; the nation may be called a prophetic one in the highest sense, and is accepted as such historically, having been and become so in its existence and strange fortunes."

"The guidance of the Jewish nation," says Molitor, "gives the most clear proof of the truth of their God and religion. In all other nations there certainly were oracles; they were questioned on all important points, and no action of life was undertaken without the advice of the gods being asked. In no single pagan religion do we find a truly positive, divine guidance; man stands alone in his own power. It is far different in the Israelitish people, which was nothing in itself and alone, but whose whole being and guidance were evidently the work of the Divinity. Where is there a people which has such an ethical legislature? Where shall we find a nation in whom humility, obedience, and the most child-like resignation to God, is made the first duty of life; chastisements regarded as a proof of love, and man guided to his destination in humility and suffering? We certainly find in heathendom trials, but they are only trials in valiantly overcoming the temptations of evil. Nowhere do we find a word of praise of humility and self-denial. Moses, for instance, is called the most humble of men: is this praise which was ever bestowed upon heathen heroes?" (Cabbalah, Part iii. p. 116.)

A material difference is evident between the Israelitish and heathen seers. If even the magical appearances proceed universally from natural capabilities, here as elsewhere; if the imagination and sympathy, and the outward natural influences, produced similar effects, and if the Israelites learned much from the Egyptian mysteries—as, for instance, the prophetic schools, the inspiring dances and songs—yet we shall find, as regards the motives and effects, so great a difference, that it deserves to be remarked upon here. Having already given the particular signs of the true prophets, the signs of the false prophets are as follows:—

1. The magician, the Indian Brahmin, the mysterious

priest, produces ecstasy through his own will, and by self-chosen means, attaining, at the same time, his supposed union with God; Moses and the true Israelitish prophets received the call to serve God unexpectedly.

2. The magician raises himself, through his own powers, to a higher state than the surrounding world; he, therefore, intentionally secludes himself, and this seclusion even becomes a command: through this follow exclusions and gradations of rank, as the Indian and Egyptian castes, which produce a decided influence upon all the relations of the world and mind. Moses and the prophets are in seclusion rather from inward passive fear; suddenly the call is heard, and they follow in humility, with countenance covered with their garments. The redemption of the people of Moses did not proceed from his own will, and he himself does not desire any pre-eminence; he does not separate the classes, but he separates the united people from the blind heathendom, and sanctifies it to the Lord; he himself is the announcement of the belief in God's universal government; of future rewards and punishments; of the love of God, of order, and of justice.

3. Contempt for the world, and pride of their own worth in a life of contemplation, are found in the magical seers. A wise use of life, an obedient service of God, and a continual remembrance of man's sinful nature, cause the true prophet to pray for divine aid, illumination, and knowledge of the truth, and for the power to obey a higher will than his own. To the Brahmin, for instance, this earth is a hell, an existence of trouble; to the prophet, it is a school where he may gain true happiness and peace through the fulfilment of his duties.

4. The magicians are themselves lawgivers; the prophets are child-like and obedient disciples,—the declarers and expounders of the revelations of God.

5. There we find the means of producing ecstasy, with contempt and renouncement of the world, and unnatural chastisement of the body. Here the world is arranged for a regulated use of life; the prophet uses no means to produce ecstasy; he utters the received word of God without preparation, and imparts it to his brethren; he lives with his fellow men, and does not mortify the body.

6. The vision itself is, in the highest ecstasy of the

magicians, a kind of radiance, sunk in which, the world, with its signification, and perhaps even the inward constitution of the mind, may be clearly shown to them, as to our clairvoyants. But their lips are silent in the delight of the ecstasy and the dazzling radiance of a self-illumination: from this cause arise the many confusions of truth and falsehood, of impressions of the mind and pictures of the fancy in broken and inharmonic shapes, of spasms and contortions of the body and soul, as they appear fleetingly and in confused masses in our somnambulists. Their visions are, like those of the somnambulists, not always to be depended on, and require an explanation, not being always understood in their proper sense. In the prophets, visions are illuminations and reflections of a gentle divine light upon the mirror of a pure mind, which retains its individuality, and remains in conscious dependence and connection with God and the outer world; their visions refer to the common affairs of life, religious and civil; the prophet speaks, and his words are doctrines of truth, clearly expressed to all ages of mankind, and intelligible to every one. He seeks and finds his happiness, not in ecstasy, but in the pleasures of his mission, in spreading the word of God; not in secluded reflection, but in the communication and active co-operation with his fellow men; the true prophet is, therefore, not lost in inward contemplation, nor does he forget himself in the world, but remains in active communion with God, and with his neighbours, in word and deed.

Lastly,—

7. As in the varieties of inspiration the motive and proceedure differ, so do also the object and the result. The Indian magicians complain of the gradual degeneracy of the mind from its original brilliancy, in the different periods of the world, in perishable nature, and the realms of death; and deplore the misery connected with this—the discord—the confusion and distraction of the mind, as we find it to be the case among the various heathen nations. On the contrary, how much has not the illumination of the mind, through true prophets, in respect to religion and the arts, increased and risen in construction and harmony by a steady progress. Engrafted upon Judaism, the spirit of Chris-

tianity, which is spread over the West, extends its power still further: and, while in heathendom everything is sinking into unconsciousness and night, through unfruitful communion, here, by active belief, mountains are removed, and seeds sown in mutual assistance, whose fruits will only ripen to our use in the other world, towards which our endeavours should be directed.

The object of life is to the magician his inward contemplation; the true prophet lives in faith, and not in visions.

Historians and philosophers of modern times have regarded the ecstatic phenomena of the Israelitish prophets, and especially of the Apostles, as identical with magnetic clairvoyance. Towards the explanation and closer consideration of this subject, we may add the following to the quotation already given.

True prophets are especially called by God, and influenced by the Holy Spirit to announce the will and counsel of God. They are called seers, men of God, servants and messengers of the Lord, angels, guardians. The distinguishing marks of a true prophet of the Old Testament were:—

1. That their prophecies agreed with the teachings of Moses and the patriarchs (Deut. xiii. 1); 2. That they should prove true (Deut. xviii. 21; Jeremiah, xxviii. 9); 3. That they should perform miracles, but only when a particular covenant was to be formed, or a reformation of a degenerate age should be brought about; 4. That they should agree with other prophets (Es. viii. 2, Jerem. xxvi. 18);—5. That they should lead a blameless life (Jeremiah, xxvii. 4; Micah, ii. 11);—6. That they should show holy zeal for God's works (Jeremiah, xxvi. 13);—7. That they should have an impressive delivery (Jeremiah, xxi. 28, 29). Their duty consisted in, firstly, instructing the people, especially when the priests, whose duty it particularly was, were negligent;—secondly, in replacing the worship of God upon its former footing (2 Kings, xvii. 18; Ezek. iii. 17);—thirdly, to foretell future events, and, therefore, also to ask the counsel of God (1 Kings, xiv. 2, 3; xxii. 5, 8);—fourthly, to pray for the people and avert the threatened punishment (Gen. xx. 7; Kings, xix. 2);—and fifthly, that they should commit the will of God to writing (1 Chron. xxix. 9).

The same, on the whole, may be said concerning the Apostles, the messengers and announcers of the living word. They are called messengers, because Christ himself chose and sent them over all the world, to bring about the reconciliation with God, and to gather together the chosen. They did not offer themselves for this service, but Christ called them directly, and verbally imparted the teaching to them, that the Messias had appeared, and given them the power of working miracles through the word of the Lord. Their new teachings, namely, are very different to those of prophets of the Old Covenant,—repent and believe in the gospel, by which you will show that you love God above all, and your neighbour as yourself. Their life itself is a faithful following in the footsteps of their Lord and Master, in word and deed, in action and suffering.

If we bear these definitions well in mind, no one can find it difficult to distinguish between magical and magnetic clairvoyance, and prophetic inspiration; not to over-estimate the former and not to depreciate the latter. For although the appearances are similar at first sight, yet the difference is easily perceptible if we regard them according to their meaning, form, and their intention or object.

According to the originating cause, the difference consists in the magical and magnetic clairvoyance being in most cases of human origin, and having grown up in diseased ground, although it may be developed by the art of the physician, or by accident, or by its own innate power; an abnormal state of the health is, however, always the result, and sleep with a suspension of the outward senses is the first requisite. If there be a greater predisposition in certain individuals, there must be a physiological cause in the body itself; and if circumstances assist sleep-walking in others, it belongs to the kingdom of nature, which grasps the clairvoyant in strong bands, and still remains the ruling influence, even when he reaches the highest states.

Prophetic inspiration is not produced by nature or by man; its impulse is the Holy Spirit and the divine will. The divine call comes unexpectedly, and the physical condition is not regarded; the physical are never the influencing powers, but remain dependent upon the mind, which uses them as the instruments to purely spiritual ends.

A sleep-life with deadened functions of the senses and physical crises are not found here.

Secondly, magnetic clairvoyance treats immediately of the health and the individual life, or, at least, of some circle of human existence. The clairvoyant directs his attention at will upon subjects chosen by himself, at least in most cases, or he expounds his own visions; conducts his affairs, or the affairs of those around him, as if influenced outwardly, without any active enduring self-reliance or activity beneficial to the community. Human nature, affection and inclination, are never entirely wanting in the magical circle of the seer, and the working of his will and belief shows no supernatural and enduring effect, either upon himself or those around him.

The true prophet is subject to no change of form, but always exhibits similar actions, announcing Him who is the beginning and the end, and who has made all things. The prophets are not alone seers, but instruments of the divine will. To teach the true knowledge of God with the extension of his kingdom, which is truth and love, is his sole occupation, and he strives against lies and wickedness to overcome the world. That which is perishable and worldly, egotism and sensuality, health, riches and honour among men, and dominion over others, does not regard him. The prophet does not preach a present, but a future happiness, and the true peace of God, in the hope of eternal life in the divine presence; and not from personal impulse and pleasure, or from worldly views, but through God's inspiration, as the willing vessel of a continuous illumination; as the model in action and life; as the servant and mediator between God and all men—between time and eternity—between heaven and earth, through prayer. In word and deed the prophet remains in living and uninterrupted communion with God and his fellow beings. He does not seclude himself; does not sink into his own visions, feelings, and personal concerns. The prophets regard not individuality, but the fate of nations and universal events, and therefore they are able to perform supernatural and superhuman actions, strengthened by the all-powerful influence of their will and faith, as well upon their own bodies as upon others, and

over all outward nature in its temporal and local boundaries. Sudden conversions and changes of belief; immediate cures of difficult and tedious complaints; warnings of threatening dangers, and assistance to those requiring it at a distance; comfort and strength in trial and suffering, are proofs of this divine higher power.

Thirdly, clairvoyance is a phenomenon arising unintentionally, and, on the part of the seer, without object; or the object is the temporal well-being, the restoration of health, or some discovery of secrets; nourishment for curiosity and enquiry. Possibly in the highest and rarest states the inspiration may strive after a higher and nobler object. In the prophets, as we have said, the object is the revelation of the divine word to man; the extension of God's kingdom on earth; the ennobling and happiness of the human race. Impelled by the spirit of God, on whose assistance they rely, their endeavour is no other than to spread the light of truth, to strengthen the struggling against evil, to awaken love and mutual aid and assistance; to spread peace and universal happiness. Personal advantage, self-interest, is not regarded by the men of God. The foundation of their power is faith in the power of God; and they obey all commandments through love, the first of all virtues; for the fruit of the spirit is love (Gal. v. 22); and God gives wisdom to those who love him, and love is his banner above them.

The people of Israel give evidence of these differences:—

(1.) That the causes of the inward visions were really objective; that, therefore, there is something else besides reason which influences and acts upon human existence, and, moreover, directly upon the innermost one of the mind, while the peripheric side of the daily and natural senses is either totally inactive, or at least stands in a very subordinate position.

(2.) That there is a high spiritual region, which acts positively and dominantly upon human reason, and makes revelations to it which are not of usual occurrence, or mere flights of the imagination, illusions, or hallucinations of abnormal functions of the brain: "The hand of the Lord came upon them."

(3.) The ignoring, or even the sophistical denial of a self-

deifying rationalism, is shown by the whole history of magic and of magnetism, especially that of the Israelites, to be just as shallow as that pantheistic natural philosophy which confuses all things together, and regards the prophets and saints merely as somnambulic seers in a somewhat higher stage of a telluric sleep-life.

(4.) Notwithstanding this, however, these appearances have the greatest resemblance to those of magic and magnetism, as well in the anthropological expression as in the objective representation; as also the manner of influencing, as we have seen, clearly reminds us of the magnetic manipulation. While the prophetic revelations correspond to the purest forms of clairvoyance, where dream-visions and foretelling of events and fortunes are met with, we shall still find, particularly in the old covenant, many preparations and conditions which we have met with among the magicians of the East. Seclusion in abode, solitary places, fasting, and contemplation, are seen in most of the prophets. They speak, like clairvoyants, of an inner divine light, and of a radiance which illuminates them, but they recognise this light as the Eternal Spirit, whose hand is upon them, and, as the Psalmist says, "they walk in the light of his countenance."

They describe the divine light as a suddenly awakened perception, and often in the most impressive symbols, of which the most remarkable is the vision of Daniel (chap. x.) near the great water, Hiddekel, which may serve as an example. "In those days I, Daniel, was mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz. His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. And I, Daniel, alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: for my come-

liness was turned in me into corruption, and I retained no strength. Yet heard I the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright;—fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb. And, behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spoke, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength. For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord?—Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me. Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? and now will I return. But I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth." As an explanation of this vision, we may quote the following passage from Passavent.

"Such a condition, such a penetration and illumination of the human mind, can only be explained by the original relationship of the created and the Creator. The created mind does not exist for and in itself, but only in connection with the absolute being. As the mind is more perfect, so is the communion freer and more intimate between it and the Creator. And man is in such a case the free instrument, the coadjutor of God. That which may be said of human nature in general, and of all mental powers of perception and performance, applies as well to religion, in which the human mind is active and much freer from earthly nature, and from the boundaries of time and space. If we, therefore, say that the highest magical influence is that when the human mind becomes a divine agent, we shall be justified in believing that the highest magical perception is a divinely illuminated prophetic power—a spiritual contemplation, which is awakened and guided by the divine spirit.

If we, therefore, regard the intimate communion between the creation and the Creator as the end and object of created spirits, we may also regard the sacred power of the seer as an anticipation of a higher and perfect state, in which man perceives himself as he is spoken of in 1. Corinthians, xiii. 9,—and in which his spiritual vision reaches such a degree of perfection that he is no longer fettered by the laws of an inferior nature. But, as man must raise himself to the good as well as receive it, this law will be repeated as man rises to various stages of the universe, and is illuminated by its light in various ways. Regarded in this manner, the power of the divine seer cannot be looked upon as isolated from other spiritual powers, which may come upon man as something foreign to his nature, but rather as a certain form of a normal or regenerated mental activity. The soul of man, the similitude of God, becomes, in the measure as this similitude is unobscured, the reflection of the divine being" (Passavent, Lebens magnetismus, 2nd edition, p. 109.)

It is only requisite to mention in a cursory manner that God made use of the nobility of mind in Israel to carry out his plans for the redemption of mankind, and that the people, inclined to heathen gods, to disobedience and murmuring, were only to be led to the final destination through long sufferings and severe penalties. The road from Ur in Chaldæa to Canaan, which the Patriarch Abraham followed, was a long series of hardships, when leading from Egypt to the promised land. On account of their continued hesitation between the service of the Lord and that of the heathen gods, the people of Israel were compelled to wander for forty years in the desert, were carried into captivity to Babylon, and their city and temple destroyed; till at length the fullness of misery fell upon them. If Israel is the people representing *man* before God, it is not less the pearl of perfection as well as the mirror of human perversion, which always strives outwardly to seek in the variety of nature, and in distraction of the senses, that happiness which is not to be found here upon earth. The happiness of peace and the glory of paradise are only revealed by the divine word; and to participate in this,

the human mind must acquire two virtues—humility in obedience to the law, and superhuman hope of reaching the goal beyond earthly existence. To learn this obedience to the law, the people of Israel underwent greater trials than any other, and was led to the most resigned obedience. To them as to no other people the laws were revealed through a chosen leader in words of thunder; in order that they should obey them in innermost thought, and not merely hear the words outwardly and superficially. The sacrifices and festivals were not to serve as moments of rejoicing, but they were to be a symbolical manner of regarding the coming of the Messiah, as the flower-bud looks forward to the coming sun. The Ark, the Cherubims, the Holy of Holies, the Pillar of Fire, are, like Solomon's Temple, symbolical manifestations pointing towards the advent of the Lord. That the whole Mosaic system was symbolical and hieroglyphical is admitted by all acquainted with the subject; and the following words clearly show this:—"Make everything in the fashion of that which thou hast seen on the Mount." Moses, the man of God, therefore represents in the history of Israel the commencement of a new period of religious development. The formulæ and ceremonies of the laws were intended to awaken man, and direct his attention to the words of revelation. But long was the interval between the wanderings and the troubles of servitude which followed—from the smiting of the firstborn in Egypt, and the lightnings on Mount Sinai, to King David, with whom a third period commences.

"And he sent and brought him in. Now he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to. And the Lord said, Arise, anoint him: for this is he" (I. Samuel, xvi. 12.)

His father's shepherd, and chosen by the Lord to be the ruler over his people; his obedience to God, and his unshaken hope, did not only acquire for him the name of a man according to God's heart, but he, of the tribe of Judah, and born at Bethlehem, was a foreshadowing of Christ. He was king and prophet, and passed through many sufferings; as a servant of God, he endeavoured to lead the people of Israel to the Lord at Jerusalem; where

at length the mild radiant light of the divine Prince of Peace shone in the night of death from the cross upon the world.

"Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world" (Galat. iv. 1.)

"But when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Galat. iv. 4.)

The advent of Christ on earth was not an event of chance, not a phenomenon of nature, but a long-determined revelation by God.

The New Covenant.

Having mentioned several of the most remarkable facts of the Old Covenant bearing on magic and magnetism, and referring to the process of human development through the divine will, it is necessary on more than one account to speak of the New Covenant,—to examine those passages which refer to our subject most closely; because, especially in the New Covenant, the magical cures were so numerous, and almost in all cases so entirely without outward remedies, that there appears to be some ground for regarding these cures as nothing more nor less than magnetic in character. Extremes have been maintained by advocates on both sides of the question, to which we must devote some attention. At the end of this section we shall glance at the being and meaning of Christianity in general, as well as the connection it bears with magic in particular.

The men of God in the Old Testament, who performed such great and glorious miracles, were always more human than divine in nature; that is, they represented individual persons and perfections. The entire expression of these perfections was only seen in Christ; he it was who opened the new gate, burst the chains of human slavery, and showed the true image of perfection and wisdom in his glory. Christ again promised man immortality; he again elevated

his spiritual nature to be a temple of the sacred fire, a living altar and incense to eternal peace. In the "Magicon" we find as follows:—"As the first man Adam is the source of all evil, so could no one of his race be the saviour, weakness having no power against strength: it must be a being more than human. As there is none above man but God, this agent must be no other than one possessing the divine powers; having the divine character, to arouse in the soul of man the perception of that which is divine. Even the various opinions of men concerning him show that all powers, all gifts and perfections, were united in him."

"There are men for whom this Saviour has already come, others for whom he is coming, and others again for whom he will come in future times. Since his advent things are becoming more simple, and will continue to become more so, till all temporal things vanish. A great Sabbath of universal love and peace will, as it was in the creation, be the termination. He entered the holy of holies as the high priest, and revealed through his spirit to the chosen, not only the last words of the Old Testament, but also gave them a new and more comprehensive one still, to remove all evils and become invulnerable; for this the sacred exercise of prayer, convincing them that without this they could do nothing, but by him could draw around them all the principles of life. He did on earth that which is to be found above. He was, like the highest wisdom, unceasingly active in doing good, and united the two worlds. This, however, could only be attained to by his, upon the earth, remaining still united with the Godhead, as he had been through eternity. Lastly, he crowned his labours by imparting a spirit, which, through words of fire, awakened reason and life, such as had never before existed. He chose symbols to impart this power. Even man can transfer his weak powers to all things: how much more must these chosen mysteries (baptism by water, and the sacraments) contain a power which in themselves they did not possess! The sacrament is at once bodily, spiritual, and divine, and all in it must become life and soul, as its founder was himself."

"Every true Christian is an expression of this truth and a reflection of his master. He has enthusiasm enough to suppress everything evil in himself; his life is a daily sacrifice

in humility and fear of God: for God's secrets only are revealed to those who fear him: he keeps the commandments of his master in faith and simplicity. Such a man only can join the counsel of peace: whilst the highest human wisdom remains but insecure and perishable, a single ray of this sun makes the world purer and wiser than all the sages of the earth. As all religions have their mysteries, Christianity contains things of power and importance which are indescribable. As long as these sacred things were only known to the few, Christianity was at peace; but when the great ones of the earth began to trespass in this sanctity, wishing to behold everything though with unprepared eyes, and making it a machine of state, uncertainties and divisions followed. Then came high priests who departed from the truth, each one more than the other, till at length a perfectly unshapen mixture—a monster arose. Sophists, who flourished like weeds, now increased the evil through their subtleties, separating that which was united, and changing that which before was life and light into death and darkness. Although here and there traces of purity, zeal, and power, were still visible, yet these were unable to produce any effect, as the desolation was already too universal and too acceptable to the multitude; all these corruptions were the cause that in later ages the edifice of Christianity was shaken even in its very foundations. But one step from Deism to absolute ruin. Deism produced a still more dreadful successor, Materialism, which declares the connection of man with the higher powers as pure imagination, and believes in nothing but its own individual existence. Strange that the first races sinned through gigantic undertakings; that the latest, on the contrary, through nullity. But there is a truth whose sacredness can never be shaken, and which will endure with the earth."

If, however, man gains through his reconciliation and return to God, and his truly Christian life, the powers which our Saviour promised to all his followers,—namely, to "handle serpents, heal the sick, and cast out devils," and this in the same degree in which the Saviour did it himself (John, xiv. 12); and if such a true Christian really does greater wonders than man in his usual life of the senses is

capable of performing, as we have seen in the Apostles and the Saints of all ages, we must still regard that man as human.

I have already spoken at length of the Christian manner of healing the sick, and I again revert to it from the fact that the actions of Christ and his Apostles bear peculiarly on our subject. They did not use secret medicines or miraculous essences, but the power was in themselves, and they cast out devils, raised the dead, healed the sick and lame, through the Divine aid and laying on of hands; and caused the blind to see and the dumb to speak. To prove this, though without any intention of calling them purely magnetic actions, but regarding them as divinely human miracles, I shall mention several cures by Christ and his Apostles, as they are revealed by the Evangelists and in the Acts.

"When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. And, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed" (Matthew, viii. 1.)

"And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him, and saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented. And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him. The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed. And Jesus said unto the centurion, go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour" (Matthew, viii. 5—13.)

"And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose, and ministered unto them" (Matthew, viii. 14; Mark, i. 29.)

"When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick" (Matthew, viii. 16; Mark, i. 32; Luke, iv. 20.)

"And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee" (Matthew, ix. 2; Mark, ii. 3.)

A woman who had suffered under an issue of blood for twelve years touched the hem of his garment: "For she said within herself, if I may but touch his garment I shall be whole. But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said, Daughter be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole" (Matthew, ix. 20—22.)

"And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise: he said unto them, give place; for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn. But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose" (Matthew, ix. 23—26.)

"And when Jesus departed thence, two blind men followed him, crying, and saying, thou Son of David, have mercy on us. And Jesus saith unto them, believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, yea, Lord. Then touched he their eyes, saying, according to your faith be it unto you" (Matthew, ix. 27—29.)

The man with a withered hand was healed through the words, "Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth, and it was restored whole, like as the other" (Matthew, xii. 10—13.)

The daughter of the Canaanite woman, who was tormented by a devil, was cured according to her faith (Matthew, xv. 22, 28.) "And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others; and cast them down at Jesus' feet; and he healed them" (Matthew, xv. 13; Luke, vii. 22.)

The lunatic who fell into the fire and the water could not be healed by his disciples. "But when Jesus rebuked the devil he departed out of him: and the child was cured from that very hour." Jesus said to his disciples they could not cast out the devil "Because of your unbelief: for I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible

unto you. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting" (Matthew, xvii. 15—21.)

"And as they departed from Jericho, a great multitude followed him. And, behold, two blind men sitting by the way side, when they heard that Jesus passed by, cried out, saying, have mercy on us, O Lord, thou Son of David. So Jesus had compassion on them, and touched their eyes: and immediately their eyes received sight, and they followed him" (Matthew, xx. 30, 34.)

"And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them" (Matthew, xxi. 14).

"And in the synagogue there was a man which had a spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not" (Luke, iv. 33.)

"Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him: and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them." (Luke, iv. 40.)

"Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said: weep not. And he came and touched the bier,—and he said—Young man, I say unto thee arise. And he that was dead sat up and spoke" (Luke, vii. 12—15.)

"And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna, ths wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others" (Luke, viii. 2, 3.)

"Then the devils went out of the man and entered into the swine" (Luke, viii. 33.)

"And behold there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in nowise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her he called her to him, and said unto her, woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her,

and immediately she was made straight and glorified God" (Luke, xiii. 11—13.)

"And there was a certain nobleman whose son was sick at Capernaum. When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judæa into Gallilee he sent unto him, and besought him that he would come down, and heal his son: for he was at the point of death. Jesus saith unto him, go thy way; thy son liveth. And as he was going down his servants met him, and told him, saying, thy son liveth" (John, iv. 47.)

The man who had an infirmitythirty-eight years, whom no one would carry unto the water of the Pool of Bethsaida, was healed by the words "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk" (John, v. 2—8.)

The man who had been blind from his birth was healed by applying earth and spittle. "He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay; and said unto him, Go wash in the pool of Siloam: and he washed and came seeing" (John, ix. 1—7.)

In a still more remarkable manner St. Mark relates the cure of a blind man by Christ. "And he cometh to Bethsaida: and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon them, he asked him if he saw aught. And he looked up and said, I see men as trees walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up: and he was restored, and saw every man clearly" (Mark, viii. 22—25.)

He awakened the dead Lazarus through an earnest prayer to the Father. "Then when Jesus came he found that he had lain in the grave four days already. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it. Jesus said, take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that lay dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been dead four days. Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe thou shouldest see the glory of God? Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said: Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus,

come forth. And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him and let him go" (John, xi. 17, 38—44.)

These are some of the cures performed by our Saviour and recorded by the Evangelists. There are, however, other records of the miracles of Christ, which are narrated in various legends, of which I shall particularly mention one not spoken of by the Evangelists. It is found in Eusebius (The History of Jesus, p. 16, c. xii.), and is quoted by Büsching in his "Wöchentliche Nachrichten für Freunde der Geschichte, &c., 1817, p. 64, Breslau. It is also to be found in Rosegarten's Legends. As a remarkable example of the power of Christ and his fame, of his divine mission and wonderful love, it cannot be unwelcome to the friends of Christianity to give this account of the King Abgarus of Edessa, a cotemporary of Christ, which is contained in two letters,—and from the King to Jesus, and the reply to the same.

The extraordinary fame of the miracles and divinity of Jesus, which had spread into the surrounding countries, and particularly the divine power of healing the sick, induced Abgarus to write the following letter, as he was suffering from a severe sickness :—

"Abgarus, Prince of Edessa, to Jesus the gracious saviour, who has appeared in the flesh near Jerusalem, greeting!

"The distinguished virtues and cures which thou performest without medicines or herbs have come to my knowledge. The blind, as report says, are made to see, the lame to walk, and the leprous clean; unclean spirits and demons are driven out; those who suffer from grievous sickness are healed, and the dead are called to life by thee. Having learned all this, I thought that either thou must be God descended from heaven, or the Son of God, from whom such miracles proceed. Therefore do I write this, praying earnestly, that thou wouldest take the trouble to free me from this sickness by which I am tortured. I hear that the Jews wickedly strive against thee, and desire to do thee great harm. I have but a small town, but it is well ornamented and much renowned, and can provide all necessary things for us two."

In this manner did Abgarus write to Christ. Illuminated by divine light, the true worth of this letter is that it is full of virtue and strength; and it is desirable to hear the reply.

Answer of Jesus to Abgarus the Prince, sent through the messenger Ananias:—

"Abgarus! blessed art thou! for without having seen me, yet thou hast believed. Of me it is written that those who see me shall not believe, but those who do not see me shall believe and live. As regards that concerning which thou hast written to me, I must perform those things which I have been sent to do; when I have done this I shall return to Him that sent me. When I shall have been received, I will send to thee one of my disciples, who will heal thee from thy sickness, and give life unto thee and thine."

After the ascension of Christ, Judas, named Thaddæus, one of the chosen seventy, was sent to Abgarus, and on his journey to him stayed with Tobias. Abgarus, hearing that the disciple whom Jesus had promised him had arrived, (for Tobias told Abgarus that he had received a holy man, coming from Jerusalem, in his house, who had performed many miracles in Jesus' name,) said, "Bring him before me." Tobias went to Thaddæus and said, "Abgarus, the prince, sends me to thee, and desires that thou shouldst be led to him to heal him of the sickness which troubles him." "Let us go," replied Thaddæus; "for this have I been sent." The following morning, Tobias conducted Thaddæus to Abgarus. On his arrival, the nobles of the court were prepared to support Abgarus, and on the entrance of Thaddæus, Abgarus remarked a bright light surrounding the Apostle's head. Seeing this, he humbled himself before Thaddæus. The astonishment of all surrounding him was great, for they saw not the appearance which Abgarus perceived. "Without doubt thou art the disciple of Jesus, the son of God, whom he promised in his letter to send." Thaddæus replies, "As thou hast so much confidence in Jesus Christ, who sends me, therefore am I sent;" also, "If the faith which thou hast in him grows more and more, so will thy wishes be fulfilled." Abgarus replied: "I believe so much in him, that if the power of the Romans did not

hinder me, I would gather an army and utterly annihilate the Jews who crucified him." Thaddæus replied, "Our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, fulfilled the wishes of his Father, and after that was received again by the Father." Then said Abgarus, "and I believe in Him and in his Father." And Thaddæus replied, "Therefore do I lay my hands upon thee in Christ's name;" and doing this, Abgarus was freed from sickness from that hour.

Here also belongs the legend which relates the sending to Abgarus of a portrait of our Lord. According to some, especially Damascenus, Abgarus sent a painter to Jerusalem for a painting of Christ; but on account of the glory proceeding from his countenance, the painter could not do this. The Lord then miraculously impressed his likeness upon his mantle, and complied with the request of Abgarus in this manner. According to others, Christ impressed his features upon a napkin, which he sent to Abgarus. However this portrait may have been furnished and sent, later events show, as narrated by Damascenus, that such a portrait was extant at Edessa; for, otherwise, we must regard the account of the siege of this town, by the Persian king, Kosroes, as a fable, which we are by no means justified in doing. According to this account, the walls of Edessa, which were built of olive wood, were surrounded by faggots of poplar wood, for the purpose of burning them. The Metropolitan went round the walls with the above-mentioned napkin, on which was impressed the resemblance of Christ. Upon this (divinavi) a violent whirlwind arose, which drove back the flames from the city, and by which all those of the besiegers who were near the faggots were consumed.

That the promises of Christ, that sickness should be healed, were fulfilled, is amply shown in the miracles, by which the Apostles healed the sick as their Master had done. "And a certain man, lame from his mother's womb, was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple. Who seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked an alms. And Peter fastening his eyes upon him with John, said, look on

us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something of them. Then Peter said, silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk. And he took him by the right hand and lifted him up; and immediately his feet and ancle bones received strength. And he leaping up stood and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God" (Acts, iii. 2—8.)

"And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one" (Acts, v. 14—16.)

The history of Simon the sorcerer is very remarkable: he wished to purchase with gold the power of performing miracles from the Apostles, which he was unable to do from the deceits of his heart. This remarkable history is also applicable to the Simons of our time. "But there was a certain man called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one. Then Simon himself believed also; and, when he was baptized, he continued with Philip, and wondered, beholding the miracles and signs which were done. Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost. And when Simon saw that through laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money: saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity" (Acts, viii. 9—23.)

When Peter visited the saints at Lydda, he found there

a man named Æneas, who had kept his bed eight years, being sick of the palsy. "And Peter said unto him, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole; arise, and make thy bed. And he arose immediately." "Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tabitha: this woman was full of good works and alms deeds which she did. And it came to pass in those days that she was sick and died: and forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, and the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him two men, desiring him that he would not delay to come to them. When he was come, they brought him into the upper chamber, and all the widows stood by him weeping: but Peter put them all forth, and kneeled down and prayed: and turning him to the body said, Tabitha, arise: and she opened her eyes, and when she saw Peter sat up. And he gave her his hand; and, when he had called the saints and widows, presented her alive" (Acts, ix. 33—34, 36—49.)

Of the same description are the miracles of St. Paul, who, powerful in spirit and action, deserves here, also, our admiration. "And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked. The same heard Paul speak; who steadfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked" (Acts, xiv. 8—10.)

"And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them" (Acts, xix. 11, 12.)

The youth Eutychus, who fell from the third story and was taken up dead, was awakened by St. Paul in the following manner. "And Paul went down and fell on him, and embracing him said, Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread and eaten and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted" (Acts, xx. 8—12.)

"And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux; to whom Paul entered in and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him. So

when this was done, others also which had diseases in the island came, and were healed" (Acts, xxviii. 8, 9.)

Having already spoken of the meaning of curing by Christ, and having also given some historical passages, I leave it to every one to make remarks themselves on these peculiarities, and to hold up that which is instructive for imitation. One thing, however, must not be omitted in conclusion,—that it is necessary first to become a Christian before cures can be performed in Christ. But very few are Christians of those who call themselves such; they are only Christians outwardly and in name.

Healing, in the Biblical sense, deserves in many respects some attention, as we find in it not only something magical, but because the Biblical healings are often looked upon as the only true ones. The principles of this manner of cure are described in the following manner in various sentences and teachings of the Bible:—

In Moses (Levit. xxvi. 14) we find as follows: "But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments; and if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my commandments, I also will do this unto you: I will appoint over you terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes and cause sorrow of heart. In Deut. xxviii. 15—21, 22—61, we find—"But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto; the Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee until he have consumed thee from off the land whither thou goest to possess it; and the Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed: the Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, he will bring upon thee

all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of; and they shall cleave unto thee; also every sickness and every plague which is not written in the book of this law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed." Therefore to again become whole it is perfectly necessary to free oneself from sin, and to live in pious and pure obedience to God; for the Lord spoke to Moses (Exod. xv. 26) "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee."

Jesus, the son of Sirach, says: "My son, in thy sickness be not negligent: but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole. Leave off from thy sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from all wickedness. Then give place to the physician, for the Lord hath created him; let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him" (Eccles. xxxviii. 9—12.)

"Fools, because of their transgressions, and because of their iniquities, are afflicted. He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions" (Psalm cvii. 17, 20.)

There are also other and higher methods of healing than the usual ones, and pious men can cure as well as physicians. The believing physician, says Macarius, is divine, but medicines belong to heathens and unbelievers. According to the wisdom of Isaiah, the physician was honourable; for he says, "Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses which ye have made of him; for the Lord hath created him." He, however, also believes that the physician was created for the sinner. "He that sinneth before his maker, let him fall into the hands of the physician" (Isaiah, xxxviii. 1, 15.)

In the New Testament, in all cases, sin is regarded as the cause of all diseases. Jesus spoke to the man with the palsy when he healed him, "Thy sins are forgiven thee. And when he had made whole the sick man at the Pool of Bethesda, and afterwards found him in the temple, he said: Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee" (John, v. 14.) The Apostles and

all the saints also strove to make men first morally whole; for true and perfect health of soul and body is only regained with a return to God. It is remarkable that the Eastern sages, Zoroaster, and all defenders of the system of emanation, the Cabbalists as well as the later Theosophists, who possessed a wonderful power of healing, have all attacked this doctrine. According to these the cause of disease is regarded partly to be the work of evil spirits, in communication with which man places himself through his transgressions. That they were the evil spirits, which, in fact, destroyed and corrupted the good principles of our nature, is not disputed by even a lower spiritual belief than that of the Theosophists: these are the "bonds of Satan" spoken of by St. Luke, xiii. 16.

The originally pure doctrines of Christianity were, however, at a very early age, distorted by some defenders of the system of emanation; of which, according to their perception, the institution of the Christian faith was in some measure the cause, being interpreted by their opponents in a much more pernicious manner. Saturninus, Basilides, and Carpocrates, are at the head of these, according to whom all things proceed from the Æones (celestial powers). Christ himself was, according to them, regarded as an Æon of the highest class, who, through severe self-command, had overcome the dominion of Demons, and whoever lived as he had done would overcome it likewise. "From the Æones, as the highest sources," says Basilides, "proceeded the heavens." According to Valentin, one of the most celebrated of their sect, the Æones were variously classed, even male and female. The first of the female Æones was the Holy Ghost; by laying on of the hands this holy spirit is imparted, giving the power of curing diseases. Although this departure from the original doctrines caused a great diversity of ideas, yet healing according to Biblical principles still remained a dominant motive for striving after moral improvement and perfection. If man is earnest in his unmurmuring obedience to God, and in a living, active faith, in his desire to return to God, God will become his physician, and he will have no more need of a temporal physician. As soon as the soul is perfectly sound, we are told, this health of the soul will also

spread over the body, or the sufferings of the body will no longer be of the nature of disease; they will not affect the heavenwards raised soul. If, however, man is incapable of such a self-cure, he must apply to the physician—"And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works" (Eccles., xxxviii. 6.) That the physician must cure according to Biblical principles is also to be seen from the above. He must, namely, be in the first place a truly Christian physician—that is, a priest-physician. Through his own health, especially of the soul, he is truly capable, as soon as he himself is pure and learned, to help the sick man; but first he must make whole the inner man, the soul; for without the repose of the soul, without inward peace, no bodily cure can be radical; it is therefore absolutely necessary for a true physician to be a priest. The question whether such a Biblical physician is independent of the use of medicines, or whether he may make occasional use of these, can be easily discovered by the Bible, and is therefore similar to the question whether the magnetic physician is to use medicines. In general, he must, as a Biblical and especially as a Christian physician, possess the power of curing without medicine,—through prayer and the divine word; and only in certain cases, and when he does not possess this power in the necessary degree, he is justified in using medicines; they are not created without purpose, for "of the Most High cometh healing." "The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhor them" (Eccles., xxxviii. 2—4.) Medicines are good, but do not suffice: "Go up unto Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured" (Jeremiah, xlvi. 11.) In the Bible, however, some few instances may be met with in which physical substances were used remedially: thus Moses made the water sweet by the use of a tree (Exodus, xv. 25.) The cures, by washing and purification, of leprosy, are remarkable. Elias threw salt into the bitter well, and sweetened it He also threw meal into the pot in which was death, and the herbs became miraculous. Isaiah cured King Hezekiah of his boils by laying figs upon them. Tobias healed his blind father by fish-gall, as the angel had shown him. And even Jesus laid a salve of clay

and spittle on the eyes of the blind man, and told him to go and wash in Siloam. Besides this, the simplest, most unartificial, and in almost all cases external means were used in the Bible. Inward medicaments were never used. Their remedies consisted of spiritual purification, repentance of sin, and prayer to the father of life, to the physician of the faithful. Thus we find in James (v. 13—16) "Is there any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms. Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him. Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." St. Mark says—"And they went out and preached that men should repent, and they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."

But the Biblical physician does not always cure, and sickness is not always to be regarded as an evil. If temporal enjoyment and smiling pleasure were the object and destiny here of man, and after which in fact the majority strive, we might have reason to regard sickness as an evil and as a heavy punishment, which many a one might consider he had not deserved. But this planet is not the place of undisturbed peace, nor the residence of beings who are to enjoy an enduring happiness. Light and shadow, day and night, repose and contest, love and hatred, peace and war, happiness and suffering, fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, life and death, are the continual changes, which depend not upon the whims of chance, but lie in a higher hand which regulates them as trials, by which, through cross and suffering, through overcoming evil, through self-purification, through renunciation of the flesh, we are to be prepared for a better life. The principal object is health of the soul and mind; the health of the body is but a secondary consideration. If the soul is sound the body will be so. "His flesh shall be fresher than a child's; he shall return to the days of his youth" (Job, xxxiii. 25.) If such a person, strong in

the spirit, does not become whole, yet he does not feel his bodily sufferings, and already enjoys a portion of the happiness of the world beyond. True happiness, and perfect contented peace, are not to be met with here; and we must neither be surprised nor weep if the calm unmixed pleasures of the purest love are destroyed by a dark cloud and destructive storm; for happiness is only to be met with in the other world, because true health is only found in souls living with God: help, comfort, and blessedness, come alone from our Father in Heaven.

Christianity.

After four thousand years of the world's existence, according to the usual calculation, a new period commences in the history of the development of the human race. The stem shoots out green branches and twigs in all directions, and with the all-powerful development of physical life, and the already partially ripened physical powers of the mind, the highest blossoms are produced by miraculous destiny. Up to this period the nations were but isolated masses, which either remained entirely strange to each other, or still influenced each other merely mechanically through oppression and violence. To produce a higher organic influence upon each other, and in order to enjoy a mutual spiritual interchange, the nations, like the human body, must freely develope, and became gradually prepared. In this respect the age of Alexander the Great is the most remarkable; conducing towards the mutual knowledge and fusing of various nations. Though the world appeared to be falling into decay and ruin, the spiritual light beamed higher and higher, and Alexander becomes a guiding star in the history of human civilization. Lust of conquest and ambition may have spurred on the conqueror, but it is indisputable that he had a more noble object in view, for he loved science and the arts, gathered learned men about him, and Aristotle accompanied him on his journeys. It is a convincing proof of a predetermined system of civilization, that Alexander gave a Greek education to thirty thousand noble Persian youths.

Thus the Gordian knot (nam non interest quomodo solvatur nodus) was severed by him, and spiritual development now progressed in rapid and far spreading circles.

Up to this time the nations had been separated from each other through barbarism or legislation; therefore Alexander's incursions were most beneficial, for through them the Greeks were distributed into distant portions of the world, and with them their language and culture. The city built by Alexander in Egypt, and bearing his own name, was a central point of all these changes, where the most learned Greeks, Orientals, Jews, and Egyptians, met, and founded the first and most remarkable school of the human race. We find here the first and largest collection of books; and with the world-wide trade of Alexandria, interchange of ideas and mental intercourse could not be wanting: travelling Romans, Jews, and Greeks, introduced civilization to the West, while Ptolemy penetrated to the Euphrates; so that the nations, still separated at Alexander's death, were drawn more intimately together, and yet rolled in ever-spreading circles to north and south, to sunrise and sunset. I shall only mention the rich commercial towns of Alexandria, Rhodes, Syracuse, and Carthage, where Greek civilization was universal, and from whence, through gold and wars, such as the Punic, fresh impulses were given to new national intimacies and fusions. We see Rome, challenged by Carthagenian insults, stepping forth on the stage of the world's history, and as it were destined by Providence to seize upon the principal character with a master hand, and roll on the wheel of human existence with adequate force. As Rome stretched her arms gradually over the whole of the then known world, we see the rivers and streams, which were turned aside at Alexander's death, reunited in the mighty torrent of Roman dominion, and Rome herself carrying out, though in a different form, the gigantic undertakings of Alexander. It is remarkable that the East at this time became more enlightened. Tschihoangti consolidated the great Chinese empire, which now enters into commercial relations with India and Persia.

In Rome's history we see the human tree grown to a noble size, but like a youth who, though attained to man's stature, not matured. And this was of all others the most appro-

priate epoch of the world's history in which God could most beneficially appear upon the Earth, and make his word known. This was the age in which the human race commenced its development, and became susceptible to higher truths and teachings, and capable of retaining them. It is, however, almost universally maintained, that in Rome humanity reached the highest stage of maturity; for a noble mind, power, and an unconquerable determination, are attributes of a matured man. It would lead me too far from my purpose if I were to show fully the fallacy of this assertion; but a few remarks are quite necessary.

The Roman age bears anything but the signs of maturity. For the mighty tree was not perfectly organised in its members, and the shadow, while it spreads over the surrounding nations, was not refreshing or invigorating. The whole power of Roman civilization was like the physical strength of the eagle, and its sceptre, as well as its wings, of iron. The unchanging but varied spirit, which gains esteem and love even in repose, was then certainly wanting. The Roman colossus was a rude unshapen mass, which expressed the work by its weight; which knew no nobler aspiration than physical aggrandizement; like the bold energetic youth, who, on entering the world, only longs to learn and enjoy its pleasures. The educated man strives more for the common good, and noble ends, than for his own physical advantage; not secretly, suspiciously, avariciously, and with cunning, like the Romans. These reproaches cannot be withheld from the Roman age, although here, as everywhere else, signal instances of human dignity and nobility of mind may be met with. These considerations even show that the Roman epoch was far below the age of manhood, if we had not a more weighty one, namely, an universal one, according to experience,—that nature can make no sudden steps. Nature must have made such a step, if, from the so-called youthful epoch of the Greeks, she in a few centuries elevated the Romans to manhood, while before and after she required thousands of years to raise mankind from one stage to another. At what elevation ought, therefore, mankind to be at this period?

Rome reached the highest point of her development with her greatest territorial extension; but the poetic was domi-

nant over the philosophical spirit, as is the case in a youth. Horace, Virgil, Plautus, Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, Pacuvius, Cicero, Ænesidenus, Cato, Livy, &c., are the blossoms of this age. And whilst eternal Rome received a Cæsar in Augustus, who ruled the physical world absolutely; whilst Fo appeared in China, and the Germans enter upon the arena of history; the pure Word of God rises, with Christ, in the East, destined to illuminate and govern the whole world.

The civilization gained by humanity up to this time had fitted it to receive the highest teachings of divine revelation. It was even now a requisite of the age, that the highest interests of human existence should be openly and universally announced. For although, up to this period, certain nations had maintained themselves in a considerable degree of civilization, yet there were but few in number which raised themselves as lights above the surrounding darkness; up to this time there had been no conception of an universal civilization. In the first youth of humanity, the whole endeavour was naturally for a bodily development, to gain materials for a greater clearness and fertility of the mind through knowledge of men and the world. And thus we find humanity at the epoch of Christ's advent. The Roman empire was a gigantic colossus, in the vigorous bodily health of youth; but a higher spirit had not yet been infused into its limbs; earthy and sensual was its life and being, and therefore was it that this colossus so easily crumbled within itself. All other nations, at the period of the birth of Christ, stood still lower; some even had ceased to exist. The vital activity of the Greeks had long since expired, and almost the whole of Asia was sunk in a deep sleep of intoxication. The Egyptian sacerdotal wisdom was scattered to the winds, and their earnest solemnity had vanished; the temple of the almighty Jehovah, on Zion, had become a Jewish market of the Pharisees, and Moses' laws were forgotten; in short, all the old forms had become antiquated, and the human mind had universally sunk into darkness. "In this age," says Hamberger, "the nations were evidently sunk in the deepest mental night, and lay as in the shadow of death, in the utmost need of the saving, sanctifying grace of God."

As individual man, verging on maturity, with the awakening consciousness of inward freedom, has to choose between the life paths of virtue and vice; to combat between animal or divine nature; and as a wise guardian now gives the deciding impulse, so that doubt and error are separated from truth, and the path of virtue is chosen; so must humanity, which is but a generalization of the individual man, be guided and educated in its spiritual development; for, if left to itself, it strays to the by-ways of error, like individual man. If the general corruption was to be checked, degenerating humanity cured of its disease, a powerful, regenerating remedy must be applied by a skilful never-failing physician; and this was the pure light of life, and the teachings of Jesus Christ. Through the universal applicability of his word, seizing upon all men, his teachings were well adapted to illuminate the obscurity and to curb the wild disorder; for Christ's teachings are not a philosophy swelling with new ideas, with which a few occupy themselves for a short time; not a mere collection of single disjointed moral sentences; not a glittering delusion of the mind, to vegetate in visionary minds in dull words without deeds; but a gentle light and beneficent warmth which illuminates and enlivens the reason and mind, and the whole of nature. And thus Christ was the divine Saviour, who released the human mind from the many fetters with which it was bound.

All developments of nature take place according to fixed laws, and therefore, also, the life of man; and as man is only in little what humanity is in the whole, necessarily humanity must also conform to those natural laws. I have treated of this subject more at large in the statement of my anthropological views—to which I must refer the reader. The result of the typical process of development through three periods (youth, maturity, and age,) with seven epochs, and nine degrees of subdivision, gives eighty-one years as the normal life of the individual man. This presumptive calculation, adapted to the history of humanity, gives us the following: the three periods of man, each one of 4374 years, would make, in the whole, 19683 years (=3‡=81)—and, therefore, the close of the first epoch of the first period is 2187 years,—agreeing very narrowly

with the life of Abraham; the end of the second epoch, which is the close of the first and commencement of the second period (maturity) in the life of humanity, is marked by the advent of Christ,=4374; and, therefore, at that age, humanity was, as it were, in the eighteenth year of individual man. This calculation agrees remarkably with the Mosaic history; and weight and meaning are given to the words—"The heir, as long as he is a child, is under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the father." But when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law.

The time, therefore, was narrowly indicated, and as Christ could not come earlier, neither could he have come at a later time; for this would have been a delay at variance with the wisdom and providence of God. In the whole history of the world, therefore, there could not have been chosen a more fitting time for the revelation of God's word than the above named period. In all parts of the world, however, there were enlightened men, to whom, in the universal moral corruption and general wickedness, such a noble doctrine was in the highest degree welcome. The arts and sciences flourishing in Rome, made a higher religious illumination absolutely necessary, and learned teachers, as Socrates, Plato, and the Alexandrian philosophers, had already laboured to prepare the way for it. Outward circumstances also were of a nature to spread this new teaching generally; for the light of this divine doctrine arose at the period of the most extended dominion of Rome, which permitted universal religious freedom, and thereby, as well as by the peoples, brought into communication with each other, living at that period in peace, this religion was easily spread among other nations; for it was to spread over heathens as well as Jews. Even the obstacles standing in the way appear to have been exactly adapted to have hastened its progress, and to have increased its vitality instead of obstructing it. Among these obstacles may be reckoned the fate of the Apostle Paul, who, from being a violent persecutor of the Christians, became an earnest preacher of the Gospel, and meeting with the most adverse fortunes, taught the Christian doctrines in Asia, Greece, and, lastly, even in Rome, with an enthusiasm and a success which assisted much in its accep-

tation and enduring prosperity. Even the commands of the first Emperors to suppress the teachers of this religion, from fear that they might become dangerous to their government, and the unbridled fury of the Pagan nations, caused the Christian communities, which the governors of the provinces usually left undisturbed, to be more intimately confederated to preserve the precious jewel from the leaven of heathenism and from defilement. Thus, the first diffusion of the Christian religion progressed in many ways, through by-paths, and even in error, but always irrestrainable; and even this shows, in another manner, that mankind cannot be at once violently changed, but must pass through various stages, and that the members must be developed before the whole organization can be penetrated by the light of a self-existing life. For how could the barbarous, warlike, Roman nations, and afterwards the northern barbarians, become in so short a time true Christians? How can we, therefore, expect the same from similar nations?

As Christ had to come at a fixed time, so was he to appear at a certain place. The seed must be sown where it is to shoot up, and a good husbandman sows it upon fruitful ground. I have treated at large upon this subject in other works. Whoever knows the history of nations, and compares it with the geographical positions of the same, must perceive that the west coast of Asia, and especially Syria, as the centre between east and west, of the nomadic pastoral tribes of Asia and the stationary nations of Egypt, near to the sea, with so many clustering islands, was a spot far superior to all others of the world for the elements of activity and repose, of exchange and retention, and of the mutual intercourse of distant nations. From this point the early Phœnicians carried on their commerce in all directions over the earth. This country, so well adapted for commerce, was bordered by a sea, which the Egyptians hated, as they hated all strangers, upon which the patriarchal orientals by their ships spread civilisation with their wares, not only to the nearer islands, but also to the far-off coasts of the western lands. Upon the whole earth there is no sea to be found which is better adapted for this purpose; even a fruitful imagination could scarcely imagine one more

fit. It appears as if Providence had created the Mediterranean Sea to unite nations and countries, and spread civilization; while, at the same time, this very sea separates nations from this civilisation who might endanger it like a blast of the simoom.

The historical and natural circumstances being determined, the advent had now to take place in the regular form of existence; not earthly greatness and power were to accompany the Divine Man, for his kingdom is not one of this world; he takes servitude in lowliness and stillness; his birth and first appearance in this world do not excite attention, though not without signs to the faithful. He will, however, announce the words of truth only as a mature man; for the highest doctrines affecting the mind are only imparted by men, and only believed by men who have firm and fixed characters. To give power and vitality to his teachings, the divine teacher must be the ideal of every perfection; he must also possess and exercise divine powers. The weaknesses of the flesh, and the universal failings of mankind, are not perceptible in him as in the Greek gods; he must not afford materials for the human imagination, but represent a purely spiritual being through a life of eternal love. He will precede all by the example of his virtues; he will reveal the corrupted state of human nature unhesitatingly to every one, and hold up, without reserve, the falsity of earthly pleasure before all men; he will show that the true happiness of peace consists in striving to regain the lost resemblance to God through faith and love.

For the teachings of the word of life long preparation is necessary Messengers must precede him to the same place and the same people where he is to appear, who shall announce his coming; some even must immediately precede him, who shall prepare the way and make the paths straight with the preaching:—"Repent and believe, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Behold, he standeth at the door and knocketh." At his coming, the world's Saviour will reveal the word of life to all without distinction; for all have an equal claim on the heritage of the Father, which he now gives to them in a New Testament, through his Son; there is no difference between rich and poor, between lord and servant, between young and old; he even made a new

covenant, not alone with chosen Israel, but with all men and people of the earth. He regards not circumcision but faith, which is active by love. Here there is neither Jew nor Gentile, slave nor free man; no distinction between man or woman, but all are equal before him.

The Saviour could not reveal his works in signs and writing, but in living words from mouth to ear and heart; for the spirit of the Father cannot be silent, but enters into him who loves him. He acts directly and powerfully in the faithful, and produces new fruits a thousandfold. But as faith is not with every one, not all will be able to understand or follow him, and the rich and worldly-learned will find it to be a stumbling-block; and as especially his teachings command the renunciation of the world and its pleasures, how could the man fettered to his earthly possessions at once give up his comforts, or descend from his elevated position? The Saviour will undeniably speak before all the world, and impart his spiritual benefit, accompanied by miracles, to every one who approaches him and prays for them; but for the certain and sure prosperity of his mission, he will choose an especial few, in whom he fixes the divine word so firmly by intimate communion that it can never be destroyed. His chosen disciples may not, however, be inoculated by worldly wisdom; but they must have a sound understanding and a faithful spirit,—properties necessary above all others, that they may be able to carry out in obedience the will of their master. For this purpose, however, they must become infused with the whole spirit of their Lord, by a long and direct communion with him; and be so penetrated by his truth, that they cannot be terrified, by any worldly persecution or obstacle, from exercising openly, and without expectation of reward, the mission which they have received.

The presence of the Saviour upon earth, and among his disciples, is only necessary till his disciples are sufficiently prepared to carry out the great work after his departure; and for this purpose the schooling of two or three years was sufficient. The number, however, of his first disciples would naturally be governed by the circumstances of the country and nation where the first seeds were planted and germinated. For even the smallest germs of the divine word increase in an incredible manner, till they shall embrace the

earth. In the small country of Palestine, where the Jews lived divided into twelve tribes, separated from the surrounding heathens—on this account twelve apostles were chosen.

When the Saviour, who appears here in the flesh, has concluded his labours and fulfilled his time, he will die, like all men; for the earthly body must become as the earth, and the spirit alone ascend to heaven. "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be; but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body. It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body" (I. Corinthians, xv. 36.) But as his adversaries will regard him as an innovator, and, moreover, as a creator of disturbance and misleader of the people, because he endeavours to introduce a new order of things which reverses the old one, with which, according to their ideas, the heritage left them by their Father will be destroyed, they will cry out against him as a doubly dangerous delinquent; politically on account of the numbers following, but also as a calumniator of their laws, a blasphemer of God, making himself equal with God. They will, therefore, cry out loudly to kill him before all other malefactors. And he will drink the bitter cup, which his Father places before him, for the salvation of mankind; for not his will in the flesh, but the will of his Father in heaven, will be fulfilled. With his death, darkness will cover the earth, and the eyes of the faithful will become dim, and the hearts of sinners be hardened. But if it is God's work, it will endure; and if it was truly God who descended, he will not remain in death, he will arise to glory and power above the living and dead; and he will comfort the sorrowful by his spirit, and reveal himself to them; he will give confidence to the doubting; and, lastly, at his departure from them he will bless them, and after his ascension send to them the spirit of truth, which arouses the mind and understanding, as by a tongue of fire, such as was never before seen in the world.

And what will be the consequences of this death? The offered blood of the God-man will cleanse the believing man from all earthly stain of sin, and the germs scattered

by him will shoot forth and spread out green branches; and over the nations scattered under its shadow the blessings of the sacrifice will descend. The gateway of a new life and temple in the heart of man, opened by the Saviour, will be without bolt or bar, for he will release the mind from its innumerable fetters. No more smoking sacrifices will be offered; no blood of animals will be shed; no idols, carved in stone or wood, will be worshipped, but the inward purity of the mind, and the perfect resemblance of God, will be restored; and in this manner, all those who fell in Adam will arise in our Lord, and through his mediation all will regain freedom to act and work in faith and love.

This regeneration of man will not, however, be brought about in a moment, and influence all hearts like lightning, but will progress silently and slowly, but surely and irrestrainably, according to the infallible laws of nature. Thousands of years will pass by before the whole flock will be gathered into one fold. But this new teaching will restore to all and every one that receive it the original freedom and perfection of the mind; in all it will ripen the fruits of holiness, of love, and happiness.

"For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John, iii. 16.)

Did Christ really appear with the divine mission of Saviour of the world? The following reasons convince me that in Christ the divine Mediator and, at the same time, Saviour, appeared:—

(1.) That the same spirit which formerly announced the word of God through the prophets spoke fully in Christ.

(2.) That all prophets witnessed of him that all those who believed in him, and followed him, should receive forgiveness of their sins (Acts, x. 43).

(3.) That all circumstances of Christ's advent, till his ascension, were foretold.

(4.) I am further convinced by the contents of Christ's teachings; by the Spirit of the life of Jesus; his miracles and prophecies; the agreement of his teachings with the expectations of earlier ages, and with the necessities of humanity; and, lastly,

(5.) That all who believe in Christ, and receive his spirit, since his advent, gain inward peace, and do that in his name which he has promised his disciples.

This anthropological digression might appear to many unnecessarily introduced; but I do not consider it superfluous to make the belief in Christianity stronger than it usually is; that an easily-accepted belief may not become superstition, and thereby be placed as a counterpoise to rationalism; that by such an easily-acquired faith everything inexplicable is believed in; for it is as common on one side to believe too easily, without caring about investigation, as on the other to believe little or nothing, when the circumscribed knowledge does not agree with the subject of belief. The contradictions, which are believed to exist, arise mostly in the diverging polar opposites of faith and knowledge. I would rather strengthen the objective comprehensiveness of the common religious belief in the divinity of Christ, which is in general much more difficult, except in individual cases, than knowledge; not by dialectical specialities, but by a harmonious equalisation; and would follow the system of the investigator of nature, who does not construe anything novel in nature, but endeavours to comprehend the subject of investigation.

In this manner we shall justify the universal popular belief (which unconsciously contains almost always more germs of truth than the most elaborately chiselled systems of the philosophers of the age), and introduce truth into the knowledge, as we do not alone believe the idea possible in the event, but found the event upon a basis accordant with nature, which is not imaginary. Such a profound conception of the meaning of Christianity is, however, absolutely necessary to the proper understanding of the magical appearances of later ages, which still remain to be mentioned; and I here take the opportunity of speaking of the connection of magnetism with the Christian miracles, as in modern times they have been declared to be nothing more than magnetic, and Christ himself a magnetist; while on the other hand magnetism has been regarded as purely spiritual. Here several questions arise, which at present are imperfectly explained: to these belongs that question, upon the similarity or equality of the Christian prophecies

and miracles, and the magnetic phenomena. Is all this a natural influence, only varied in intensity, or is there a higher miraculous influence through Christ? These questions are to be answered by different courses of reasoning, according as we regard magnetism from an elevated or low point of view; or as a higher or lower condition of existence; or as any theory may adapt itself to analogy. Thus, one declares the miracles of Christ magnetic, because there is no supernatural power, and because all miracles are far removed from minute criticism, and may be compared to magnetism, which obeys natural laws, more or less known. Another regards Christ as the highest manifestation of intelligence in the telluric sleep-life, in which the negative power of the believing mind becomes, in fact, the active principle in the cure. Again, another looks upon it as supernaturally miraculous, and a comparison with doubtful or uncredited magnetism is inadmissible, while in an opposite manner, magnetism is regarded by some as a continuation of the Gospel, and by others, on the contrary, as the work of the devil.

He who is not perfectly acquainted with magnetism, and only regards it in certain aspects, will form an opinion of it according to his individual position and his own theory concerning it. Whoever on the one side accepts too much influence of nature in life, and on the other regards Christ only as an individuality among fleeting events, will never be able to answer the above questions properly. But if we know Christ as the Evangelists and Apostles represent him, if we pay attention to the events before and after the advent of Christ, we shall not find it difficult to gain proper views upon the worth and intention of magnetism on the one side, and of the being and dignity of Christ as a divine manifestation and as a miracle in nature on the other.

However, the analogies in the phenomena of prophecy as well as in manipulation, as for instance laying on of hands, and the mutual rapport by communion in faith, are to be denied just as little (which might serve to recommend magnetism) as they are to be accepted literally. Christ lived and worked in nature, also as a man by ordinary natural agents: he had flesh and blood from his fathers Abraham's and David's seed, and was born of a virgin in the village of

Bethlehem; his existence till he appeared as the announcer of the word of God passed so calmly, according to the usual course of nature, that nothing extraordinary is known. His communication with other men, eating and drinking, the occurrences of his life, even the life and death, happened in the usual manner.

If, however, his power of prophecy may be compared to the phenomena of clairvoyance, and his cures follow the exercise of the will as in the magnetist, the intention and object, the signification and direction, must be clearly defined and distinguished. Christ is not the suffering somnambulist on one side; he is not the healing, somnambulism-producing physician on the other; he does not limit his endeavours to the curing of a man for a moment of time from his bodily ailments; but he wishes to purify him from sin, and influencing others through him to bring grace and salvation to all. Christ is at the same time physician and remedy for soul and body. He did not come to foretell the fortunes of this or that person; he is the great prophet who was to come into the world and to the Jews; to preach the word to them, and announce the promise of eternal life. He did not teach how such and such diseases might be cured, but he sent his disciples and apostles to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and all heathens throughout the world. He was a perfect teacher and prophet, who incorporated a supernatural power with his preachings, and whose words so penetrated the hearts of his hearers that "they were astonished," and said, "never man spake like this man." He accompanied his teachings by miracles, which he performed through his own power, and sealed them by a holy immaculate life. According to the wisdom of his mind he was guided entirely by time and circumstances, and therein followed the laws of nature's course.

He did not seek renown among men by signs and wonders, which he also commanded to be kept secret (Matthew, viii. 4, 9, 30); he sought to spread the glory of God among men, and to unite them with the Eternal Father. His prophetic mission he transferred to able teachers, who though weak in flesh, were strong in spirit, and provided them with power and grace to perform his works; they

were by supernatural means to bring men to repentance and to a sound knowledge and power; to remain and increase in the community—the church. To make his office of preacher successful, he built in his wisdom upon such firm foundation that the gates of hell could not overcome it, and that it will endure as long as the world stands.

If Christ lived and worked in nature, and in a natural manner, the active power in him was not the less supernatural,—a higher divine influence, for he changed water into wine, the winds and the sea obeyed him, and he healed the lame and sick instantaneously: the fig-tree withered by the road side, the blind were made to see, and the dead were raised; evil spirits obeyed him, the leprous became clean; and all these were not effects produced by any known human powers. And even if these historical facts are to be regarded as exaggerations of enthusiasm, although that would be impossible to a comprehensive criticism; if we sought for analogies in these miracles, and only admitted a higher degree of influence, such as is here and there met with in magnetism, or if we substituted a mere parable or a subjective deception of the first narrators to those which will not agree with the explanation; yet are all these endeavours so forced, so one-sided, so flat, with all the acuteness employed so unprofitable, that these facts have always remained single in nature, unapproached in the glory of truth, and so unshaken during the lapse of ages, that their reception has been universally spread over the world.

But if we admit no miracle in the person or life of Christ, and irrespectively of the believed in, doubted and criticised, facts; irrespectively of the fact that he attracted all to him by the irresistible might of his loving grace and truth; that he did not defend his kingdom against his adversaries with earthly power, yet must the miraculousness of Christ be of a far different nature. The true miracle lies in the divine manifestation of God in the flesh through Christ himself, which occurred at a fixed time and place. The true miracle lies in the rent of the veil of the temple, which, after the death of Jesus, was destroyed, as he had foretold; the whole Jewish community was dispersed, so that they could not be gathered together again, or rebuild the temple? The true

miracle consists in the regeneration and reformation of human life and customs. The hidden secrets formerly hidden were revealed by the light of the mission which Christ fulfilled; appearing in the darkness to illuminate all men; for in him was light and life, which darkness did not understand. The true miracle is the ever-active spirit of Christ in the priestly mission to destroy the dominion of the devil and superstition, and to spread light and blessing over the whole human race, and to work all the miracles as Christ promised his disciples.

Lastly, it is a miracle that Christianity gives a new direction and strength to the human mind, makes it fearless and enduring in all trials and sufferings, and perfects each individual organization; and as it spreads leading the heathen to a true worship of God, and founding peace and brotherhood among all men.

The idea of Christianity as a development of religious consciousness in humanity, from a certain spiritual dependence and community of man with an Eternal Creator, has been found to exist in all nations from the earliest ages in a more or less perfect form; not only the idea of the being of God and of his government, but also of the fall and of a future restoration. This idea first became the pure consciousness of truth through the living word of Christ. Christianity is therefore not new in its roots or trunk; it is, in fact, deeply rooted in the history of Israel, and the germs are traceable to the origin of mankind, so that even the Messiah who should crush the serpent's head was promised to the mother of the human race.

As Christianity, therefore, stands in an organic connection with the earlier religious stages of human development, and as a higher form of existence embraces the former, it is occupied with a continuous purificatory process of religious consciousness, and the kingdom of God is like a grain of mustard seed, "which, indeed, is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." Not that Christianity proceeded in an imperfect state from its founder; its contents were at the outset pure; but the signification takes a different shape in its manifestation, and spreads according to various consti-

tuted forms of religious consciousness, and according to its various modes of acceptation. The process of purification consists, therefore, in the religious illumination of the undertakings of nations and ages, in the separation of truth from fallacy; and in this manner Christianity is subject to the laws of development which govern mind and nature. The real signification remains, but the forms are changeable, and the explanation of them is a task for learning. Religion is, however, not a finished, but a living system; it is not merely letter and outward words, but an acting and life-giving spirit. True knowledge must therefore be a religious philosophy or theosophy, which speculatively endeavours to spiritualise the faith. True philosophy will therefore be Christian, smoothing down all inequalities of revelation and reason, of faith and science. It will therefore hold firmly by the most valuable portion—to preserve it; explain the varying modes of perception as periods of self-conscious development according to the age; and pluck up, destroy, and reform the weeds of distortion which spring up in this development.

A truly Christian philosophy will therefore reconcile religion as the most profound, ineradicable, and inexpressible sentiment, with the idea, faith with knowledge; it will especially recognize the universal conceptions of Christian faith as a necessary want of the mind, as the repose of the soul, and endeavour to make them agree with history and nature; for such philosophies are regarded by all parties as the truest, and are always more generally accepted: such, for instance, as those of Augustin, Tauler, Jacob Böhme, Arndt, &c. A philosophy which overturns a faith which has many followers is certainly only a transient meteor: on account of its one-sidedness it is always condemned before the inner universal popular feeling has adopted it, or before a more comprehensive positive contemplation has dispersed its edifice like a glittering mist.

The influence of Christianity upon magic could not be small; material changes would undoubtedly be brought about through its influence: we shall at a later time make more minute investigations, for the purpose of understanding the modifications of magic and the belief in sorcery. I shall here only remark, in a few words, that, at the epoch of Christ's

appearance, faith in demons, and particularly in evil spirits, was not only general among the heathen, but also among the Jews to an incredible extent; and unbounded powers, as great even as those of the Divinity, were ascribed to them, which not only were supposed to influence the mind but also nature and physical life. Superstition imagined all possible ways of gaining the favour of these demons, and of transferring their noxious influence upon others by permitted or unpermitted means, or to use these supernatural powers for any purposes. In short, magic had now become a black art, and its true signification and worth in the noble and original sense was lost. Then came Christ to destroy the works and the dominion of the devil upon earth, to illuminate and enlighten the obscurity of the mind; to supersede falsehood by truth, and fear by faith; and to confirm confidence and love towards God and our neighbour, instead of insecurity, despair, and hatred. This in itself made Christ a true saviour in necessity; for, of all others, the chosen people were plagued by evil spirits, so that the possessed persons became a perfect national trouble, falling upon the traveller in the highway, and the shepherds in the fields, and in this manner endangering the public safety. No difference was any longer known between natural and supernatural, and the inclination in man for evil tended towards principles of darkness within and without, and became in itself an evil spirit and sorcerer. If we regard this misery, this universal mental confusion, which not only entirely demoralised but even endangered the existence of society, it is impossible to say how full of blessings the advent of Christ was. Christ cast out devils, made men peaceable, and on all sides deprived hell of its power; he tore the coverings from its false arts, and taught men to withstand all the temptations of the flesh, as of the devil, by return to penitence with prayer and fasting, with renunciation of the lust of the senses, and by works of love. To the false magic of perverted sinners, who produced supernatural devil's-works in a natural manner by material means, Christ opposed the pure elevated magic of the true knowledge of God, by the aid and assistance of which, man, strengthened in faith, is made capable of influencing nature, of loosening the bonds of Satan, and thereby of freeing him-

self from the power of hell. Besides this, the material contents of Christ's teachings, the Gospels, very rarely refer to the belief in demons and spirits, and in this manner the New Testament distinguishes itself from all other religions. The Indian and Parsee religious writings contain throughout references to subjects of magic and demonology; and in Manu's laws some enactments are found relating to sorcery, which is therein considered as an objective reality. On the contrary, the Gospels only teach the belief in God, and endeavour to dissipate the superstitious fear of demons; at least in its influence upon the physical world. The Gospels, therefore, do not contain teachings of evil spirits and their arts, nor means by which man can be armed and secured against them, but they rather show throughout the real evil to be the moral evil in man, by which man gives himself up to the devil; and that man has only to reform and return earnestly to God to be safe from all evil influences and devil's-works.

Although at the time of Christ there were many Jews who endeavoured to turn Christ's miracles to ridicule by jugglery, yet in the whole of the Gospels we do not find one passage which mentions real sorcery or magical soothsaying, or that men performed such evil acts by the aid of demons or the devil. The sacred writings, on the contrary, say distinctly that the works of the flesh are sorcery, and that devilish suggestions influence the minds of men, by which, if they give ear to it, they become servants of the devil, and not of God. "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, against such there is no law. And they that are in Christ have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts" (Galat. v. 19—24.)

THIRD SECTION.

MAGIC AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

FIRST DIVISION.

MAGIC AMONG THE GREEKS.

The Greek is one of the most remarkable of all nations, and, irrespective of anything else, especially so in magic. The whole of Greece is a living magic, such as no other people before or after has exhibited; for the Greeks were peculiarly poetic in temperament. Humanity now stepped forth from its severe schooling, and from the rude wilful age of boyhood to the freedom of maturing youth; or, which is the same, the human tree unfolded in Greek individuality its flowers of the mind in poetical gushes of intense inspiration. As up to this period the nations had, from the depths of their mind, sought outwardly for God in a purely spiritual manner, and either elevating themselves like the Orientals became embodied with the Divinity, or perceived God upon the earth during periods of self-humiliation, as among the Israelites, the youthful imagination of the Greeks now enlivened the abode of nature with divine ideas, with which, as it were, they incorporated all things. The whole of nature is among the Greeks spiritually animated, and the Olympus of the gods is upon earth. Gods transform themselves into men, and men into gods; in short, the whole of life is a metamorphosis of

nature, and mind at large is as the mind of an idiosomnambulic person in small.

If we acknowledge the abundant vitality of genius which springs from the inward nature of the Greeks, and recall to mind that which I have already said concerning the instinct frequently dominant in antiquity, it will be easy to comprehend why poetry and the arts gained so much more power and influence among the Greeks than the sciences. In the youth imagination governs reason, which is only gained in maturity, and prescribes the bounds of the former. The Greek ingenuity is evident in every thought, image, or action, and the dominant inward sense, which now for the first time burst into a glowing imagination in the Greeks, having before lain dominant in humanity, invests with an ideal beauty all its works, which are, therefore, properly called ideals, being produced by a creative spirit. The Greek is a seer and poet, out of whom divine genius speaks; and he himself exists, like his mental delusions, in the centre of a magical world. He is, like man in general, the magical mirror, in which heaven and earth are reflected and unite in an indissoluble unity; subjective and objective are, like nature and mind, still unseparated in him. Whether he therefore directs his mind outwardly, or whether nature is reflected upon it, existing objects are still formed; outward objects become to him inward, subjective and living, as his inward mind becomes objective. The Greek felt the beautiful everywhere, in the natural as well as in the spiritual, and through his imagination he created an universal harmony of form. And thus, in fact, the whole Grecian being and existence was a living magic.

If, as is usually the case, we think of magic in the worst acceptation, as sorcery, and do not regard it in the higher sense of a popular development; if we do not regard mythology in the true sense of a depicted magic; and if we admit that that which is considered the magical is but a mere foreign importation from the East and Egypt; we shall find that it is treated of briefly in the history of Philosophy or in Mythology as a *res futilis*, and cast aside as a remnant of superstitious delusion. Whoever believes that the mythology of the Greeks is but an allegorical invention of cunning minds; whoever regards the oracles as founded

upon priestcraft and cunning, without inward truth; whoever sees but a tissue of soulless traditional ceremonies in the mysteries, cannot have comprehended either the being and existence of the Greeks or mythology. Mythos had seized up the whole people, and mythology was to the Greeks not alone subject of idle speculation or of inventive imagination; the divine revealed itself to them in the shape of life-like ideals, behind which they anticipated if they did not perceive the eternal Creator as a miraculous and incomprehensible being. In the oracles, the voice of the hidden divinity revealed counsel and unknown truths; and the priests offered up prayers and performed sacred ceremonies and sacrifices in their magnificent temples in the name of the people, to maintain themselves in worthy communion with the supernatural powers. God shewed himself gracious to them as to all his earthly children; he permitted them to find him in their own manner, and even made himself known to them in miracles, which in fact were in no wise rare in heathendom. The Greeks had formed their religion in a peculiar manner, although influenced externally; and their religious system can only be explained as arising from the Greek character, and no single doctrine can be traced historically to another source. That their priestcraft was not an empty, soulless, or deceitful trickery, is clearly proved by Schelling's investigations concerning "the Samothracian gods;" and the initiation into the mysteries had rather the intention of connecting them in life and death with the gods, than that of obtaining a knowledge of the universe. "The initiated became through the consecration a link of the magnetic chain, a Cabir, received into the indestructible communication, and, as ancient history states, associated with the highest of the gods;" and the means which the Greeks, like all other heathens, made use of to produce this communion with gods were by no means arbitrary, but fixed according to certain higher magical laws; in fact, revealed to the founders and preservers of the system. God influenced men from above, and men rose according to this manner through symbols to God. "As man acts below," says the Talmud, "so is he influenced from above;" and according to St. Matthew,

"As ye measure so will it be measured to ye from heaven."

As therefore religion, the arts, and legislation of the Greeks, unfolded themselves, as it were, as a common impulse of their inward mind, and a magical leaven infected the whole, so that no one portion could be comprehended without the whole, a glorious appearance, as Hamberger says, rises before us. "As the Greeks imagined the whole universe filled with elevated and attractive divine forms; as they not only imagined their divinities to be present in the sun, moon, in the stars, in the water, in the air and fire, in the rivers and springs, in the trees and plants, but also imagined influences to proceed from them, their whole life must have gained a certain sacred and ideal character. In the position in which they stood to the divine, ideal world, lies indisputably the true reason that they created such glorious works, which from their peculiar richness, as well as by the perfection which abounds in them, appear to us as the highest of their class, as unsurpassable, and in which later ages find a measure whereby to estimate all efforts. The mysteries had in general an important influence in elevating the spiritual existence."

These remarks are founded upon the spiritual being and existence of the Greeks in the whole, and not from the accounts of Greek writers and historians. That which Plato, Cicero, and others, understood by the word magic, &c., that which provided materials for the imagination, as in Homer, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Propertius, concerning the enchantresses, Medea, Circe, Erechto, Canidia, to whom they ascribed a power above that of the gods, could not furnish us with these conclusions; for were we to confine ourselves to them we should, like many others, be misled to the belief that the magic of the Greeks was merely a species of black art contained in the mysteries, by which men were enabled to compel the gods to descend to earth, or that their sorceries were really so powerful that they could command immortality, as poets represent.

That which we have before seen in others in a certain degree of obscurity, and in a great monotony, or a species of fixed exclusiveness and regularity, is again found here,

though in a higher stage of mental development. In all spiritual manifestations among the Greeks, a greater variety of form and direction is evinced; a freer mobility and living interchange of susceptibility and activity. The idea of magic, or the magical element, must therefore have been more universal in its influence upon life. This general diffusion of magic among the Greeks is most evinced in their mythology; and we must therefore study it. As in their poetic talent, so in their idiosomnambulic state, did they perceive nature and her powers, and impress these upon the objects of their contemplation; and the more vivid and clear their perception, the more active their imagination, through the co-operation of manifold outward shapes, so much the more were they tempted to invest the immeasurable elementary forms of nature with human powers and human forms. The imagined shapes therefore became detached from the objects which had occasioned them, and took a subjective independent existence; and this would undoubtedly appear very mysterious to the uninitiated. The whole, therefore, became a symbolical world, in which Anthropomorphism reached a vigour and perfection whose roots reach even to dim and undefined feelings of the present age.

According to this we may clearly admit that the natural powers were symbolically transferred to mythology, and that that which refers to magnetism and clairvoyance will no less be contained therein. Although other investigators have only declared this surmise to be well founded, and although Schweigger (Samothracian mysteries) regarded the universal powers of nature as symbolised in the statues of the gods, Castor and Pollux, Jupiter and Hercules, yet I go further, and am confident that the above sentence—"the whole of Greece is a living magic"—can be proved from the mythology; and hope to demonstrate if not the certain truth, yet as much truth, probably, as many have considered sufficient for the success of their theories. We must distinguish between the magic and sorcery of the Greeks.

According to corresponding historical records, magic was transferred from the East to Europe, as Tiedemann has demonstrated in his work, "Quæ fuerit artium magicarum origo,"

and that philosophy came from the same source appears probable (Diogenes Laert. proem.) The foreign origin of demonology is traced thence from the evidence of ancient writers (Plutarch. de defectu orac. c. 10,—"ἔιτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Σωροναστρην ὁ λόγος οὑτος ἐστιν, ἔιτε Θράκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφεως, εἴτ' Αἰγόπτιος ἢ Φρύγιος.") It is far different, however, with sorcery; the idea of it as γοητεία is only found at a later period; in fact, when the separation of philosophy and religion had commenced. The definition of sorcery is not found in Plato, Cicero, or in other writers, nor yet in the lexicographers under the head of μαγία, γοητεία, but is discovered only by comparison with the various accounts of its exercise given by ancient writers, and their views on the subject, with especial regard to its most flourishing period among the Greeks and Romans. Upon this is founded the axiom (according to Wachsmuth's investigations) that "sorcery attempts, independent of, and hated by, the older and higher national divinities, to seize on the course of nature, and even govern the gods."

The idea of magic as sorcery is confused by the representation of Fate ("Fato a quo multum magia remota est, vel potius omnino sublata. Quæ enim relinquitur vis cantaminibus et veneficiis si fatum rei cujusque, veluti violentissimus torrens, neque retineri potest, neque impelli?" Apulejus de magia.) For sorcery and fate are opposed to each other. It is therefore easier for sorcery to govern the diminished power of the gods, which is moreover subject to the Stygian fate. "Omne nefas superi prima jam voce precautis concedunt, carmenque timent audire secundum. Plurima surgunt vim factura deis" (Lucan). Apulejus says (Met. 3. 60) "inexpugnabili magicæ disciplinæ potestate," and "cocca numium coactorum violentia." This belief was much developed in the early ages of Christianity, and the gods were compelled to appear through certain formulæ (Iamb. de myster. Æg. vi. 4.) This was the transition to the later magic formulæ—for instance, Numa's exorcism of Jupiter Elicinus, of Tullus Hostilius (who was killed by lightning), to the Crystallomantia, Lecantomantia, and Hydromantia (Psellus de dæmon., Apulejus, &c.), and to the sorceries of the middle ages.

Mythology with its magical meaning was, therefore, long perfected before the γοητεία arose like a misgrowth. The belief in secret revelations, natural powers, and miraculous cures, certainly always existed among the Greeks, but not belief in sorcery. Wachsmuth says—"The conception of a power which is capable of influencing the course of nature, and by which men may even compel the gods, is ungrecian. Each unusual knowledge, each higher power, belongs to the gods, and can only be practised by their aid; the constitution of the world is still so infantine that there remains no room for men when the gods exert their influence directly. The representation of an order of things on a much larger scale of Providence, or an unbroken connection of natural causes and effects, is too elevated, though undoubtedly anticipated at that period, and too difficult in its application to life, to have been developed in all its purity by this childlike conception of the divine powers and their influence upon the universe. To each single striking appearance a single spiritualised cause is assigned,—a god. This individualised influence of the gods upon human life appeared to the ancient Greeks as the natural course of things, which is so far removed from an universal government that no idea exists of that which might be called natural and objective; for in this *providentia specialissima* of the gods such limits cannot be formed. Everything is explained by divine presence and divine power, and any phenomenon which cannot be explained is regarded as a τέρας sent by the gods; it is therefore not miraculous but something unusual; as is the evidence of divine anger, and so forth. On this rests the worship of the gods: fear, hope, suffering, &c., refer directly to the gods, as also prayer, thanksgiving, and penitence. And if a man knows more and can perform more than others, it must be a divine gift; and in this class may be reckoned a knowledge of the supposed miraculous powers of nature" (p. 214.)

As light precedes the shadow, magic precedes sorcery; the abuse proceeds from the use,—error marches side by side with truth. Without the earlier magic of instinctive clairvoyance, and the acting vitality of the mind, sorcery would not have been discovered. The symbols

which ecstatic clairvoyance had implanted in the mythology were not explicable to all, and their signification may be investigated from various directions. If through the clairvoyance—as we see in magnetism—which was methodically practised in the oracular temples, the powers of nature were discovered and known in their various activity, therefore the supposition is not without foundation that the secrets of the temple consisted in magical knowledge, and in the practice of those powers of nature, which, being intimately connected with the religious customs, must also have been comprehended by mythology. From this it is clear, that the gift of prophecy, and the power of working wonders, formed the contents of the mysteries, and that they were no less reflected in the mythology. The inscriptions which have been found in the temple, and collected by Hippocrates among others, in fact refer to magical subjects, as far as their meaning has been understood. In the mythology, the gods of medicine are prominent and numerous, as well as the elementary powers of nature, as I shall proceed to show. According to Homer, Pæan was the first physician; from him comes the deified Asclepios, whose sons were Machaon and Podalirius; the sun god, Apollo; Minerva; the magic zone of Venus; Pluto's kingdom; and Jupiter's Olympus, with its electrical thunder; the key-bearing Cybele, whose dancing priests prophesied; the deeds and inventions of Bacchus. No step can be made in mythology without treading on magical ground.

It is characteristic that, among the Greeks, belief in demons, as intermediate beings, was wanting, and proves from the absence of an idea of two morally opposite powers, common in the East, that the magic of the Greeks was purely human. The antagonistic powers which are raised against each other in the Greek mythology are not to be confounded with the conceptions of good and evil, which the Greeks did not yet apply to their gods. Even in Homer's time, the gods held communication with men; the idea of the supernaturally divine was not yet separated from those of the universal material connection of nature. As soon, however, as the space extends, and the chasm between material and spiritual, between God and man,

is widened, and when the conception of the divine nature is purified and becomes cleared from its obscurity, though without entirely embracing the objective without the subjective in contemplation, man endeavours to find the best substitute and aid in filling up the chasm, and, at the same time, an intermediary being between himself and the highest intangible. The Greeks might, therefore, just as easily have formed their own ideas of demons and spirits, as have received them from the East. In Homer, δαίμων still signifies God (Il. vii. 291, xvii. 98, xix. 188; Od. xi. 61, xvi. 621); ἄγγελοι—the angels—are but messengers and heralds (Il. i. 334.) In Hesiod (Scut. Herc. 94) the souls of men, in the golden age, appear as mediators, δαίμονες, and as guardians of men. This conception, however, appears not to have been common among the people, but only among the philosophers, which causes us to conjecture that it is of foreign origin; the more so, from the fact that the most profound philosophy comes, in general, from the East, and that demonology is traced there, and to Egypt, by Plutarch and others. The influence of demons in the magic art was, afterwards, more generally believed in by philosophers than the oriental dualism. Even Pythagoras secretly taught similar doctrines with Hesiod (ἔιται δὲ πάντα τόν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων, καὶ τούτους δαίμονας τε καὶ ἥρωας νομίζεσθαι). From this arose the belief, at a later age, that Pythagoras, or the Pythagoreans, had communicated with demons, and were able to exorcise them (Porphyr. vita Pyth.) Empedocles is said to have been the first to speak of good and evil demons, even of a species of fall (Plutarch. de defectu orac. c. 17.; de Is. c. 26), and magic is distinctly spoken of in connection with him (Diog. Laert.)

The demon of Socrates is not the same as the mediatory demon. In Plato we find most concerning demons, who, however, gives also the opinions of others, but does not state anything positive of their good or bad qualities. Θεοί and Δαίμονες are taken together. These uncertain expressions of Plato, however, formed a rich source of the demon-system of the Alexandrian philosophers. It did not consist, as in the theology of the Chaldæans, Persians, and Egyptians, of merely opposite and antagonistic powers, like the Giants and Titans leagued against the gods of Olympus, or of the

gods amongst themselves, but of two conceptions of good and of evil existing for themselves, and transferred as two principles to beings of equal power. Here we have at once good and evil spirits with inferior and dependent beings. The idea of sorcery, and the belief connected with it, are also of later and probably foreign origin,—partly through the speculations of philosophers, partly through the residence of Greeks in Persia and Egypt. Foreign ideas were now introduced under cover of the names of native gods, by which the later mythology and the demonology therein contained are to be explained. Thus, for instance, native gods were made guardians of magic; but at the same time the foreign portion remained visible,—the more so as, the path being once opened, similar ideas were attracted. The magic systems, therefore, came from Higher Asia to Egypt, and the magic arts were connected and incorporated with the traditions of Colchis. Colchis and Medea, Iberia, Assyria, Chaldæa, gave their names to magic herbs,—"Κακὰ φαρμακα φαμί φυλλάσσειν, Ἀσσυρίω παρά ξείνοιο μαθοῖσα" (Theocr. ii. 162).—Iberia, Colchis venenorum ferax, Hor.; malæ herbæ Medeæ, flammis Colchicis, Hor.; Phariacæ gramina terræ, Ovid.

The Thessalonians are mentioned as the most diligent exorcisers of magic, under the form of sorcery, after the invasion of the Persians,—"Thessalæ urbes, quarum cognomen diu obtinuit, magia:" Plin. xxx. 1. Menander ridiculed the Thessalian sorceresses, who, it is said, endeavoured to draw down the moon; "quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala, lunamque cœlo deripit:" Hor. Ep. v. 45. Thessaly was rich in magical plants. "Media Thessaliæ loca, quæ artis magicæ nativa cantamina totius orbis consono ore celebrentur," Apul. The residence of the Persians in Thessaly was of long duration; many traditions may be traced, as, for instance, that of the physician Chiron, Jason, to the coarser Thessalian mind. In Suidas we find a direct reference of this kind—namely, that Medea, in her journey through the air, let fall φάρμακα in a casket in Thessaly. It is not, however, our object to enter more fully into the subject of sorcery.

That the celebrated secrets of Samothrace reach back to

the highest antiquity is certain; and although, according to Schelling's investigations, the words Axinros, Axiocersos, &c., lead us to conclude upon something foreign and magical, yet we must believe, whatever the origin, that true magic was a species of natural philosophy. Writers collectively shew that the mysteries, demonology and sorcery, stood in connection with each other. That their foundation was most intimately connected with the unfolding religion of the country is clear from the above. Priestcraft was the nurse of civilization, and we cannot doubt that it alone possessed the highest knowledge, and preserved it from profanation in the service of the gods, and also mysteriously enveloped its use before the people: on this account unknown effects and appearances were looked upon as synonymous with magic, a belief which has continued to our time. That a knowledge of the powers of nature was taught in the mysteries in connection with the sacred healing art, and that wonderful cures were often performed in the temples, is an undisputed fact. Whether we look upon Orpheus or Musæus, as is usual, as the possessors of great knowledge of nature, and the founders of these mysteries, or not, we shall find that their names are so intimately incorporated with all ideas of those mysteries that they may well stand for the representatives of natural science and magic. For Orpheus, the son of the muse Calliope, and according to some of Apollo, is represented, even before the Trojan war, as a prophetic bard, and such a wonder-worker, that not only animals but also the trees followed him, and that he commanded the storms and tempests. He had been in Egypt and the East, (and with the Argonauts to Colchis) and returned home with the knowledge he had obtained there. Musæus, as successor or disciple of Orpheus, is said, as a poet and philosopher, to have introduced religious ceremonies according to the instructions of Orpheus: miraculous cures are also ascribed to him.

The mysteries became celebrated after the time of Pythagoras, who was universally believed to be a magician initiated into the Egyptian mysteries. Although Orpheus and Pythagoras were called by some sorcerers (Pausan. Eliac. 221), yet the mysteries remained quite reconcileable

with religion, and no one doubted their sanctity, which is the more proved by the fact that at a later period those who were convicted of sorcery (abuse of magic) were excluded from the Eleusinian mysteries. It is probable that in the increasing corruption of the state religion, the mysteries fell into decay, and demonology became mixed up with the foreign mysteries; the popular inclination leaned towards sorcery, instead of towards the earlier religious magic; and much was spoken of the Dea Syria. According to Wachsmuth, this may have been especially the case in the mysteries of Hecate, in Ægina. This suspicion of foreign contamination arises from the fact that aid was sought from the national gods against the power of sorcery, and to dispel its charms. At a later time, almost all kinds of sorcery were known; such as the aerial journey of Abaris upon a javelin given him by Apollo (Iamblich, in vita Pythag. c. 28); we hear of injury done to cattle, and gardens, against which Phallus, sacred to Priapus (a divinity of later date) is the protector; of the evil eye—*βασκανία*. Canina guards children in the cradle (Lactantius, i. 19); and Pliny (xxviii. 3, 4) has named many remedies, particularly herbs, against bewitchment, but adds: "magorum hæc commenta sunt." Varro and Plato mention amulets (Re repub. 4); Petronius speaks of threads; Virgil of garlands; Theocritus of spittle;—words and sentences, which, as is usual, were of foreign derivation. To these belong the so-called Ephesian letters, "Ephesiæ litteræ" (Athen. xii. p. 171: *ἐφες. γραμμ.* Hesych.)—for instance, *Aski*, *Kataski*, *Tetrax*, &c.; in sickness such words were repeated, even where there was no sorcery to combat, such as those of Cato: Daris, dardaries, astaris, ista, pista, sista (Plin. 2 8; Horat. Ep. v. 71). I have already spoken of magical soothsaying, which the Greeks divided into four classes;—the symbols of birds, voices, agreeing occurrences, and sacrifices.

Although by degrees sorcery, as a later science, threatened more and more to supersede magic, yet it was always regarded with contempt, and its practice proscribed as something unholy, as well as the belief that sickness could be cured by natural means, without the aid of the gods or religious ceremonies. Sickness was regarded as directly

sent by the gods, and therefore only to be cured by religious ceremonies. Thus, for instance, Hippocrates (De morbo sacro) states that in this disease the imitation of goats, the bleating and contraction of the right side, was ascribed to Cybele; violent shouting to Neptune; purging to Hecate; foaming and stamping to Mars; terror and starting up from the bed to the pursuits of Hecate. We see from this account of Hippocrates that the spasmodic appearances of epilepsy are indicated and ascribed to various spirits, as occasionally has been the case in the present age.

Although we find the Greeks endeavouring to cure diseases by ceremonies and by means of the prayers of the priests, yet natural remedies were not the less to be used according to their advice, but with inverse power—for healing, and not for the production of disease by sorcery. It was understood that everything must be obtained from the gods, or their confidants the priests, and that nature was subject to the gods; everything contrary to this belief was considered as foreign and sacrilegious, and called *γοητια*.

The development of natural philosophy, which was decried as foreign, and which taught an unconditional belief in the influence of the gods, spread even among the philosophers. The celebrated men who travelled in Egypt and Asia to gather knowledge, such as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato, were accused of having brought sorcery back with them; as we find in Plato (De leg. xii.), where he speaks of the government of the universe and the course of nature; so that it happened to them as to Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Galileo, and many others. To ascribe anything to nature and her powers alone, and to leave the gods out of the question, was placed under the ban as an unholy work. In Apulejus (De magia, p. 32, edit. Hip.) we find the following detailed passage:—"Verum hæc ferme communi quodam errore imperitorum philosophis objectantur; ut partim eorum, qui corporis causas meras et simplices rimantur, irreligioses putent, eoque agant deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram et Leucippum, et Democritum et Epicurum, cæterosque rerum naturæ patronos; partim autem, qui providentiam mundi curiosius vestigant et impensius deos celebrant, eos vero vulgo magos nominent, quasi facere etiam sciant, quæ

sciant fieri, ut olim fuere Epimenides et Orpheus et Pythagoras et Osthanes. Æ dein similiter suspecta Empedoclis καθαρμοὶ, Socratis Dæmonion, Platonis τὸ ἀγαθὸν."

Though the popular voice was raised against false magic, and though general opinion was averse to free philosophical speculation, yet religious culture was still more opposed to it. The government rested upon the native religious culture, and with all its attention to foreign affairs it was obliged to regard internal arrangements first. The introduction of foreign goods and of new customs, contrary to the established ones, or in any way destructive of them, was therefore unlawful and punishable. The priests might, perhaps, with just indignation, have held the abuse of magic and the arts of sorcery in abhorrence, and self-interest naturally weighed down the scale. For every priesthood of every age has maintained its rights and privileges jealously. The philosophers must therefore have guarded themselves from saying anything openly against the worship of the native gods: Digoras was banished as a denier of God, and Socrates accused of having introduced new gods. According to Demosthenes, a Samian sorceress, Theoris was burned in Athens (In Arist. i.) Even Plato declared against sorcery, and wished to imprison those who practised it (De leg. 6). Magic and sorcery were, therefore, for a long time only practised in secret. But with the increase of internal confusion, and a more intimate connection with foreign countries, especially with A sia, after Alexander's invasions, watchfulness no longer availed; the patriotic separation of the various Greek states declined, and magic gained greater freedom from restraint in the degree of its decline and corruption.

Those beautiful institutions of the mysteries from which the physician, as well as the priest and statesman, might have learned much, like the history of the infancy of mankind lose themselves in obscurity: the sacred groves have disappeared; the temples of Hellas lie prostrate in the dust, and solitary travellers pass by, or robber hordes infest, the sacred spots where the gods lived among men, and imparted to them counsel and assistance for the relief of their afflictions. But we find that sufficient still remains, partly in direct accounts, partly in the songs of poets, who only uttered

the belief current among the people, and partly in the indirect hints of mythology, to furnish us with conclusions upon the principal constitution of magic and the inward services of the temples. We may now say a little specially concerning this subject.

In Greece, from the earliest ages, we find the healing art in the hands of a few men, or families, and practised in a perfectly magnetic manner by the priests in the temples. Veiled by consecrated secrets, physic appears to us under a remarkably simple guise. Soothsaying and prophetic dreams were everywhere, as well as in the sacred temples, much more frequent here than among other nations. The earliest men who had made themselves acquainted with the constitution of man were accustomed to pay particular attention to soothsaying, and to cure diseases by its aid. Having by this means become so useful to their fellow mortals, they were during life honoured as almost superhuman, and after death had temples consecrated to their memory; for people were firmly convinced that being so far elevated in all things above all other men they could not at once cease to exist, but rather that there must be something divine in their nature. The belief, therefore, became firmly fixed, that such a man had only returned to the god by whose aid he had performed such miraculous deeds, or that he had now become divine, though invisible to men.

Temples were, therefore, erected at those spots where these benefactors had existed in human form; priests were consecrated who practised religion associated with the healing art; pilgrimages were made to these places, to return thanks and offer sacrifices for benefits received, or to seek the still continuing activity and aid of the invisible being in those holy places, where partly the excellent arrangements of the priests, partly the journey and change of thought, brought about their cure, united with their unbounded faith and firm conviction, which here as everywhere else must have had beneficial consequences.

According to the evidence of Herodotus (lib. ii. c. 50) the Greeks learned these sacred services of the temple from the Egyptians; for the principal temples were consecrated to Egyptian divinities. According to Herodotus the oldest temple of Venus, Urania, stood at Ascalon in Syria; and for

the purpose of informing himself thoroughly regarding the ancient myths of Hercules, he journeyed to Tyre. Isis had a magnificent temple at Pithorea in Phocis, and Serapis one at Messene; also at Athens. But Egyptian gods were not alone worshipped; they also had divinities of their own, who were renowned for their healing powers. They had, for instance, Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; even Hercules had, according to the testimony of Pausanias (in Bœot. c. 24), a temple of health. They also for a long time venerated the tomb of the celebrated seer Calchas, to whom sick persons sacrificed a ram, upon the skin of which they slept to receive prophetic dreams.

One of the most celebrated and oldest gods of medicine was Apollo, who was also called Pæan (Παιάν), the physician of the gods. The name Pæan is especially given to Apollo in the Orphean hymns (Orph. hymn. in Apoll. p. 224, edit. Gesneri). Pindar also (Pindar. Pyth. V. v. 85) ascribes three occupations to Apollo, namely, physic, music, and soothsaying. As such extraordinary effects were seen to be produced in the cure of disease by music, music had been associated with physic in the attributes of this God, or *vice versâ*. In later poets and historians Apollo is almost always spoken of as a physician and soothsayer. And from the oath of Hippocrates it is clear that he also regarded Apollo as the patron of medicine.

"By the comforter in sickness, Apollo, and by Æsculapius, (thus begins his oath,) by Hygea and Panacea, I strengthen it with an oath, that I, as far as my force and power of reason will suffice, will keep that perfectly and conscientiously which I now swear and write, to honour my instructor as well as my parents," &c. (The Genuine Medical Writings of Hippocrates, by Gruithuisen, Munich, 1814, xx.)

Plato even endeavoured to trace his four principal occupations, as medicine, soothsaying, hunting, and music, to the word Apollo (Sprengel, History of Medicine, i. p. 132.) Later evidence — particularly of Diodorus Sicculus, of Philo, Galen, and Lucian—proves undoubtedly that at a latter period Apollo was regarded as the God of medicine, if not as the founder of the science.

In Greek mythology Apollo is universally called the inventor of medicine, music, and poetry; on which account

he was considered as the patron of the muses. The art of soothsaying is said to have been taught by him. Through these benefits he bound mankind so firmly to him that he was placed among the gods. "Inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem dicor, et herbarum est subjecta potentia nobis" (Ovid. Metam. i.)

Orpheus, who gained his wisdom among the Egyptian priests, is also regarded by many as the founder of all religious services, and the secrets of medicine and poetry in Greece. According to Socrates, Plato, Euripides, and Herodotus, Orpheus gained immortal fame by his music and poetry; having instructed the Greeks in religion, the knowledge of nature, medicine, magical charms, social customs, agriculture, and navigation. Soothsaying is said to have been hereditary in his family. From this arise the contradictory accounts of Orpheus; and it appears that not alone Orpheus but his followers spread these comprehensive teachings. Orpheus is said to have lived prior to the Trojan war, which was 1500 years before Christ. Secret remedies, magic formulæ, incantations, were long afterwards carried about upon Orphean tablets. Even the Orphean Hymns were considered as possessing healing properties. It may, therefore, proceed from this that Joseph Scaliger, according to his own account, was overcome by a certain shuddering sensation whilst translating the Hymns of Orpheus by night, from the novelty and elevation of their sentiments.

Orpheus also ascribed great power to the secret virtue of certain stones, among which, singularly, the loadstone and the siderit, a species of precious stone, are found; the latter has been called by some, including Pliny, a magnet.

Among the people of Argos, Melampus was almost equally celebrated for the sciences of medicine and soothsaying; he is said to have learned these from the serpents which licked his ears. For it was an universal belief of antiquity that serpents not only felt atmospheric changes beforehand, but also epidemic diseases; on which account they were spared and worshipped by the Argivi as the natural teachers of soothsaying.

Melampus was particularly celebrated for his cures; he used medicines, but secretly, after the manner of the Egyptians, from whom he also is said to have gained his know-

ledge; he was always regarded as a chosen confidant of the gods. It is most remarkable that Melampus healed Iphiclus of his impotence by the rust of iron, according to the direction of Mantis, who said that an old sword sticking in a tree would remove the affliction. Mantis is said to have received this information from a hawk (Sprengel, i. p. 119). May not this Mantis have been a magnetic sleeper of Melampus? Another cure, which he performed on the Proetides, is one of the most remarkable of the old world. There were three daughters of Proetus, king of Argos, (according to others they were healed by Argos) who being mad also infected the other women of Argos, and leaving their homes wandered about in the neighbouring forests in the most improper manner. This madness is said by Hesiod to have been caused by the leprosy with which they were afflicted. To cure them, Melampus took many youths to assist him, and hunted these wild girls five leagues, with songs and inspiring dances; then he let them bathe in the fountain of Anigrus, whose power, especially in curing leprosy, had long been known. The eldest of the Proteides was healed at once; the others regained their health and reason through mysterious purifications and reconciliations with the goddess Artemis (Sprengel, i. 169.)

Another, and the most celebrated of all, was Æsculapius, a son of Apollo, who conferred great benefits on the human race by his discoveries. He was therefore placed among the gods. As he raised many from death, Pluto, the god of the infernal regions, complained of him to Jupiter, who killed Æsculapius as a diminisher of the kingdom of Pluto. For this Apollo killed the Cyclops, who up to that time had forged the lightnings of Jove; and Jove in return compelled Apollo to permit his sciences to be practised for money.

The miracles which Æsculapius performed during his life continued even after his death; and, as was the case with all heroes and public benefactors, several temples were dedicated to him. In these temples the practice of physic was exercised in a manner which is very instructive for us, as the priests, under the guidance of Æsculapius, advised the sick to use remedies which were revealed to them during sleep by the god. But Æsculapius and Apollo are not the

only ones to whom temples were erected in Greece, in which the sick were cared for and the voices of the oracles heard; there were numbers of other gods to whom, in like manner, divine honours were paid.

We will now learn more of these voices, relating somewhat concerning the history of oracles in general, which played so prominent a part in the temples, and stood in such high repute both for the remedies prescribed as well as for the prediction of future events; we shall also find great resemblance in them to magnetism.

We have already seen the oracles and treatment of the sick among the Egyptians, and have met with much having reference to magnetism. There were oracles also in other countries, but in no where did they excite so much attention as in Greece, even in the ages of the greatest enlightenment. The Spartans questioned the oracles concerning affairs of state; and even at the age of Lycurgus the answers of Pasiphæ were miraculous, as the history of Agis proves (Plutarch. in Agide et Aleom.) In this temple, dedicated to some god, it was a common occurrence for patients to fall into a sleep in which they foretold the course of their diseases, and even the necessary remedies to be used, with many other things. These temples were provided with regular sleep-houses,—especially where the sick were accustomed to collect in large numbers, to receive the answers of the oracles, and to pray for aid: this was particularly the case in many temples of Æsculapius. That these answers of the oracles were regarded as coming from the gods is not surprising; for how could the sleepers, in the confused state of their perceptions, either partially forgetting or only dimly remembering in their waking state the visions of their sleep, regard this unusual condition of the soul as any other than divine? in which the god or his priests performed wonders. This temple-sleep was called by the Greeks εκγκοίμησις or εγκοίμασθαι, and, among the Romans, incubatio; and was practised in various temples with many preparations and in many varieties. For the purpose of mentioning the most important facts connected with the various temples I must regard them historically, and shall commence with those of Æsculapius, as the most celebrated of all.

According to Sprengel, the first of these temples was originated by Alexana, a grandson of Æsculapius, and the son of Machæon, who erected a monument to the memory of his grandfather at Titana in Sicily, that the recollection of his merits should not be lost: this gave rise to divine honours being paid him by the descendants of this Thessalian prince. At Epidaurus, in Peloponnesus, stood the most celebrated temple of Æsculapius, from whence worship spread over a great portion of the world. This was said to have been his birthplace, and the spot was regarded as especially holy; it was called the sacred land, and none but the initiated dared to approach the sanctum without previous purification. Whole companies of sick persons pilgrimaged to this temple to regain their lost health and become enlightened by divine dreams. For this reason the Greeks called Æsculapius also the Dream-sender (ὀνειρόπομπον). The temple was situated near the sea, in a pleasant country and upon a great elevation; on all sides wooded hills surrounded it, where the air was very pure. The most pleasant groves and pleasure gardens, and even amusing sights, heightened the attractions of nature. Behind the temple stood the sleephouse for the patients, and near to it a circular marble bath. In the temple itself were several ante-rooms: the god was supposed to be only in the innermost chamber. The statue of Æsculapius, by Trasimenides, was of ivory and gold, in a sitting posture. In one hand it held a staff, and the other lay upon the head of a serpent, which wound itself round the staff. Beside Æsculapius stood a dog. In other temples he often wore a laurel crown, and was also invested with other symbols: as, for instance, a large, and often golden, beard, and with a mantle (pallium). In general he was differently represented in different temples.

The staff of Æsculapius is said to signify the aid which the sick require for their recovery. According to others, the knotted staff is an emblem of the difficulties with which the duty of the physician is surrounded. The serpents are partly to represent acuteness, partly rejuvenescence: this was the explanation of the New Platonic school at Alexandria. The serpents also signify soothsaying, as by eating snakes the result of various diseases was revealed. In Epidaurus, it is

said, there were numbers of snakes whose bite was not venomous. According to others, they represent the watchfulness and wisdom of the physician, or a sign of health, as they become young again by changing their skin.

In the ante-chamber of the temple it was usual to place the symbolic statues of good fortune, dreams, and of sleep. No person was ever, or, at most, only in rare cases, admitted into the sanctum; the priests alone beheld the gods; and at times strangers were not permitted even to approach the temple. Thus, for instance, the temple at Tithorea was enclosed at a circumference of forty stadia by a hedge, within which no one was permitted to reside. Those who wished to approach the temple must be first prepared for this in the temple of Isis, which lay near.

In Epidaurus, no woman might bear a child, and no sick person die (Pausan. lib. ii. c. 27). In the fore-courts of the temple were tablets inscribed with records of diseases and the proved remedies; others were engraven on the columns of the temple, or were represented in similies and hieroglyphical paintings. Such votive tablets were to be found in all temples in great numbers, for every one who was cured in the temple and by the advised remedies left behind him a written account of the manner and nature of the cure. Such inscriptions could be used for the future in similar cases. Hippocrates collected many remedies from the tablets in the temple at Cos, which he practised upon his patients. Gruterus, Fabret, and Thomasius, have made known several of these inscriptions.

The temple of Æsculapius at Pergamus, in Asia Minor, was arranged in a similar manner, but possessed a miraculous spring having healing properties, as well as baths. Especial care was taken to found temples in places where there were mineral springs, and where the atmosphere was healthy; on this account they were usually built upon mountains. The temple of Cyllene was built upon a promontory of Hymna in Elis, in the most beautiful and luxuriant portion of the Peloponnesus. The temple of Cos, in Laconia, stood on the summit of Mount Ilium. The temple of Megalopolis lay in a sacred grove on the east side of a mountain. The temples were usually placed in sacred groves, and

where trees were wanting, gardens were laid out. Pure, healthy air, fresh springs and rivers, and especially mineral springs, were regarded in the erection of temples. They endeavoured to heighten the charms of nature by art: but not alone were gardens laid out; institutions were also founded—gymnasia—where the most varied bodily exercises were practised.

To show the similarity of the practices of the temple with magnetism, we must first pay some attention to the mode of preparing the sick, and afterwards to the internal treatment, for the purpose of rendering them susceptible either to sleep or to recovery.

What has been said of the temples of Æsculapius may be said, more or less, of all others, always bearing in mind that difference in time may have produced changes and modifications:—

1. First of all, every sick person who wished to approach the temple must solemnly promise to follow the rules diligently and minutely; for whoever did not conform entirely to the commands of the priests was declared unworthy of the benefits of the god, and dismissed without aid. At their arrival, the sick had to observe the greatest abstinence, fast several days, and refrain from drinking wine. In the Amphiareus at Oropus, for instance, there was a law forbidding wine for three days, and food for twenty-four hours (Pausan. lib. i. c. 34). In Pergamus and Epidaurus wine was equally forbidden, that the ether of the soul might not be defiled. In Pergamus they were compelled to abstain from wine for fifteen days, of which Galen says, "that not many would so far obey a physician."

2. The priests led their patients through the ante-chambers, showing them the paintings and tablets, and narrating to them the wonders which had happened there through the divine favour.

3. Zealous prayers were said and sacred songs recited. For this object the priest read or sang the prayer, and the sick person repeated it aloud. These offerings were called prayers or songs (*νόμους*). But these songs were also accompanied by musical instruments, and at a later period singers were ordained. Plato relates, that rhapsodical poets

emulated each other in the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus. Young boys were also employed to sing in several temples.

4. Sacrifices were made, and of various kinds: generally a ram, but also other animals, and birds.

5. Bathing was always a necessary condition, before a further cure was attempted, and before they were considered worthy to receive the verdict of the god. Water-drinking also was commanded. Sprengel thus translates the remarkable passage in Aristides concerning the miraculous spring at Pergamus: "Even the dumb regain speech on drinking therefrom: as those who are accustomed to drink the sacred waters, prophesy. Even drawing the water serves instead of other remedies, and it makes all other water unpalatable to the healthy."

6. These baths were accompanied by rubbing (frictiones) and various manipulations; and different salves were used. In Pergamus, at a later period, a species of tractor (xystra) was invented, with which they were rubbed after the bath. All these rubbings were performed with great care by persons chosen for this purpose. The anointing and friction was partly before, partly after the entrance to the interior portions of the temple, and probably as the various diseases appeared to require it. Apollonius, for instance, and Jorgus anointed themselves before their entrance to the temple with an ointment of amber, so that their bodies smoked; then they used the cold bath, and entered the temple crowned with wreaths, and singing hymns (Sprengel, i. 200.)

7. The patients were fumigated before they were admitted to the oracle. They were touched, stroked, and rubbed with the hands.

8. When, by all these preparations, the sick person was fit to receive the sleep, he reclined on the skin of a sacrificed ram, or upon a magnificent bed which was often kept in the temples for this especial purpose. I have already mentioned that there was such a state bed in the temple of Helus at Babylon; also at Thebes in Egypt a similar one is said to have been used; and the priestesses of the Patorian oracle in Lycia slept alone upon such a bed, where they awaited the inspiration of Apollo. I shall mention at a later period

the bed of the Englishman, Graham. This temple-sleep (incubatio), according to the testimony of Pausanias, took place mostly at night in the various chambers of the sleep-house; all lights were extinguished, that a solemn silence and sacred darkness might lighten the visions of the dreamers.

That these visions were similar to sleep-waking and clairvoyance is shown by the preparations and arrangements of the priests; and the excited mind, turned in child-like faith towards the god, awakened the inward sense, already roused by these preparations, to disclose the remedies for others as well as for itself: this, learned from themselves by the priests, was afterwards imparted to them as the words of the god, with the holy belief that the words were divine. The similarity is also clearly proved by the fact, that clairvoyant states are minutely described by Iamblich and others. They slept, dreamed, foretold remedies and the recovery or death of themselves and others. They not only foretold events, but also wrote and spoke in verses.

Aristides speaks often of the poetry of divine sleep. "I have heard," says he, "the rules of life recited in a poetic manner." Their prophecies, however, occasionally failed. The medicinal means employed appear to have been roots, herbs, or very slight purgatives, as stewed raisins, or in a frugal mode of life; or they consisted entirely in fasting, or washing, and all kinds of superstitious ceremonies. (Sprengel, i. 204.)

May not these "superstitious ceremonies" have been magnetical manipulations in a narrower sense? The medicines often were revealed in symbolical shapes—as is often now the case in somnambulists,—and which the priests knew how to explain and apply. Sometimes they were violent remedies, as gypsum or hemlock, or bleeding; cold baths were recommended, as we learn from Aristides and others. Occasionally all this did not give any relief, or it ended unfortunately, which, however, was rarely the case, as no incurables were admitted to the temple: when, however, this did happen, the fault was laid upon the sick person, to his unbelief and sins, or to fate. Plautus, and especially Arnobius (Contra gentes) relate, that the consumptive (tabi-

ficis affectos morbis) found no remedies, even when they visited all the temples: they even weary Æsculapius in vain with their prayers and wishes. Usually the cure was of some duration, and the temple-sleep was often repeated; they did not fell the tree with one stroke; and we must, moreover, remark, that all did not sleep, and of these but few prophesied. Instances are to be found in Philostratus (Biography of Apollonius of Tyana.)

Before turning to the account of other oracles, we must mention some few peculiarities of the priests of Æsculapius. It is necessary to remark, that here, as in Egypt, the priestly office was hereditary, and was handed down in families. An old law of this order says distinctly, "Holy things may only be revealed to the initiated; the profane may not receive them before they have been initiated into knowledge" (Hippoc. lex). All others found it difficult in the extreme to become priests; but before everything they had to be instructed in medical knowledge. The order of Æsculapius compelled everyone who wished to be initiated into the orgies of knowledge to take an oath, calling upon Apollo, Æsculapius, Hygen, and all gods and goddesses, and solemnly promising not to desecrate the secrets of the temple, and only to impart them to the sons of his instructors, or to those who had taken this oath.

These priests practised the sacred customs and tended the sick. Some were appointed to the anointing, washing, and burning of incense; others to the prayers, hymns, and other preparations; and the highest cared for the sanctum in the interior of the temple, and the sleep-houses, to which the others were not admitted; others were in the courts as expounders of symbols and allegories. But the dreams of the sleepers were only explained by the highest priests. In later ages, philosophers and others dwelt in the halls and pleasure walks, with whom the sick might converse (Sprengel, i. 206.) Such expounders were to be found in all temples, in Egypt as well as in Greece, who explained that which strangers came to inquire, and told them all that they required or were permitted to know. According to Herodotus, Psammetichus had such expounders (ἑρμηνέας); and Jablonski says that Herodotus consulted these in Egypt, and left all that we know con-

cerning them to posterity. Pausanias often mentions these expounders (ἐξημήται) in his description of Greece; and the Assyrians and Arabians also had their expounders (ἐξημήτας τῶν μύθων).

The priests distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner by their dietary regulations. They often cured the most severe sickness by a mere change in the mode of life, —though occasionally diametrically opposite to the former one. And that severe diseases might be cured by a proper direction of the passions, Æsculapius, as Galen says, was an evidence. "Those who through the violence of their passions had inflamed the body, he often advised to listen to a poem or a song, or to visit a comedy. To others he recommended riding, hunting, and martial exercises, and prescribed the kind of exercise as well as the choice of weapons." That which Galen says of Æsculapius is also stated in Sprengel's learned investigations concerning the Æsculapian priests in Pergamus. The priests were maintained by fixed properties and by rich presents and offerings which the sick brought. The dwellings of the singers and expounders were in the neighbourhood of the temple; the priests inhabited apartments in the temple which were very retired, and often connected with subterraneous passages. Thus, for instance, the temple of Serapis is said to have been full of such passages, as Rufin describes it; and in the Bible we are told that Daniel discovered the deceit of the priests of Baal, who carried away the sacrifices through secret passages. The most delightful fragrance often ascended from the passages and filled the places where strangers happened to be.

To retain the remembrance of the benefits of God in perfect activity, certain festivals were instituted, and were held with great splendour in Epidaurus, Pergamus, Athens, and Cis. The greatest number of cities in Asia Minor united in celebrating this festival in common. In Epidaurus it was commemorated every five years, when there were various games, sacrifices, and solemn processions, in which the statue of the god, in a festal car of triumph, and drawn by Centaurs with burning torches, was led round, accompanied by torch-bearers singing hymns. On the recovery of the sick, and their departure from these sacred places, various

sacrifices and presents were made, which they either left behind them in the temple, or gave to the priests as a reward for their trouble. These presents consisted in gold or silver vessels, votive tablets, members of the body in which they had been healed,—sometimes of ivory, or, among the poorer classes, of wood; paintings and works of art were also given. Aristides sent to Pergamus a silver tripod upon which were three golden images, of Æsculapius, Hygea, and Telesphorus. In general the Greek temples were very richly endowed. It was especially customary to leave the history of the sick person, with his name,—and an account of the disease, the remedies, and the manner of cure, carefully inscribed on a tablet. Such records were often engraved upon metal plates or columns; of these inscriptions six were still extant in the time of Pausanias at Epidaurus (Sprengel, i. 208.) It was customary at the oracle of Amphiarus to throw gold and silver coins into the sacred spring. Another custom, which must have assisted the exercise of medical knowledge not a little, was that all peculiar remedies, and particularly such as were newly discovered, were inscribed upon the doorposts or columns of the temples. Thus the celebrated combination of Eudamus against the bite of serpents is said to have been engraved on the door of the Asclepion at Cis (Galen. de antidotis, lib. ii.; Plin. xx. c. 24). A goldsmith bequeathed to the temple at Ephesus an eye lotion, which was to assist all those who, suffering from severe diseases of the eyes, had been abandoned by human aid. Even surgical instruments were bequeathed by their inventors to these sacred hospitals. Erasistratus presented the Delphian temple with an instrument for the extraction of teeth (Sprengel, i. 208). That such tablets have not been handed down to our age is much to be deplored: nothing is now known of these tablets in Greece; but of those preserved to us by Gruter, and which were found in the Tiber island at Rome, I shall speak at a later period.

Having spoken at such length upon the subject of the temple of Æsculapius, I shall mention some of the peculiarities of other oracles. Almost as celebrated as the oracles of Æsculapius were those of Apollo, and of these the most renowned was the oracle at Delphi, which took its name from a town of Bœotia, lying on the south side of Mount Parnassus, and which

is said to have been founded in the following manner: herdsmen who pastured their flocks in the neighbourhood noticed that the goats, when they approached too near to a certain chasm from which a peculiar vapour arose, became intoxicated; and this happening to a shepherd, he was curious to examine the chasm. He not only fell into the same convulsive movements, but he began to foretell future events. The belief soon became common that this chasm must contain something of a divine nature; and it was much visited to obtain a knowledge of futurity. But as it occasionally happened that those who went too near to the hole fell into it, being stupified by the exhalations, and thus lost their lives; the hole was covered by a tripod or table, having an opening in the centre, upon which those who wished to prophesy were seated. For some time this wonder was not ascribed to any particular deity; but at length Apollo was universally acknowledged to be the ruler of this spot; and a species of temple, formed of laurel branches, was erected in his honour. This temple was afterwards superseded by one of stone, and provided with priests who should cultivate diligently the worship of the god.

It is particularly remarkable, that in the temple at Delphi young girls were usually appointed to the office of soothsaying, and were, as I have already mentioned, chosen from the lower classes, and of simple manners. They were called Pythia, which name was derived from Apollo Pythios, being called so from the snake Pytho, which he killed.

In the early ages, this chasm, through which the gases arose, was more simply covered in; for, according to Plutarch, the well-known tripod upon which the Pythia sat was of a later date. Some maintain the tripod to have been a table standing upon three legs, on which the prophetess sat. According to Iamblichus (sect. iii. c. 2), it was sometimes a tripod of brass, at others a cauldron with four feet. Others are of opinion that it was a golden vessel standing upon three legs. This was said to have been drawn up in some fishermen's nets from the sea; each of them wished to have the treasure, and their violent quarrel was at length decided by the Pythia, who ordered them to send it to the wisest man in Greece. It was therefore sent to Thales, but he transferred it to Bias as still wiser, and he again to a

third. At length it returned again to Thales, who presented it to the Delphian Apollo (Pantheon mythicum, auctore P. F. Pomey, Lipsiæ, 1759, p. 31).

That these prophecies arose from subterranean vapours was unanimously admitted; but how this took place was subject to many theories. Some explained it in a natural manner,—that the soul was so much excited by this vapour as to foretell futurity by an increased activity. Iamblichus (l. c. sect. iii. c. 11) says, that the sibyls at Delphi prophesied by means of the penetrating, fiery spirit which arose from the chasm; and that this was the spirit of divine fire, which filled them with divine glory. In every case it was the divine spirit which operated upon them,—whether it was a natural (physicus) or religious spirit. Others maintain that the Pythia, sitting upon the tripod, received the evil spirit which arose from the chasm, and, being filled with fury, uttered words of madness and insanity, with foaming lips and disordered hair. It is very remarkable that the Pythia has been called the ventriloqual prophetess (ventriloqua vates; and among the Greeks, ἐγγαστρίμαντες ἐγγαστρίμυθος). (Aristoph. in Væstas, i. reg. 28; and Pantheon. myth. p. 31).

They therefore must have been acquainted with the transposition of self-consciousness to the pit of the stomach. The priests also here interpreted the symbolical, and often inexplicable, answers of the oracle, which were usually delivered in rhyme. The Lydian King Crœsus enquired of the oracles concerning a war with Persia. He wished, however, to test their veracity, and ordered his ambassadors to enquire of the oracles, on the hundredth day after their departure, with what he was then occupying himself. What the other oracles replied is not known, says Herodotus, but the Pythia at Delphi replied,—

"See! I number the sands; the distances know I of ocean;
Hear even the dumb; comprehend, too, the thoughts of the silent!
Now perceive I an odour,—an odour, it seemeth, of lamb's flesh
As boiling, as boiling in brass, and mixed with the flesh of a tortoise.
Brass is beneath, and with brass is this all covered over."

When the messenger returned, the King believed the Pythia to be divinely inspired, because at that very moment he had boiled a lamb and a tortoise in a brazen cauldron with a

brazen cover. The other answer was this—

"Χροισος ἀλυν διαβας, μεγαλην αρχην διαλυσει:"

"If Crœsus passes over the Halys, he shall destroy a great empire."

Pythia gave him a second answer concerning Cyrus, the King of the Medes, his conqueror; and a third to the question, whether his son, who was dumb, would ever be able to speak:

"Lydian, foolish of heart, although a potentate mighty,
Long not to hear the voice of a son in thy palace:
'Twill bring thee no good,—for know that his mouth he will open
Of all days on the one most unlucky."

On the same day that Sardis was taken, a Persian rushed upon Crœsus to stab him. "Man, do not kill Crœsus!" were his first words, and he from this time was able to speak (Herodotus, i. § 85).

At first it was only during one month of the year that the oracle might be questioned; but afterwards answers were given every month, though only on certain days. This probably arose from the fact, that at a later time this clairvoyance was artificially produced by the priests; but that it only took place on certain days is easily understood from well-known appearances of magnetism, as this can only be produced clearly and with distinctness at certain times; moreover, the day having been long before indicated.

The temple was, like that of Æsculapius, provided with many chambers, where the questioners and the sick resided. The Pythia had her own secluded rooms, to which no stranger could penetrate. Close to them was a small chamber, where the questioners awaited the replies. The opening in the cell where the Pythia prophesied was covered with laurel leaves; but even those who were permitted to approach might not look into it (Histoire des oracles, par Fontenelle).

Among other plants and herbs, the laurel was sacred to Apollo, as well as to Æsculapius, and was used in the temples partly to induce sleep and dreams, partly to produce beneficial effects in various diseases. Whoever wished to ask counsel must appear before the altar crowned with laurel-twigs and chewing the leaves. Even among the

people the belief was common that spirits could be banished by the use of laurel; therefore the passage of Passeratius: "Laurus amica bonis geniis, longeque repellit nube cava tectos lemures."

The soothsayers were also crowned with laurel: it was used as incense, and greatly assisted the prediction of future events, as its leaves, placed under a pillow, produce dreams. Every ninth year, according to Plutarch (Decay of the Oracles), a bower was erected in the forecourt of the temple. This bower was composed of laurel branches, and rather resembled a royal palace than a hut. The festival then celebrated was called Septerion.

It deserves mention, that the Delphian oracle obtained such celebrity through its answers in cases of sickness, as well as regarding affairs of state and individual enquiries, that it was commonly called the oracle of the world, from the fact that people from all nations were to be seen there. There were peculiarities connected with the oracle of Delphi, according to Plutarch; the eternal fire was only maintained by firwood, and no woman might question the oracle,—with many other singularities.

Another very celebrated oracle was that of Amphiaraus, who distinguished himself so much in the Theban war. He was venerated at Oropus, in Bœotia, as a seer. This oracle was consulted more in sickness than on any other occasion. The applicants had here, also, to lie upon the skin of a sacrificed ram, and during sleep had the remedies of their diseases revealed to them. Not only, however, were sacrifices and lustrations performed here, but the priests prescribed other preparations by which the minds of the sleepers were to be enlightened (Wolf's Vermischte Schriften und Aufsätze, Halle, 1802; Der Tempel-schlaf, &c.)—(What were, then, these preparations?—were they, perhaps, magnetized?) They had to fast one day, and refrain from wine three. Amphilochus, as son of Amphiaraus, had a similar oracle at Mallos, in Cilicia, which Pausanias calls the most trustworthy and credible of the age. Plutarch speaks of the oracles of Amphilochus and Mopsus as being in a very flourishing state; and Lucian mentions that all those who wished to question the oracle had to lay down two oboles.

Another very celebrated oracle was upon the Asiatic coast,

between Tralles and Nyssa, of which Strabo makes particular mention: "Not far from the town of Nyssa lies a small village called Characta, where there is a temple and grove consecrated to Pluto and Proserpine. Near the grove is a subterranean chasm of a miraculous nature. It is said that the sick, having faith in the gods, travel to this spot, and spend some time with the priests, who reside near the chasm: these sleep for them in it, and then inform the applicants of the remedies revealed to them. Occasionally, however, they place the sick in this chasm, where they often remain quietly for many days without taking food: these persons are often during this state inducted to a prophetic sleep, but always under the constant guidance and consecration of the priests. The miraculous nature of this spot is such, that it is deadly to all in health" (Strabo, xiv.)

Of the oracle of Apollo at Colophon, Iamblichus relates (De myster. Ægypt. sect. iii. c. 2), that it prophesied by drinking of water. "It is known that a subterranean spring exists there, from which the prophet drinks; after he has done so, and has performed many consecrations and sacred customs on certain nights, he predicts the future; but he is invisible to all who are present. That this water can induce prophecy is clear, but how it happens, no one knows—says the proverb. It might appear that the divine spirit pervades this water, but it is not so. God is in all things, and is reflected in this spring, thereby giving it the prophetic power. This inspiration of the water is not of an entirely divine nature, for it only prepares us and purifies the light of the soul (purgat spiritum luminosum), so that we are fit to receive the divine spirit. There the divine presence is of such a nature that it punishes every one who is capable of receiving the god. The soothsayer uses this spirit like a work-tool over which he has no control. After the moment of prediction he does not always remember that which has passed; often he can scarcely collect his faculties. Long before the water-drinking, the soothsayer must abstain day and night from food, and observe religious customs, which are impossible to ordinary people, by which means he is made capable of receiving the god. It is only in this manner that he is able to hold the mirror of his soul to the radiance of free inspiration."

Iamblichus says of the prophetess at Branchis, that she either holds a rod, presented to her by a god, in her hand, or sits upon an axle-tree; or places her feet in water; or prophesies through the flowing steam. But this is not all: many offerings and ceremonies are necessary before she is inspired. These are, baths, fasting for three days, solitary residence in the sanctum, &c. He censures those who despise the above-named preparations, or who receive dreams in the first few days.

Another celebrated oracle, that of Jupiter, was at Dodona, in Epirus, from which Jupiter derived the name of Dodonus. It was situated at the foot of Mount Tomarus, in a wood of oaks; and there the answers were given by an old woman under the name of Pelias. Pelias means dove in the Attic dialect, from which the fable arose, that the doves prophesied in the groves of Dodona. According to Herodotus, this legend contains the following incident, which gave rise to the oracle:—Two priestesses of Egyptian Thebes were carried away by Phœnician merchants: one of them was conveyed to Libya, where she founded the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; the other to Greece. The latter one remained in the Dodonian wood, which was much frequented on account of the acorns. There she had a temple built at the foot of an oak in honour of Jupiter, whose priestess she had been in Thebes; and here afterwards a regular oracle was founded. He adds, that this priestess was called a dove, because her language could not be understood. The Dodonic and African oracles were certainly connected; and Herodotus distinctly states, that the manner of prophecy in Dodona was the same as that in Egyptian Thebes. Diona was worshipped in Dodona in conjunction with Zeus, and a female figure was associated with Amun in the Libyan Ammonium. Besides this, the dove was the bird of Aphrodite, the Diona of Zeus, or the Mosaic divine love, which saved mankind from complete destruction. According to other authors, there was a wondrous intoxicating spring at Dodona; and in later times more material means were employed to produce the prophetic spirit. Several copper bowls, namely, were placed upon a column, and the statue of a boy beside them. When the wind moved a rod or scourge having three bones attached to chains, it struck upon the

metallic bowls, the sound of which was heard by the applicants. These Dodonian tones gave rise to a proverb : æs Dodonæum—an unceasing babbler.

Hesiod describes the situation of the Pelasgic oracle (Frag. 54, Goettling) in the following words :—"There is a land Hellopia, rich in fields and meadows, in sheep and broad-hoofed cattle, and many races of mortals inhabit it. At the extreme border is Dodona, walled highly round, chosen by Zeus as his oracle, and honoured by men, who there receive prophetic rays. Whoever will enquire of the immortal god must approach with presents and birds of good omen."

According to later travellers it was in the lovely valley of Janina, and it is believed that the city of Dodona was afterwards called Bonditsa.

In the latest investigations, which Ernest de Lassaulx has given in his "Pelasgic Oracle of Zeus at Dodona, an Addition to Religious Philosophy," he places the foundation of this oracle in the infancy of mankind. According to the Mosaic genealogy (Gen. x. 4), it was founded by Dodamin, the children of Javan, the son of Japhet; according to Hesiod, it was the residence of Pelasgius. Others state that Deucalion and Pyrrha built this temple, after the deluge, with which the account of Aristotle agrees, as well as the command which was appended to all Dodonian oracles—namely, to sacrifice to Ἀχελώῳδειν, to Achelous,—that is, water. I shall say more upon the subject of this oracle, making at the same time use of the learned investigations of Lassaulx.

The oracle at Dodona was dedicated to the Pelasgian Zeus, who was worshipped here at the same time as the almighty ruler of the world, and as the friendly associate of mankind. In the course of the theogonic process, Diona was associated with him as his wife,—the mother of Aphrodite. The servants of Zeus were Selles, the priests of Diona, the so-called Peliades. (In a note, Lassaulx shows that, even at the time of the Trojan war, there were priestesses of Dodona, and that, according to St. Justin, there were in the later ages priests associated with the priestesses as exegents, or sacrificers at Dodona.) According to Homer, the Selles inhabited the sanctum at Dodona, sleeping upon the earth,

and with naked unwashed feet: they served the Pelasgian Zeus. It is probable that they slept upon the earth on the hides of newly sacrificed animals, to receive prophetic dreams, as was customary at other places, Calchos and Oropus, with many others. Lassaulx remarks, respecting the naked feet of the priests, that this was an universal oriental custom, as Moses cast off his shoes before the burning bush, and Joshua obeyed the same command of God at Jericho. Shoes are only used in the East upon unclean ground, and are associated with the idea of pride. But whoever wishes to approach God must put off everything earthly. The priests of Melkrath at Carthage; the hoary soothsaying priestesses of the Cimbri, according to Strabo; the virgins in the temple of Athene at Troy; the priests in certain processions—nudipedalia—in Rome, and those of Egypt, went barefoot. Even at the present day, all who enter a Mohammedan mosque must cast off their shoes: and also in many Christian churches of Palestine. The prophetic priestesses, Peliades (doves), were three in number, with the title of Προμένα, the one knowing futurity; Τιμαρέτη, the friend of virtue; Νικανδρια, the ruler of men,—that is, the virgin. The first was the eldest, the last the youngest. The idea is here evidently combined with these names, that the divine may be reached by maidenly chastity, virtue, and wisdom.

As regards the mantic of Dodona, it was partly natural, from the excitement of the mind; partly artificial. Of the latter, we may mention three modes—the ancient oak of Zeus, with its prophetic doves, the miraculous spring, and the celebrated Dodonian bowls of brass.

The far-spreading, speaking tree, the incredible wonder, as Æschylus calls it, was an oak, a lofty beautiful tree, with evergreen leaves and sweet edible acorns, which, according to the belief of the Greeks and Romans, were the first sustenance of mankind. The Pelasgi regarded this tree as the tree of life. In this tree the god was supposed to reside, and the rustling of its leaves and the voices of birds showed his presence. When the questioners entered, the oak rustled, and the Peliades said, "Thus speaks Zeus." Incense was burned beneath it: "arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris:" which may be compared to the altar of Abraham under the oak Ogyges, which had stood there since

the world's creation (Josephus, i. 10, 14). According to the legend, sacred doves continually inhabited the tree, like the Marsoor oracle at Tiora Mattiene, where a sacred hawk foretells futurity from the top of a wooden pillar (Dionys. i. 14, &c.)

At the foot of the oak a cold spring gushes as it were from its roots, and from its murmur the inspired priestesses prophesied ("quæ murmura anus, Pelias nomine, interpretata hominibus disserebat."—Servius ad Æn. iii.)

Of this miraculous fountain it is related, that lighted torches being thrust into it were extinguished, and that extinguished torches were re-lit: it also rose and fell at various seasons. "That extinction and rekindling has," says Lassaulx, "perhaps the mystical signification that the usual sober life of the senses must be extinguished, that the prophetic spirit dormant in the soul may be aroused. The torch of human existence must expire, that a divine one may be lighted; the human must die that the divine may be born; the destruction of individuality is the awakening of God in the soul, or, as the mystics say, the setting of sense is the rising of truth."

The extinguishing of a burning light shows that the spring contained carbonic acid gas, which possesses stupifying and deadly properties, like all exhalations arising especially from minerals. The regular rising and sinking of the water is a frequent phenomenon, and has been observed from the earliest ages (Seneca, Qu. n. iii.; Diodor. Lucret. vi. 849; Silius Ital. Salinus, Augustinus de civit. D. xxi. 5, 7, &c.)

It appears that predictions were drawn from the tones of the Dodonian brass bowls, as well as from the rustling of the sacred oak and the murmuring of the sacred well. According to Lassaulx, this had another signification. These two columns of Dodona, which, according to Polemon and Aristides, stood side by side, and upon which stood, on one a brazen bowl, and upon the other the statue of a boy holding a scourge, reminds us of that before the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. There Solomon had erected his brazen columns, eighteen ells high, four fingers thick, and internally hollow; upon each stood a brazen bowl, with two hundred pomegranates hung in two rows. The hollow columns formed, as it were, two bells, and the hanging pomegranates the clappers.

In this manner, a clear pleasing sound was created by every breath of wind. Such columns, presented by Solomon to King Suron, stood at Tyre in the Temple of the Highest God (Euseb.) And, remarks Lassaulx, it may not be improbable that the Dodonian columns were an imitation of those of Solomon; for they were, according to Strabo's account, the votive offering of the Corcyri: the inhabitants of the island of Corcyra, however, though, like the Dodonians, belonging to the race of the Pelasgi, and also worshipping, like them, Zeus, ὕψιστος are mentioned by Homer as navigators and merchants. We may therefore accept as facts that they made voyages and traded to Phœnicia and Syria, and that possibly they obtained these columns from the school of art which executed those of Solomon. A similar series of bells was also erected at the tomb of the Etruscan king Porsenna, in Clusium; as in later ages Augustus had the pinnacle of the temple of Jupiter Capitolanus hung round with bells (Sueton. Aug.) Lassaulx hints at a still more profound signification of the Dodonian columns, which deserves to be mentioned here.

Bells are spoken of in the Mosaic laws:—"And beneath, upon the hem of it, thou shalt make pomegranates of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, round about the hem thereof; and bells of gold between them round about; a golden bell and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate, upon the hem of the robe round about. And it shall be upon Aaron to minister; and his sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the Lord, and when he cometh out, that he die not" (Exod. xxviii. 33; Eccles. xlv. 9). Here, according to the explanation of Plato, the bells were a symbol of the harmony of the world and of the spheres, as the Jewish high priest was regarded as an image of the universe. (Josephus, who also looked upon the whole service of the temple as an ἀπομίμησις καὶ διατυπώσις τῶν ὅλων, considers the pomegranate and bells as the symbols of thunder and lightning.) A similar use, as Plutarch mentions, was made of the brazen bowls in Greece in the nocturnal celebration of the mysteries, when the Hierophant struck the bowl, when the Cora was called, or when he cried for help, as we may express it. The pious dead, of whom it was believed that they had descended to the grave free from all

sin, were accompanied to their last resting-place with the sound of bells, to show "that the soul, received in higher spheres, had entered the ranks of the celestial stars," as the Samothracian funereal inscriptions say. The notes of pure bronze were to incite the soul to purity, and to free it from the power of evil demons; for that the sound of brass breaks enchantment was an ancient popular belief (Tibull. i. 8, 22); but that which breaks enchantment is also able to cause it. We find, therefore, that bronze bowls were used for magical purposes (Plin. xxx. 2, 14)—namely, during the questioning of the dead was the brazen bowl employed, as a Jewish Rabbi, Bechai, describes, in his commentary to the Thora, in the following manner:—"It is stated in books of magic that, in the exercise of the soothsaying spirit, a woman stands at the head of the dead man's grave, a man at the foot, and a boy at the middle, holding a bell which he shakes; and this was customary among the heathens at that period" (the time of Moses).

Almost all these beliefs connect themselves with the bells which, after the seventh century, were universally employed in the Christian divine service. I can only recall to mind the well-known inscription—"Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco et congrego clerum, festa honoro, dæmones fugo, vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango."

If we consider all this, the Dodonian columns, with that which stood upon them, will appear to express the following:—The medium-sized brazen bowl was a hemisphere, and symbolised of heaven; the boy-like male statue a figure of the Demiurgos, or constructor of the universe; the bell-like notes a symbol of the harmony of the universe and music of the spheres. (This ancient and grand conception of the mind of an universal chorus forms also, as Lassaulx believes, the ground-work of the beautiful legend of the statue of Memnon, of which Philostratus says, "The Egyptians and Ethiopians sacrifice to it each dawn, when the sun sends forth its first rays, and the statue raises its voice to greet its worshippers.") That the Demiurgos is represented as a boy is quite in the spirit of Egypto-Pelasgian theology as it reigned in Samothrace. The miraculous bell told all who came to Dodona to question the god that they were on holy ground, must inquire with pure hearts, and be silent

when the god replied. It is easily imagined that these tones, independent and uninfluenced by human will, must have made a deep impression upon the minds of the pilgrims. Those who questioned the god were also obliged (as a passage, certainly obscure, of Asconius, In divinitat., appears to state) to take a purificatory bath in the temple, similar to that by which the Delphian Pythia prepared herself for prophecy (Plut. mor.)

Besides this artificial soothsaying from signs, natural divination by the prophetic movements of the mind was practised. Where there are prophesying priestesses, there must also be ecstatic ones, similar to those in the magnetic state. Sophocles calls the Dodonean priestesses divinely inspired: Plato (Phædrus) says, more decidedly, that the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona had done much good in sacred madness (*μανεῖσαι*), in private and public affairs, to their country, but in their senses (in the waking state, *σοφρονοῦσαι δέ*) little or nothing. We may see from this that the Delphian Pythia, as well as the Dodonian priestesses, did not give their oracles in the state of common waking consciousness, but in real ecstacy, to which the frequent incense- and drink-offerings would assist. Aristides states, still more clearly than the others, that the priestesses at Dodona neither knew, before being seized upon by the spirit, what would be said, nor remembered afterwards, when their natural consciousness returned, what they had uttered; so that all others, rather than they, knew it. This fully bears out every necessary circumstance to confirm the resemblance of these appearances with somnambulism.

The Peliades are said to have first sung these verses—"Zeus was, Zeus is, and Zeus will be, O great Zeus. The earth sends forth fruits, therefore call the earth mother." The contents and thought are ancient, though the form may belong to a later age; for the first verse contains the same thought as the above-mentioned celebrated inscription of the veiled statue at Sais—"I am all, that was, is, and will be, and no mortal has ever lifted my veil." Plato says that God is the beginning, middle, and end of all things; and in the New Testament (for it is permitted, says Lassaulx, to compare the profane with the sacred, for all religions have a holy foundation) we find—sum qui ero, I am he that shall be. The second verse (to call the fruit-bearing earth, mother)

contains the belief that as God is the father of men, so is the earth our common mother. Almost all the heroes of the Hellenic race in ancient times turned for aid in adversity to the God of Dodona: Inochos, Hercules, Achilles, and his son Pyrrhus, Ulysses, Æneas. According to an answer of the Dodonian oracle, a Pelasgian tribe emigrated from Epirus to Italy, and settled near the city of Cotyle, among the aboriginal inhabitants. That the Dodonian Zeus was very beneficial in the early ages of Greece, is particularly shown by those sentences in which he acknowledged the right of those seeking aid, and proclaimed their inviolability as a religious command. With its consent the Spartan King Agesilaus undertook an expedition to free the Asiatic Greeks from the yoke of the Persians.

Pausanias and others relate a remarkable psychological oracular sentence, thus—"When Calydon was still inhabited, Dionysos had among other priests, a certain Coresos, who suffered much trouble through love. He loved, namely, a virgin Callirrhoe; as much love as he bore to her, as much hatred did she feel towards him, and her mind being immoveable either by prayers or presents, he at length sought assistance from Dionysos. Then the god listened to his priest, and struck the Calydonians with a severe sickness, and death swept them off. But when they sought aid from the oracle at Dodona, to learn the truth through the doves and the oak, they received the answer that the anger of Dionysos would not abate till Coresos should have sacrificed Callirrhoe to the god, or some one else who would die for her. Nothing remained for the virgin but death: when, however, everything was prepared for the sacrifice, and she was led to the altar ornamented like a consecrated animal, Coresos, following love and not anger, gave his life for his beloved. Now that Callirrhoe saw Coresos dead before her, her mind changed, pity and sorrow seized upon her, and she killed herself close to the fountain at the harbour of Calydon. From her this fountain was called Callirrhoe."

Although but few of the prophecies of the Dodonian priestesses have been preserved, yet the opinion of Origenes, who declared that he regarded the predictions of the Dodonian priestesses, of the Pythia, and all heathen oracles, as unworthy of credit, may be far from just. Before the age of

Christ, the priestesses of Dodona foretold the Lacedæmonians that the war against the Arcadians would be tearless for them. When Alexander was called by the Tarentines, in the year 325 B.C., from Epirus to Italy, the Dodonian oracle told him to beware of the Acherusian water, and the city of Pandosia, for that there the end of his life was fixed. On this account he hastened to Italy; he wished to leave the town of the same name in Epirus, and found his death not far from Pandosia, in Lucania, in the stream Acheros (Livy, viii. 24).

The priestess Phænnis, the daughter of a Chaonic king, foretold the devastating march of the Gauls, and the course which they would take from Europe to Asia, together with the destruction of the cities, and this a generation before the event happened (Pausan. xi. 12, 5.) The King Pyrrhus had received an oracular sentence—that he was destined to die as soon as he had seen a wolf fighting with a bull. The sentence was fulfilled when, in the market-place of Argos, he saw a bronze group representing such a combat. An old woman killed him by throwing down a tile from a house. The oracle at Dodona existed above two thousand years, and was questioned even in the last stages of Grecian existence. That the priestesses were proof against bribes was found by Lysander, who was sent away with contempt when he attempted to corrupt them with presents. When Alexander the Great, among other universal-monarchical plans, entertained that of transplanting the inhabitants of Asia to Europe, and of Europe to Asia, that the interchange between the two divisions of the continents might produce universal harmony and spiritual relationship, he also determined for this purpose to build six magnificent temples, and of these one was to be at Dodona; but this plan, like many others, was never carried out, through the premature death of the heroic king. In the Macedonian-roman age, 219 years B.C., a horde of savage Ætolians fell upon the temples, burned the magnificent halls surrounding it, destroyed many votive offerings, and pulled down the sacred edifices even to the sanctum (Dionis Cass. Fragm. cxvi.) At the time of Strabo, at the birth of Christ, the oracle at Dodona, like all others, was almost wholly deserted: the only habitations remaining, says the geographer, are ruins and miserable hovels on the

hill. According to this we ought to believe that the oracle was then extinct; but Pausanias says, about the year 180 A.D., that the sacred oak was still green; and his contemporary, Ælius Aristides, speaks of the Dodonian priestesses in a manner which clearly shows that at that time they still prophesied. It appears that it was only in the third century that an Illyrian robber cut down the sacred tree, and the oracle became for ever silent.

There were many other temples: one in the Spartan territory was consecrated to Pasiphæ, and the oracle of Jupiter Trophonios in Bœotia, where there were numerous caverns, were very celebrated, and the latter is minutely described by Pausanias, and many particulars are given by Greek authors concerning the temple-sleep. The sojourn of those who visited the oracle in the cave of Trophonios was of various duration; some only reappeared after a day and two nights; the priests placed them on their return upon a chair called Mnemnosyne's seat, and asked them what they had seen and heard; and that which they spoke in their stupefaction (somnambulism) was regarded as oracular. They were then taken to the Chapel of the Good Genius and of Fortune, where they gradually awoke and returned to themselves. The questioners had perceived the most frightful visions in the cave, which made such an impression upon their minds that they often showed a species of melancholy ever afterwards; from this arose a proverb regarding a sorrowful man, "in antro Trophonii vaticinatus est,"—he comes from the cavern of Trophonios—that is, he is sad and melancholy. According to Strabo (lib. xiv.) there was another cavern, similar to that of Trophonios, between Feralces and Nepe. This was dedicated to Pluto and Juno, and over it a temple had been erected, where the sick congregated. Here the priests went into the cavern to sleep for the applicants. Sometimes the sick were taken in, and the priests then expounded their dreams. For men who entered without being accompanied by a priest, the place was deadly. "Aliis hominibus locus ille inaccessus et exitiosus."

We still possess the very interesting treatises of the Greek orator Aristides, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antonius, which give us many insights into the practice of the oracles in the temples, especially those of Æsculapius.

These treatises are—1. One in honour of Æsculapius; 2. One in honour of the Asclepiads; 3. A panegyric upon the fountain of Æsculapius.

I will give some extracts from the "Ælii Aristidis oratoris clarissimi orationes Græcæ et Latinæ, interprete Gulielmo Cantero, Oliva, Paul. Steph. 1604, 4." His six "Orationes Sacræ" relate the cures performed upon him under the guardianship of Æsculapius at various times, and according to a mode of treatment pointed out in a dream. Although Aristides is regarded as being often loquacious and not to be depended on, it yet appears that he states the exact truth in that which regards himself. "I relate," says Aristides, "the sufferings of my abdomen, and the treatment which I pursued day and night. It was in the month of December, while each night I was attacked by violent pains in the abdomen, and could not digest anything; I did not sleep; I was constantly so cold that heated stones could not warm me, and yet at the same time I was in a continual sweat, which only ceased while I took a bath. On the 12th of the month the god ordered me to give up the baths. The same command the next and following day. In these three days the sweating ceased, and I went about in the house. Upon this I had a dream, in which it seemed to me as if I were in a warm bath (eram in thermis); and as I bent forward I perceived that my belly was sick (ventrem inferiorem male affectum). In the evening I took a bath. At day-break I felt abdominal pains (doluit ventriculus), which extended towards the right groin. On the 17th a dream forbade the bath. In another dream on the following day I fancied myself captured by barbarians; one of them held my finger upon my throat, and I perceived that I had a pain there, and, though thirsty, I could not drink. He showed me that I must take an emetic and defer the bath; and I followed these instructions with the best results." Another time he dreamed that, in the temple of Æsculapius, a bull gored him on the right knee, upon which a swelling arose, by which the parts above were relieved. The following dreams shewed distinctly how he was to arrange his mode of life, and the remedies he was to use:—Once, when he was going to Pergamus, he was warned of bad weather and storms: he remained, and the most terrible

storm arose. Another time he dreamed that the god sent to him the physician Theodot, who recommended bleeding. At the appointed hour the physician came, and told him to follow the instructions of Æsculapius; he bled him, and the best results followed."

In the same treatise Aristides says, that some years before a considerable swelling troubled him, which he cured through the inspiration of dreams. "For the god shewed me that I must preserve myself against the dropsy. For this purpose I was to wear the shoes of the Egyptian priests, and not follow the various prescriptions of the physicians; everything would go well. And when I began to swell, and every one came with his remedies, I obeyed Æsculapius, and my legs and my abdomen swelled. I remained perhaps four months in this condition, and the god revealed remedies to me, each more admirable than the other: among others, that I should run a certain distance with bare feet in the depth of winter, and ride on horseback—a feat of unusual difficulty to me; also use an emetic of honey and acorns. Zozimus, my foster-father, had one night the same vision with myself, in which I was ordered to take a compound medicine, whose parts I do not now remember, except that salt was included in it; but it went so well with me that physicians and friends came to congratulate me. An immoderate suppuration set in, so that all flesh appeared to be consuming, for which the god preseribed a salve of eggs, and in a few days the wound healed, and even the scar, so well that the place was scarcely visible. The god knew the way to carry off the noxious matter" (per quos meatus deducenda sit fluxio).

In his second treatise, Aristides relates other cures, from which the following may be extracted:—

"The god kept us back from Phocis, and revealed astonishing things to us, of such a nature, that Rufus our host, who understood our dreams, was much surprised to learn from our lips in his house, that which happened out of it, and which he himself had witnessed; we even foretold the weather to him. The god ordered me to take milk, but there was none. The god, however, insisted on it, assuring me that Rufus would be able to procure some. He being again urged, went to a farm, and found that during

the night an ewe had lambed; he returned bringing the milk." After having taken a bath, in an icy river, as commanded, Aristides experienced the happy feeling, which somnambulists often feel during their crises, and threw himself without hesitation into the cold water, as if it had been an agreeable warm bath. His body shone as he emerged, and was supple and active. All present exclaimed, "Honour to the great Æsculapius!" A very agreeable warmth and an unspeakable feeling of well-being pervaded his whole frame. At another place he says, "To a certain degree I felt the arrival and presence of the god; I was between sleeping and waking, and made every effort not to forget anything. My ears were open, and it was as if I were half dreaming and half awake. Tears of joy flowed, and my spirit had an inexpressible delight which no one can conceive. I sent for the physician Theodot, who was surprised at my dreams, but did not know what was best to be done. I therefore sent to the priestly servant of Æsculapius, to whom I usually communicated my dream; and scarcely had I commenced relating it to him, than he said that he had just left a companion named Philadelphos, who in the night had had a similar dream to myself. These two dreams agreed perfectly, so that I did not hesitate any longer to take the prescribed medicine; although the quantity was larger than any one had yet taken. However I swallowed it easily, and felt much relief." In the middle of the summer an epidemic arose, which carried off many persons; the companions of Aristides were attacked; he also was struck by it, and he experienced a great heat in the liver. He was so ill that the physicians left him, though his courage did not. He saw in a dream Æsculapius, and Minerva with her shield: she was as beautiful as her statue by Phidias at Athens. "I conversed with the goddess, and when I called out to those about me to listen to the goddess, and to look at her shield, which I pointed out to them, they knew not where to turn, and believed me to be delirious, till they gradually perceived the disease abating, and understood the words which I told them I had received from the goddess. The goddess comforted and saved me; for I perceived that I was to take a remedy composed of honey from Mount Hymethus, to carry off the gall, to which I added some other remedies,

and a certain fixed diet, and gradually regained my strength and health." Another time he was at Pergamus, and lodged with the servant of the temple. "I was very much heated; mouth and palate were like fire. The god commanded me to be bled in the forehead. At my side sat a Roman senator, who also awaited the divine prescription; he was called Sedalius, and to him he gave the same command. The god ordered me to take ship, and added that on my arrival I would perceive a horse bathing, and that the servant of the temple would be close by on shore. How was I surprised to find all this fulfilled! Whilst I was at Pergamus, the god commanded me again to bathe in the middle of the river, which flowed through the town; I was so weak that it was long before I could go out. The river was much swollen through rain. I was to take three baths. I went up the river rather above the town, to have clean water. On the road we had a heavy fall of rain, and this was the first bath. When we arrived at the river bank, the waters were so swollen that every one advised me not to endanger my life. But I, in perfect reliance upon divine providence, undressed, and calling upon Him, I threw myself into the river. Wood and stones were floated past me, and the waves made a terrible noise. The water appeared to me softer than the common river water. On going out a beneficent warmth spread over my limbs, they perspired, and my whole body became red; we said a hymn to Æsculapius. During our return, rain fell again, and this was the third bath."

"At Elea the God commanded me to take a sea-bath, with the assurance that at the entrance of the harbour I should see a ship bearing the name of Æsculapius; I should go on board of it, and I should hear words from the sailors, which would agree with the events of the day. It happened exactly so, and the sailors sang a hymn of praise to Æsculapius." Aristides now relates the course of his sickness minutely; how he sought for aid from the physicians of Rome and Pergamus in vain, and only increased his sufferings, so that he took refuge with the god, who cured him perfectly by dreams, baths, and remedies. To receive these dreams, Aristides lay between the door and the steps of the temple.

In the eulogy of the fountain of Æsculapius, Aristides says that it rises at the foot of a table-land, and is collected in the centre of the temple in a basin; this spring was used for drinking and bathing, and he celebrates its good properties, and especially the flavour. The water is sweet and very light, and whoever drinks it thinks no more of wine; it makes him also capable of soothsaying, and even causes the dumb to speak. "Ex muto quidam eloquens factus est, quemadmodum, qui de sacris fontibus biberunt, vaticinari solent."

In the third treatise, Aristides relates other dream visions, the remedies therein shown, and their good results. In the fourth he relates that as he was advised he took refuge with the god. "I had been ill for ten years," says he, "when a spirit approached and addressed me: I had the same desire that thou hast; after suffering for ten years, I returned, on the advice of Æsculapius, to the spot where my sickness arose, and there I was cured." Aristides determined to go to Esap, where his sickness commenced. "Full of confidence in the god Æsculapius, I was occupied during my journey in composing a song of praise to his honour." When he was at Pemane, he took an emetic by command of Æsculapius. A countryman, who only knew Aristides by report, declared in sleep that he had crushed the head of a viper. At Esap he again took baths and an emetic. After three or four days he heard a voice during sleep, that all was now ended, and that he might return home; and in fact he was now so strong in mind and body, that during the journey he was inferior to none.

During his illness, Aristides elaborated several treatises, to which he was directed by the god during his dreams; which still more confirms the fact that others had the same dreams. He maintains that he never worked with such facility as during this illness, for his mind, says he, was elevated by the god. Even Apollo appeared and demanded a panegyric. Aristides was usually not capable of such a thing, and had never attempted it; but the god himself dictated the commencement with the following words:— "God of those who tune the lyre, Apollo, I sing of thee." This gave him the cue. "Æsculapius also commanded me in a dream to make verses, and that I should inspire the

young musicians, who afterwards, much to my relief, performed these songs."

In the fifth and sixth treatise he relates his visions in the same manner. All these narrations show us, as it appears, the somnambulic visions of a person suffering from a disorder of the abdomen, who with simplicity followed the directions of his own mind as divine inspirations. But it might be objected that no mention is made of a magnetic treatment, and that Aristides, contrary to the habit of magnetic sleepers, retained a perfect remembrance of his visions. As far as concerns the first objection, Aristides does not mention the origin of his prophetic dreams, because he probably did not know it himself, for the priests always acted with secresy, in accordance to their laws. But we learn that they always made certain preparations for the temple-sleep, and secondly that Aristides himself slept in the temple, and that the servant of the temple was one of his intimate friends. Besides this, it appears to have been a magnetic sleep, because it was periodical, and because other sleeping soothsayers were present, who had the same visions. The customs which the priests practised in the temples we have already learned, where, as in this case, the visions usually referred to remedies for the sick who applied there.

From the above we may draw the following conclusions:—

1. That those who asked counsel slept during the night in the temple of Æsculapius, where in the mysterious obscurity they were magnetised by the priests either before or during sleep.

2. The rubbings were, however, applied openly and directly, and these, without the various modifications and instruments used, are sufficient to produce magnetic sleep.

3. It has further been proved that a particular place, a room, &c., may be magnetised, and that thereby somnambulism becomes infectious. This was proved by the magnetic association in France in the first years of the discoveries of Mesmer. The magnetic-tree in Buzancy threw the greater number of the sick collected round it in the magnetic sleep, and in the temples there was a particular place used as a sleep-room, where those who asked counsel slept. Aristides says this was in the Temple of Æsculapius,

between the doors and the temple steps. The revelations were not of daily recurrence. The day and hour were usually fixed beforehand, which probably was done by a reliable seer, as the magnetic sleepers usually fix the time and hour.

4. As regards Aristides himself, it seems that on account of his spasms and his somnambulic susceptibility he had the visions himself, and not another for him, as was often the case. He often suffered so much from cramps and convulsions, that his body was drawn up like a bow; the stomach and the liver were the seats of his malady. It is well known that such affections are the most prolific sources of cramps, and that magnetic visions and states are frequently associated with them. The ecstatic states manifest themselves in Aristides as in our magnetic sleepers; he was in them capable of composing verses and poetry, like somnambulists, which when awake he was not able to do. In his dreams the gods appeared to him, as well as orators and philosophers. He conversed with Plato and Demosthenes in his dreams, and Sophocles often stood at the foot of his bed. It could not therefore have been difficult for the priest of Æsculapius to have placed him in a somnambulic state.

5. It has always been known that nervous crises act infectiously, and that the visions connected with them are perpetuated on all sides. In the temple the applicants are usually admitted all together, and prepared in a mass, by the same means; as incense, prayers, &c. The patients had also a common sleeping-room. The somnambulic crises might therefore very easily be communicated, as well as that questions might be put to a particularly lucid seer on the behalf of the others. We find in Aristides the visions of patrons, as of Æsculapius, Minerva, and Apollo; purely phantastical divinities without objective reality; the forms changed, but the influence remained, because the principle upon which it depends is unchangeable, but remaining always the same in the soul. This may give us a clue to the visionary appearances of our own age. The individuality of man from inward peculiarities of constitution frequently divides itself into several individualities, which then stand before him as so many material objects; having, therefore, as subjective creations, taken material forms, and being reflected as it were

upon the objective world; as the dramatic poet impresses his own ideas upon persons and characters, which afterwards gain life and action. The same may be said of mania, and all phenomena belonging to the realms of the imagination. Magnetic, visionary contemplation, under whatever shape it appears, may be true, just as it may also be false, according to the signification and interpretation: moreover the same vision may be presented to the same person, at various times, under absolutely opposite forms. The same god did not always appear to Aristides, or under the same form, but the signification was materially the same, and the vision proved always correct. These pictures change in representation according to the conditions of physical life, as is seen in the whole history of magic as well as in individual cases. The demon and evil spirit foretelling striking truths, as well as the gods and their good spirits.

It is not without weight to the theory of magnetism to extract something from the views of the Greek sages. I shall therefore mention briefly Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and some others.

Orpheus derived his knowledge from the Egyptian priests, and the proverbial Orphean egg bears evidence of this: "God, the uncreated and incomprehensible Being, created all things; the ether proceeded from him; from this the unshapely chaos and the dark night arose, which at first covered all things. The unshapen mass was formed into the shape of an egg, from which all things have proceeded." This Orphean egg agrees with the theories of the new philosophers, and particularly with those of Mesmer and Wolfart. All development, according to them, is in circles; the inward and outwardly proceeding streams and formations are shaped from chaos to the round regular form of an egg. The whole universe is an egg, without beginning or end, and each individual portion strives after the same form. It is remarkable, that ether is regarded by Orpheus as the medium between God and created things, as He first created ether and afterwards chaos; but everything that exists is covered by the ether. I have already made mention of the healing virtues of minerals, to which Orpheus paid particular attention, and seemed to prefer them to all other remedies. "The earth," says he, "produces good and bad

to poor mortals; but to every bad thing there is also an antidote. In the earth every kind of stone is produced, in which a varied and endless power lies. Everything that herbs or roots can perform, that can also minerals perform. Roots certainly have great power, but the stones have still greater; that is, if the matrix gives to the stones fresh and unspoiled strength. The root is green but a short time, and dies; only as long as fruits can be had from it does its life last. But when it is withered, what can be hoped from the dead? Among plants, noxious as well as beneficial kinds are found; but among stones you will hardly find anything noxious. But if, as a hero, you boldly pass among monsters, armed with the siderit, you will have nothing to fear; though they should meet you in swarms with the black death."

"Members of communication with the higher stages of spirituality," says Richter, "are those men of Greece who carried the wisdom of the East to the pure skies of Ionia, and from thence to the banks of the Ilissus; above all, Pythagoras, the sage of Samos, who derived his comprehensive views of God and divine things in the holiest temples of Egypt, and who wished to establish an institution among the Greeks founded upon pure morality, but alas! he only too soon succumbed to the power of evil. His pure life, his inward sense of the divine, his endeavours to suppress the earthly in himself and in his scholars, and to elevate the spiritual without overstepping the laws of reason; together his miraculous power evidently characterise him as a man in whom the magnetic instinct was powerfully active."

Pythagoras brought his theories from the East and Egypt, where he had profoundly penetrated their mysteries. According to the evidence of Porphyrius, the great end of the Pythagorean philosophy was to free the soul from the fetters of the senses, and to make it fit for an eternal and unchanging contemplation of spiritual things. For this purpose, Pythagoras regarded the mathematical sciences and calculations as the most fitting means of aid and development, and therefore applied figures to everything he taught. His arithmetical philosophy is, however, a riddle which but few have understood, explained, or solved; therefore his teachings had mostly the fate of being decried, as happens to all doctrines, the elevation and noble views of which cannot be attained by every one.

Nothing direct is extant of the teachings of Pythagoras (for he left no writings, having imparted his theories by word of mouth): impartial men have, therefore, collected them from Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Diogenes, Laertius, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, and Stobæus, who had embodied the lost works of the old Pythagoreans in their writings. In this manner the whole of his doctrines were rescued from oblivion. The signification of the Pythagorean numeral theory is, that numbers contain the elements of all things, and even of the sciences. It was clearly seen that everything in nature may be reduced to numeral conditions; he applied numerals to the spiritual world, and thereby solved questions which are now wholly unknown to arithmetic. Of this numerical theory, the "Magicon" contains the following:—"The whole system of the universe rests upon certain primary causes, of which the being, the form, and the action of all things, as well individually as in connection with each other, are the natural consequences. These primary causes are called the natural numerals. He who knows them, knows at the same time the laws through which nature exists, the circumstances of its connection, the manner and measure of its activity, the communication of causes and effects, the physics and mechanics of the universe. Numerals are the invisible coverings of beings, as the body is the visible one; that is to say, there is a double characterism of things, one visible and one invisible; of the former, the visible shape is matter, of the latter, number; and all that manifests itself is the result of an inward energy; and this energy is the emanation of a power. The greater or lesser quantity of the powers expresses the material number, and the greater or lesser quantity of the energy expresses the virtual number. There are, undoubtedly, invisible coverings, for each being has a principle and a form; but principle and form are opposite extremes, which cannot meet without a certain bond of union: this bond is formed by numerals. Each principle is an unity; this becomes a real being through energy, which is, however, fixed by numerals. As the laws and properties of things are impressed upon their exteriors, so are the invisible laws and properties upon the invisible numerals; or as by the action of the sentient faculties through the senses we receive certain impressions, our mind also receives distinct ideas of the invisible positions and

destinations of things as soon as it can comprehend them. For the spiritual has weight and measure just as much as the physical; its positions, however, are only comprehensible to the reason. The real numerals of the universe are certainly infinite, but their progression is simple and direct, because everything has reference to the primary numbers 1—10. Its infiniteness rests upon the infinite or incalculable number of beings, and still more so as those beings have many and varied properties. There are, therefore, numerals for the foundation or principle of being, its activity, duration, and stages of progression. There are so many boundaries where the rays of divine light pause, and are reflected, partly to reproduce its own form, partly to create momentarily new life, measure, and weight from it. There are, also, compound numbers, to express the various relations and compositions of being, their actions and influences; also central, mediary, and circumference numbers; also false and impure numbers. Despite their infinite combination, the idea is still simple, for everything arises from the first ten numerals; and these again are comprehended by the first four, whose united sum is ten, which manifest the incalculable value of the Quaterni, although it appears folly to those who do not comprehend it."

We perceive from this, in some measure, why the numeral 4 was so sacred to the Pythagoreans; the 4 was to them the holiest number, a true *ἀῤῥητόν*; they, therefore, swore by the numeral 4, and an oath upon the sacred *τετράκτυς* was the most binding that could be imagined. In it lie all the powers and symphonies of nature; 10 is the universe, or *πᾶν*. According to Pythagoras, the numeral of a substance is that which is its foundation in the divine intention, and according to which it can be only so and nowise else. The agreement of all universal numerals, of beings and their actions, form the harmony of the whole. Pythagoras therefore regarded astronomy and harmony as intimately connected branches of the same science (Theonis Smyrnoi eorum, quæ in mathemat. ad Platonis lectionem utilia sunt, expositio, Paris, 1646, lib. i. c. i. p. 7). According to Pythagoras, all spiritual numerals are refections, radiations of unity; as well as the numeral 1 is the commencement of all numeral things. *One* is, therefore,

the name and character of the Highest, the Earliest, the Endless. *One* is the centre of all, the foundation of every being, and all particular properties which are not absolute and necessary, but direct or indirect radiations of the absolute unity. Ten ones form again an unity of tens up to a hundred; ten tens an unity of hundreds, &c. All the higher comprehend the lower unities, and insomuch as the lower is contained in the higher, so far is the reciprocal community shown. Thus is it also with the universe. Each higher world embraces all the unities or inferior worlds subject to it, and the lower take part in the higher worlds, spheres, and creations, as far as they, as inferiors, can be embraced by them. In the hundred, all numerals, from 1 to 100, are contained; under the class animal all creations of animated nature; and as the numerals from 1 to 100 become more similar as they progress, equally do the lowest in the ranks of animals rise higher and become more developed, till at length the highest members are united to man, without ever being able to reach him. The endless variations of animals, as well from as among themselves, agree also with the normal conditions, where one link can divide itself into endless portions. The Eastern theory of radiation is the same, according to which the lower orders arise from the higher, and embrace and permeate them.

The application of the primary numerals to the spiritual and material world we find in the Magicon as follows:—

"True mathematics is something with which all higher sciences are connected; common mathematics is but a deceitful phantasmagoria, whose much-praised infallibility only arises from this—that material conditions and references are made its foundation. As long as it is only confined to this it can certainly not fail; but as it is far different in respect to those things which do not regard it, it can never attain the object of a true science. Above all things it depends upon the knowledge of the straight and crooked lines. If the former is explained as a continuation of many infinitely small straight lines, this is just as radically false and far from the true laws of Nature, as it is a proof of how much men are inclined to confound all things together. As in Nature everything has its distinctive nume-

ral, thus are there two lines also. Emanations into the infinite is the subject of the straight, and restriction or deviation from this infinite progression the subject of the crooked line."

"These two numerals, with which the knowledge of everything intellectual and material is connected, remain through all gradations of quantity the same; for greater or lesser expansions of the straight and crooked line are but gradations and varieties of action and duration, as all results of their various gradations must always be to each other as 4 to 9. Herein we find all individual as well as generic differences of intellectual and material nature explained. From this it arises that individuals of the same class differ, and yet have one common law, source, and numeral. This also explains the nullity of all arbitrarily accepted conventional numerals in geometry. The signification of the straight and crooked line may be a key to many secrets of physiology and physiognomy. For here the straight line always shows strength, central energy, reason; while, on the contrary, circular formation is associated with less firmness and more material insolidity. Moreover, the signification of the numerals 4 and 9, the straight and crooked lines, does not only extend to the form and action of the human soul, but also to the whole sensitiveness and energy of its principles. Men of the highest order shew themselves in thought like brilliant rays of light, as their style is straightforward; others of a low grade, on the contrary, spend and write in circles and periods, and therefore are so agreeable to material ears."

From these extracts we may perceive that the characteristic of numerals of the present day is connected with one of much more ancient date, upon which still more might here be said, if the primitive and perfect theory of Pythagoras had been preserved. He was certainly not the discoverer of his cosmological theory of numerals, but, like Thales, had been led thereto by the Egyptians, whose sacred numbers of the Universe were known as the Hermetic numerals; but the true Pythagorean theory is much more closely related to the source of this species of symbolism, than that which the later Half-Pythagoreans and New-

Platonists said of it; upon whose speculations and explanations we can seldom rely.

Pythagoras was personally a handsome man, and of such a majestic appearance that his scholars believed him to be Apollo. He was clothed in white, and wore always spotlessly clean linen, holding that light and everything good was white, while night and evil were black. The number of his listeners was sometimes stated to be two thousand. But he admitted few to his nocturnal instructions. He divided his instructions into daily and nightly. To the first every one might be admitted, because his lectures consisted in admonitions to virtue and warnings against vice. To the second, however, his scholars were alone admitted, who were chosen only after many examinations and trials, and lived in a community of property. A Pythagorean disciple was especially obliged to overcome all desires, and live strictly in the prescribed manner. Whoever did not persist in the trial was looked upon as dead. The Pythagorean silence which his scholars maintained is well known, and which, according to their capabilities, usually lasted two, three, or even five years. During this time they were only listeners, and did not even see their master Pythagoras during the hours of instruction, but sat behind a curtain. He at first instructed by allegories and symbols, which were usually taken from geometrical and numerical figures, and, when they had comprehended these, by short and enigmatical sentences, which contained either natural or moral truths. It was only after all these preparations that the perfect instruction followed in the profounder sciences. (Diogenes Laertius, Of the Life and Teachings of Celebrated Philosophers, Bohn's Classical Library; Büsching, History of Philosophy, Part. I.: Pythagoras.)

Plato deserves an especial mention, not only because he purified and raised to philosophical theories the various popular superstitions on magic, demons, and spirits, which are said to reveal themselves in the air, in water, &c., and in various shapes to men, but also because his spiritual theory is materially a magical one, and gave rise to the institution of a school, called by his name, whose members may be counted as among the most energetic defenders of magic;

I mean the New-Platonists at Alexandria. I shall here make a few extracts regarding his principal views, and shall commence with what he says about numerals.

Plato calls him happy who understands the spiritual numerals, and perceives their mighty influence. The knowledge of the natural numerals serves, according to Plato, to the investigation of the good and beautiful; without this divine gift one can neither know human nature in its divine and mortal parts, nor yet the foundation of true religion. The numerals are the cause of universal harmony, and the production of all things. Whoever, therefore, abandons his numeral, loses all community with good, and becomes the prey of evil. Even the worship of God, from which all other virtues proceed, rests upon a true knowledge of numbers; the wise man must, therefore, study them above all things. The soul is immortal, and has an arithmetical as the body has a geometrical beginning; it, as the image of an universally distributed soul, is self-moving, and from the centre diffuses itself over the whole body. It is, however, divided according to fixed spaces, and forms as it were two connected circles. The one he called the movement of the soul, the other the movement of the All and the erratic stars. In this manner the soul is divided into two portions; and, placed in connection with the outward, perceives that which is, and exists harmoniously because it comprehends in itself the elements of a certain harmony.

If I make mention here of this mystical theory of numerals, it is not without special intention. On one hand, we hear the heroes of scientific antiquity, who lived not far removed from that age when mysticism treated not only of religious and poetical subjects, but also of certain unknown truths of nature; on the other hand, we cannot be blind to the fact that, in such a theory of numerals, a real and profound signification may be contained, and not alone an idle speculation or fantastical subtlety. For, through the wonderful progress of modern chemistry, the old axiom that determined numerical conditions govern the material world has gained an unexpected signification. Stechiometry shows indisputably in the combination of molecular atoms, a regularity of number as strictly observed by God in the minutest forms as in the

majestic nature of the heavens. If the modern philosopher feels his insignificance with a profound humility in presence of the admirable powers of nature, and as it were unavoidably falls into a religious feeling; if he become dumb before the Almighty, and feels himself inwardly and profoundly impelled to adore Him, does he not stand in a certain relationship to Pythagoras and Plato?

Plato's other teachings regarding the soul, which the Alexandrians so greedily seized upon, are as follows: "Our soul is a particle of the divine breath, and therefore we are related to God: our soul's divine ideas are natural, and are created by the contemplation of divine things. Before it was associated with the body, it existed in God; even now, though enveloped by the body, it may participate in that divine contemplation through the subjection of the passions and through a contemplative life (Plato in Phædro). Whoever has elevated himself to truth—(ὄντως ὄν)—that is, above that which is without change, without creation and decay, he lives truly and according to the divine nature. (Plato de republica, vi.) We may therefore read God through our soul, may approach and regard Him; and this contemplation fills us with the highest and truest pleasure, and makes us happy." God has implanted in the human as well as in the universal soul, of which it is a particle, the conceptions or images of all things, which, however, are obscured in it as soon as it enters the dark cavern of the body. That which Plato says of God and matter, which are the eternal causes of all things; of the world and its connection; of the universal soul, may be seen in many of his dialogues, —for instance, in Timæus, &c.,—and these are true magnetic doctrines; many passages have already been extracted from them at an earlier time.

We must not wholly pass over what Plato says of an early celestial history of man, considering this, as he does, one of the chief reasons for a belief in a future existence. As this later, present life, is simply a loss of man's wings, his whole endeavour ought now to be to regain them. To this end, the purification of true philosophy is beyond everything else, and to it must be added the initiation into the mysteries and perfection in them. For by means of the true phi-

losophy the soul raises itself from material and sensual things, to those images impressed upon it, and from these to the self-existing beings; and by aid of these, without material means, to the truth itself,—to the simple and unmixed original source. That which Plato says upon this subject is very distinct in his Politicus, Protagoras, Gorgias, Phædrus, Phædon, and Timæus.

He says: "All present conditions proceed from a revolution in man and the whole of nature. There was a time when mankind did not perpetuate itself (vide Jacob Böhme): this was followed by the earthly human race, in which the primitive history was gradually forgotten, and man sank deeper and deeper. Originally man required neither arts nor laws, because he had everything, carried a living law within himself, and was himself a living image of truth." (Timæus.)

In the "Gorgias" he says,—"Our present state rather resembles death than life, and without purification man cannot be freed from the ills of this life." He also describes the original man as combining male and female nature in one person (anthropin; hermaphrodite; Kamiost of the Persians; Adam of the Cabbalists, &c.) Phædrus contains an incomparable presage of that which man once was, and which he may again become. "Before his soul sank into sensuality and was embodied with it through the loss of the wings, he lived among the gods in the airy world, where everything was true and clear. Here he saw things only as a pure spirit. But now he is happy if he can use the forms of the imagination as copies, and collect gradually from them that which smooths his path and points out the way to the lost knowledge of the great, universal light. To this end the mysteries are especially serviceable, in part to remind him of the holiest, in part to open the senses of his soul, to use the images of the visible for this purpose, but which are understood by few because their original and present connection is no longer understood."

"An excellent man in divine ecstasy, who is better than one in sane consciousness, declares divine things, in which the soul recognises, as in a radiant reflection, that which it saw in the hour of ecstasy; he following God and being filled with joy and love." "Madness," says

Socrates, in Phædrus, "is not exactly an evil, for by it the greatest blessings came to Hellas." The θεῖα μανία had four principal forms,—the μαντικὴ ἐπίπνοια, the τελεστική, ποιητικὴ, and ἐρωτικὴ μανία. In this the negative as well as the positive elements of humanity are to be found. Of philosophers we find, φιλοσοφοῦ μανία τε καὶ βαλία; and of poets we find in Ion,—a light, winged, sacred being, which is able to be moved by a nothing. The infection of ecstasy is there spread by the magnet and rings. "The mantic," says Socrates, "is rather μανιχὴ (soothsaying art), for it does many and glorious things."

In Phædon we see that the mysteries taught much concerning the future state of man. In Timæus, we find they distinctly stated and maintained that everthing visible has been created after the fashion of the invisible and eternal, as our present nature is composed of the eternal and unchangeable in the world of light and the divisibility of matter. In Timæus we find the following:—"Man does not participate in the divinely inspired and true prophecy as a reasoning being, but alone when he either is deprived, during sleep, or through sickness, of the exercise of reason, or when, by some inspiration, he cannot command himself."

To this place belong the remaining Pythagoreans and Platonists, in whom, besides the teachings of their masters, we often find much that is instructive, but which, mostly, already has been mentioned. I shall, therefore, only quote a few principal passages.

One of the most celebrated Pythagoreans was Empedocles, of Agrigentum. On account of his agreeable exterior and miraculous cures, he was regarded as a confidant of the gods and a great prophet, who could even stay the course of nature, and command death. During a plague which arose from an eclipse of the sun, he is said to have saved many lives by fumigations and magical fires. According to Philostratus, he arrested a waterspout which had broken over the city. He recalled a woman to life who had long appeared to be dead, and is said to have performed many other astonishing cures. It is evident from one of his numerous poems, that he was deeply versed in magic; it treats of natural philosophy, and is ornamented with many poetical similes and much remarkable colouring. In it he

traces the origin of all to Monas—God and matter, whose chief principles he calls friendship and enmity:—

> "Good spirits love the rue and laurel well,
> But base ones it doth conquer and expel."

The lines concerning his magic powers, as they are to be seen in Diogenes Laertius, are as follows:—

> "Thou shalt medicines learn that avert every species of evil,
> And lighten old age, and these I disclose to thee only.
> Storms shalt thou lay that rage o'er the outstanding harvests,
> And career in wild wrath, and waste with a fury unwearied.
> Again, I empower thee to give to the dying winds motion,
> And afresh to restore the azure serene to the welkin;
> Cheering mankind; watering the parched earth in summer;
> Loading the fruit trees through soft breathing winds of Erato,
> From Hades below shalt thou bear too the vigour of manhood."

Empedocles believed a spirit to be the universal principle which influences all things, and that the material portions are connected by love and hatred. I must here call especial attention to the significant, the poetic, and philosophic spirit which fills some of the most ancient Greek sages,—as, for instance, the poet Orpheus, who also wrote verses upon medical and philosophical subjects: this is equally the case with both Parmenides and Empedocles. This shows that in the highest antiquity (in the pre-historical age) natural philosophy, poetry, and theology, were intimately connected in their being: of this we shall speak later.

Socrates must be mentioned here. It is admitted on all hands, that Socrates, the great teacher of virtue and truth, the apostle of morality, had a spirit who was his guide and instructor ("esse divinum, quiddam dæmonion appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti." Cicero de divin. lib. i. § 54). Apuleius says, "The wise man may not have required an incitement to good, but may very well have been warned against evil." This genius, or demon, as he was accustomed to call it, did not, by his own account, warn him alone of impending danger; but others also, through him, as it foretold futurity to him, and always showed him, beforehand, the propriety and im-

propriety of his actions. His circumspect scholar, Xenophon, speaks, in his Apology, of the truthfulness of the Socratic warnings. "I call this the dæmoniac or divine influence, and believe it to be nearer the truth than those divine powers attributed to birds. And that I do not speak falsely of the gods, I am confident from the proofs: I imparted many of their divine warnings to my friends, yet was I never convicted of error." Of this Socratic dæmon many remarkable stories are related at great length in the French "Annales du Magnétisme animale," No. 24, to which the reader is referred for further particulars.

"If in Socrates the magnetic instinct was developed more in its own peculiar form, giving evidence of almost somnambulic appearances, Plato's soul, on the contrary, dwelt only in the magnetic sphere, in so far as he felt himself elevated to the contemplation of the divine and to higher inspiration; but this state was enduring, like a continuous stream, not subject to single flashes of divine light" (Thoughts upon Animal Magnetism, p. 76.)

Aristotle, the greatest investigator of nature in antiquity, furnishes us with much in his writings upon the subject of dreams. He speaks of the oracles, de Historiis Animalium, c. 20; in Rhetorica; in Libro de Veneficis, lib. vi. c. 22; de Carminibus et Incantationibus, lib. xxiv. c. 8; de Auguriis, c. i. lib. ix. c. 17; de Vatibus in problemate, sect. 21. "Many," says the latter passage, "who prophesy, have diseases of madness" ("morbis afficiuntur maniacis et lymphaticis, unde Sibyllæ et Bacchides, et qui numine afflati dicuntur, cum morbo tales non fiant, sed naturali temperie").

Even in his theory of dreams, he maintains that prediction is no work of the gods, but a purely natural property of the imagination. Soothsaying is, therefore, not a divine or demoniac work, but entirely a consequence of temperament, and, to this, the melancholy temperament—says Buccafierri, one of the commentators of Aristotle—is the most adapted; the temperament is, however, a gift of nature, and soothsaying is, therefore, natural. "Qui habet habitum melancholicum, habet per se causam prædicendi de futuris, et ideo per istum habitum prophetia erit secundum naturam, et melancholicus habitus erit pro propheta naturaliter, quia

ille habitus est naturalis," Lud. Buccafierri, Lectiones in Aristotelis libros, Venetiis, 1570, p. 102.

One of the most severe and able followers of Pythagoras, who made himself so renowned by his miraculous cures and magical arts, that his name even now produces terror, was Apollonius of Tyana. He is the first of whom it can be said that his cures and teachings were purely magnetic. In his sixteenth year he commenced his travels with intent to visit the temples of various countries, and become initiated in their various secrets. Philostratus, who has described his life very minutely, says that Apollonius visited the Temple of Æsculapius at Ægea; the Oracles of Amphiaraus, Delphi, and Dodona; the Magi of Nineveh and Babylon; the Brahmins of India, Eygpt, Ethiopia, Crete, Sicily, and Rome; and lastly, remained some time at Smyrna, Ephesus, and Tyana; and that he died in the year 96 after Christ, at about one hundred years of age. Wherever he went he incited to piety, to prayer, and morality; cured the most dangerous diseases with miraculous power, and predicted futurity; on which account he was even placed by the heathens in contrast to Christ; and because nothing certain was known of his death, the inhabitants of Tyana declared him to be immortal; they dedicated a temple in their town to him, and his likeness was hung up in many temples. The Emperor Antonius Caracalla worshipped him as divine; and Alexander Severus and other emperors showed him great honour and esteem; and the first also placed him among his household gods, which included many sacred persons—Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus (Lampiad. in Alex. Sever. c. 29.)

During the raging of a plague at Ephesus, he was called upon to arrest the evil; he hastened to the spot, and the plague ceased on his arrival. It was often not necessary for him to be present, and he could heal the sick at several places at the same time (Philost. de vita Apollonii, iv. c. 10). His talismans also performed no small wonders, as they are said not only to have restrained disease, but also had power over the winds and the storms of the ocean. It would occupy too much space to enumerate all his cures and predictions, which often border on the incredible; but it is worth while to become somewhat more intimately acquainted with his philosophy.

As at that time magic was severely forbidden by the emperor and the council (senatus-consultus) as dishonourable, Apollonius endeavoured to uphold magic in all its dignity. He, however, made a proper distinction between magic and sorcery, and admited, as a true Pythagorean, that he held the doctrines and laws of Pythagoras, and also his ability to perform the wonders of Pythagoras, though not by sorcery, as was supposed, but by the aid and assistance of science and nature. Under magic Apollonius understood that power which acts through sacrifice, sacred ceremonies, and words, and in this sense may be called magic. But Apollonius does not speak of demons and spirits and their varieties as the New-Platonists are accustomed to do. "A sorcerer," says he, "am I not; but a better man, sustained by God in all my actions. Sacrifices have I no need of; for God is always present to me and fulfils my wishes, so that I leave all those cheats and evil-doers far behind me (circulatores istos atque nebulones longo post me intervallo relinquo). This art is not possessed by those who only exercise the powers of the body, and strive madly after the victory. On this account the acts of these sorcerers are in the houses of traders; we see their gains attributed to the sorcerer,—their losses to their parsimony. On this account sorcery has attracted and inflamed many admirers, so that in sickness they even rely upon it, and counsel with old women, who offer them Indian spices or stones from the bowels of the earth or fallen from the moon or the stars. Even persons who laughed at these things have endeavoured to prove how they may be performed. I, however, believe, from firm conviction, that young people should not even speak with such persons, that they may not accustom themselves to such arts, in joke or amusement" (Philostrat. i.) By this severe distinction true magic was elevated from dishonour to the highest esteem.

"Every art," says he in his defence, "beyond true philosophy, is directed to the collecting of riches. There is therefore a species of false sages, whom thou must not confound with those who truthfully prophesy. The prediction, if it be true, is of the highest value; but whether to call this an art or not, I cannot tell. I call sorcerers false sages,

for these only are attracted by riches, which I have always despised, so that I cannot be reproached with them. I did not invent my wisdom, but received it as a species of heir-loom from Pythagoras, whose commands and regulations I follow (Philostrat. viii. c. 3, 4.) I wear a robe of linen, which, as well as being conducive to cleanliness, also produces more truthful dreams. Between God and men exists a bond of relationship; and by this is man in some measure a participator in the divine nature. All are convinced that the powers of the mind and the soul are derived from God, and that those are nearest to God who are most richly endowed with them. The Indian wisdom, to which the Egyptian is related, says, that God created all, and the cause of creation was the goodness of God. If God is therefore good, we may consider a good man as participating in the spirit of God. To what this leads he shall know who is acquainted with the philosophy of the Eclectics" (c. 7.)

The philosophy of Apollonius is purely Platonic and Pythagorean. All comes from God; our soul is a portion of God's being, and is only deformed and separated from God by matter, but may again approach God and the divine powers; and may regain the divine power of performing wonders, as soon as it is purified from the dross of matter, and become again filled with the original inborn radiance. His own words upon this subject are remarkable—"My mode of life is very different from that of other people; I take very little food, and this, like a secret remedy, maintains my senses fresh and unimpaired, as it keeps everything that is dark from them, so that I can see the present and future as it were in a clear mirror. The sage need not wait for the vapours of the earth, and corruption of the air, to foresee plague diseases; he must know them later than God, but before the people. The gods see the future, men the present, sages that which is coming. This mode of life produces such an acuteness of the senses, or some other powers, that the greatest and most remarkable things may be performed (c. vii. 2, 9.) I am, therefore, perfectly convinced that God reveals his intentions to holy and wise men."

Acute and far-seeing investigators of antiquity recognise the conditions of the magical state as natural appearances,

so that they regarded the prediction of future events, and the influence at a distance, as rare developments of the inward ability of the human soul, but at the same time as a natural phenomenon of the same. In the treatises upon the decline of the oracles, upon the inscription Ει in the temple at Delphi; upon the Pythia no longer delivered her sentences in verse—and upon Isis and Osiris, Plutarch brings forward in the form of dialogues the various causes in a very instructive manner. I shall make a somewhat long extract from Plutarch's moral writings, translated by Kaltwasser, to show in what manner these somnambulic conditions were recognised, and how even then the most varied and opposite ones were sustained with philosophical reason.

"The admonition," says Demetrius, in the first treatise, "which Lamprias has given us, is well founded; for, as Euripides says, the gods deceive us by many shapes, not of fallacies, but of things themselves, if we consider ourselves wise enough to decide upon subjects of such importance. It has already been said that the oracles, when they are deserted by the dæmons, lie like unused musical instruments, inactive and voiceless. This leads us to a much more important question regarding the causes and power by means of which the dæmons render prophets capable of receiving enthusiasm and communicate to them representations of future things."

"Do you imagine," replied Ammonius, "that the dæmons are anything else than souls, which, as Hesiod says, wander through the atmosphere? I always believe that a soul which is united with a body suitable to this world, is only to be distinguished, as one man from another man, playing comic or tragic parts. It is, therefore, neither unreasonable nor strange that souls should come to souls, and impart to them conceptions of future things, occasionally by letters, or by a mere touch, or by a glance, reveal to them past events or announce future ones." Upon the prayer of Ammonius and others that he would give his opinion unreservedly, Lamprias continued thus:—

"If the unembodied souls are, according to Hesiod's opinion, dæmons, holy inhabitants of the earth and guardians of mortal men, why should we seek to deprive these souls which are still in the body of that power, by which the

former know future events, and are able to announce them? It is not probable that the soul gains a new power of prophesy after separation from the body, and which it before did not possess. We may rather conclude that it possessed all its powers during its union with the body, although in a lesser perfection. Some of these are imperceptible and hidden, or dull and weak; others again are as if seen in vapour or moving in water, indolent and without activity, and require a careful tending and restoration of their proper state, as well as a thorough clearing and purification of all that which obstructs their exercise. For as the sun does not shine only when it passes from among the clouds, but has always been radiant and has only appeared dim and obscured by vapours, the soul does not only receive the power of looking into futurity when it passes from the body as from a cloud, but has possessed it always, though dimmed by connection with the earthly."

"This will not be found to be strange and incredible, if we pay sufficient attention to the only power which is directly opposed to soothsaying—namely, the memory, which does great service, as it guards the past, or rather makes it present. For that which has been seen no longer exists or has being. All things in the world, actions, words, and properties, arise and pass away, as time like a stream carries everything with it. But this power of the soul seizes, I do not know how, upon all this, and gives to it, although it is no longer present, the semblance and appearance of being. It is therefore not surprising that the soul, which has no power over that which no longer exists, should also embrace many things which have not yet happened. The latter is, moreover, far more adapted to it, and agrees more with its inclination, for all strivings and all efforts of the soul are alone for the future, while with the past and the performed it has no longer anything to do, but to treasure them in memory."

"Weak, dull, or imperceptible, as these powers implanted in the soul may be, yet it sometimes happens, that one or another, as it were, buds forth and is exercised in dreams and in the mysteries, either because the body is then purified and obtains the necessary disposition, or because it pos-

sesses the power of reflection, and can occupy itself with futurity, depending upon the imagination and not upon reason, now that it is free from and unfettered by the present. Euripides certainly says: he who can make a good guess is the best soothsayer; but he errs, for he only is a shrewd man who follows the guidance of his reason and the rules of probability. The power of prediction, on the contrary, is in itself, like an uninscribed tablet, without reasoning or destination, but yet capable of certain imagination and presentiment, and reaches futurity without the conclusions of reason; but especially when the soul is entirely separated from the present. This proceeds from a certain constitution and disposition of the body, and hence arises that state which we call enthusiasm. Such dispositions are often called forth by the body itself; yet the earth also opens sources of varied influence to man, of which some cause madness, sickness, and death, while others are very admirable, pleasant, and healthful, as all who experience it are aware. But not one is so divine and sacred as the inspiring vapour and emanation; it may come upon man from the air or through a fountain; but as soon as it has entered the body it produces a singular and unusual condition of the soul, whose peculiarities it is difficult to describe, but upon which reason can speculate."

Ammonius then remarks that Lamprias wishes to explain the power of the seer by material causes:—"At first," says he, "we let ourselves be led away in our conversation and deny that the prophetic power comes from the God, and—I cannot tell how—attribute it to the dæmons; but now, as it appears to me, we wish again to remove it from the oracle and tripod; for we ascribe the origin of prediction, or, even its very power and substance, to the winds, vapours, and exhalations."

Lamprias replies that this was not his intention. "I will justify myself, and Plato shall at the same time be my witness and advocate. He blames Anaxagoras for making too much use of physical causes, and for having entirely passed over the noble principles and causes, the why and wherefore, in his continual searching and investigation of that

which is necessarily produced by the properties of the body. Plato, on the contrary, was the first philosopher who investigated both at the same time, so that although he ascribes to the Godhead all those things which are done through reason, yet he does not deny that the conditions to their production come from nature. Wherefore, each beginning has two causes. The oldest theologists and poets directed their attention alone to the most prominent one, and have used this well-known sentence in all cases :

'Zeus the first, Zeus the middle, Zeus active in all things ;'

but they did not think of the necessary and physical causes. The later philosophers, the so-called physiologists, went to the other extreme, as they departed from that excellent and divine principle, and attributed all things to the properties, changes, and fusions of matter; the necessary portion was therefore wanting in each system. For the latter knew not or did not see on what account or from whom, and the former from whence or through whom, all things originated."

(A very similar view of the peculiar prophetic power of the human soul, not ascribed to demons, is expressed by Anaxagoras : " Et cum suapte vi ac ratione, anima utpote immortalis, plerumque moveatur et agat in homine ita ut futura prædicat et rerum præsentium statum dirigat aut emendat, hujus sapientiæ laudem dæmones sibi lucrantur.")

" The philosopher who at first explained both causes, and brought the active and moving into necessary union with the passive subject, justifies us against every blame and suspicion. Even if we gave to the prophetic art the soul of man as material, and the inspiring vapour or smoke as an instrument or Plectron (with which the strings of musical instruments were struck), we shall in no wise deny the influence of the divinity and of reason upon it. But as we cannot calmly judge of these conditions, it is only just that God should give us cognizance of them by certain signs (as is the case with the skins of sacrificed animals). I also believe that that vapour has not always the same virtues, but sometimes acts with more strength. To prove this I shall make use of a circumstance which, besides the servants

of the temple, has many strangers as witnesses. The chapel namely in which it is usual to conduct the applicants is not always, nor at stated times, but at uncertain intervals, filled with a pleasant odour, which does not give way to the most agreeable and costly salves, and proceeds from the sanctum as from a spring. (This odour was artificially produced by the priests.) Wine does not always produce the same effect upon drunkards, nor facts upon enthusiasts; but the same persons are sometimes more, sometimes less, enchanted and intoxicated, according to their conditions, and the mixture is different in the body. The imagination of the soul, however, appears to be particularly governed by the changes of the body, and to direct itself according to them. If the imagination and prophetic power stand in proper proportions with the admixture of that vapour, like a medicine, enthusiasm must be roused in the prophet, or no effect is produced, even a false enthusiasm, connected with madness and convulsions; which, as we all know, was the case with the lately deceased Pythia. The greater number being strangers come to ask counsel (*θεοπροποὶ*), the sacrificed animal remained uninfluenced by the first sprinkling; at length the priests brought it so far by unceasing sprinkling that the wetted animal began to tremble (sprinkling with water was a proof whether the animal was healthy,—for only healthy animals might be sacrificed; insensibility to the sprinkling was regarded as the sign of an abnormal state.) But what happened to the Pythia? She descended to the oracle, although unwillingly; but at the first answer they observed from her rough and loud voice that she was seized by a noxious vapour, which hindering the voice, she could express nothing clearly. At length she rushed through the door with a terrible cry, and threw herself upon the ground, so that not only the seers (properly questioners) but also the prophet Nicander himself, and all the priests present, ran away. Shortly after they returned, and carried her away senseless; but she lived only a few days. From this cause they now strictly watch that the Pythia is unspotted and free from all communication with strangers. Before questioning the oracle, attention is paid to the signs, because it is believed that

God knows best when the Pythia is in the proper condition to sustain the enthusiasm without evil consequences. For the power of the vapour (the gas) does not influence all alike, not even equally the same persons, but is only to be regarded as the beginning or cause, which produces all the changes in those who are susceptible."

We here find the appearances of magnetic somnambulism in the Pythia laid down with a very correct and clear theory in an instructive manner. The Pythia was, as it were, suddenly and unexpectedly placed in ecstasy, in which she perfectly resembles our magnetic patient; she had false and true visions, cramps and convulsions, with fits of mania, followed by good or evil consequences. She was also (the one chosen from many) very unequally adapted to communicate the oracles. After Ammonius has given the causes of the decline of many oracles of Greece, by disturbances, war, evil-doers, or in some cases want of inhabitants, he thus continues regarding the oracle at Delphi:—"Even this oracle, the oldest and most celebrated of all, was, as is stated, for a long time desolated by a terrible serpent, so that no one could approach it. (This serpent is called Pytho, which Apollo killed, and then took possession of the oracle—formerly belonging to the earth—and was called from this Pythius.) After Greece had by divine providence increased very much in cities, and when the population had become larger, two prophetesses were employed, who went by turns to the sanctum, and besides these there was a third in readiness for any case of necessity. At the present day there is but one single prophetess, and we do not complain of it; for she suffices to answer all the questions that are put to her. For the still existing and continuing prophecy is sufficient for all, and no one asking there is sent away unsatisfied. Here Apollo now employs one, he formerly employed several voices when the population was much greater. On the contrary, we should wonder at Apollo if he allowed his oracle to flow on unused like water, or die away like the echoing voices of shepherds and herdsmen in the solitudes and among the rocks.

"We may just as well allow ourselves to be persuaded that the gods have no part in these or those oracles, or that

they despise the mysteries and festive sacrifices, as upon the other hand believe that they perform all these things themselves, and interfere with them. Regarding the mysteries, which certainly give us the best conception of the nature of dæmons, I must, as Herodotus says, hold my tongue." (Herodotus, namely, refrains conscientiously, as I shall mention at a later period, from saying anything of the priestly secrets with which he had become acquainted in Egypt.)

When Plutarch speaks of the British islands which are named from dæmons and heroes, he causes Demetrius to say that there lay an island in which Cronos was imprisoned, and watched whilst sleeping by Briareus. For that sleep was the fetter which had been laid upon him, and many dæmons were with him as servants and companions.

At length Ammonius says:—"I have a doubt which is far more weighty, and refers to more important things. At a former time we allowed ourselves to be led away, and in our conversation took the power of prediction from the gods and gave it to the dæmons. But now we are endeavouring to tear it from the oracle and the tripod, as we ascribe the origin of prophecy, and even its very power and substance, to the winds, vapours, and exhalations. The statement that the soul receives through them a peculiar constitution,—that it is heated and strengthened like iron, causes us to think even less of the gods, and brings about a similar reasoning upon the origin of oracles as that of the Cyclops in Euripides:—

> 'Compelled, willing or loth, we give
> The fat grass of the meadows to the kine.'

But the Cyclop adds, that he does not sacrifice to the gods, but to himself and to his belly,—the most noble of all the gods. What reason could we have to sacrifice and pray to oracles, if the soul possesses the prophetic power in itself, and if a certain mixture of air or wind suffices to arouse the same? If so, what is the object of ordaining priestesses? To what end the refusal of answer in the case, when the sacrificial animal sprinkled with the drink-offering did not tremble? If this does not happen, it is said that

the oracle will not give an answer, and the Pythia is not brought in. These arrangements and customs do not, however, lead us to look upon a deity or a dæmon as the principal origin of the oracle: these do not agree with your argument. For if these vapours are there, they would certainly call forth the enthusiasm whether the animal trembled or not, and not alone place the soul of the Pythia in inspiration, but also every one who touches her. On this account it is very absurd to use a woman in the oracle; to burthen her with so many troubles, and to endeavour to retain her throughout her whole life chaste and immaculate. And when I perfectly consider the great benefit that this oracle has done to Greece in war and peace, in famine, and the founding of new cities, I must consider it as sinful to ascribe its origin and discovery to chance and blind fate, instead of to Divine providence. Upon this point, my Lamprias, I would willingly still speak with you, if you will permit me so long?' 'O, certainly, with much pleasure,' said Philippus, and all of us together."

After they have discoursed regarding the reasons wherefore Pythia no longer delivered her sentences in verse, the strangers were conducted among the votive offerings, shown the statues, and remarkable objects. After they have spoken of the bronze of the columns, and of the sharp air coming down from the hills to Delphi, causing a good digestion, a silence follows, and the conductors proceed in their description: "Among others there was an oracular sentence in verse, which affected the dominion of Argon of Argos. On this occasion Diogenian said that he had often been surprised at the wretchedly miserable verses in which the oracles were delivered. Apollo, he added, presides over the muses; and therefore ought not only to distinguish himself by that which we call eloquence, but also by euphony in verse and poetry, and even surpass both Hesiod and Homer in beauty of style. But we see that the greatest number of his oracles, as well as regards the metre as also the expression, are tasteless and full of errors" (therefore similar to our magnetic sleepers, who are in a lower somnambulic condition).

Serapion replies: "Many will say that it is not true that they are composed by Apollo, because the verses are bad.

This circumstance is not fully understood; on the contrary, that the oracular verses are bad in composition, is certainly according to your judgment, my dear Serapion, a perfect truth. For the poems composed by you are in their contents philosophical and earnest, and in power, delicacy, and choice of expression, they have more similarity with the poems of Hermes and Hesiod, than with the sentences of the Pythia."

"We are certainly," replied Serapion, "diseased in eyes and ears, and induced by luxury and extravagance to see only beauty in that which is agreeable. We shall therefore soon blame the Pythia for not singing more delightfully than the Zither-players in Glaucus, for not being aromatic with ointments, and entering the sanctum clothed in purple; or quarrel with her, that she burns laurel and barley-meal instead of cassia, ladanum, and incenses. Do you not see how enchanting the poems of Sappho are; how much they delight and fascinate the readers? And yet the sibyl who, as Heraclitus says, delivers oracles with foaming lips, without smiles, cosmetics or ointments (without elegance and grace), has received a voice from Apollo, which will endure for centuries. Pindaros also avers, that Cadmus heard no clear ringing, and pleasant music with soft verses from this god. For a pure being free from passions has nothing to do with sensuality, which was cast from heaven with Ate (the goddess of destruction), and, as it appears, entered for the great part into the ears of men, where it has fixed itself."

But Theon objects, that if the verses are really bad, ought we to make Apollo their composer? the first inspiration alone comes from him, which is, however, adapted to the nature of every prophetess. If it were customary to deliver the oracle in writing, and not orally, we should certainly not ascribe the letters themselves to the god, or blame them that they were not as beautifully written as royal ones. Therefore, voice and sound, expression and metre, do not belong to Apollo, but to the woman; he only inspires her with the images and conceptions, and inflames her soul so that it can see the future; for in this consists enthusiasm."

Aristotle said, that "Homer alone used words which move with internal power; but I would say, that the votive offer-

ings here move with internal power, as the providence of God wills it, and give presages through this power, and that not one single portion is empty and insensible, but that all are entirely filled by the divinity." (Here we have the magnetic conductors; the influence of substances placed *en rapport;* the reliques, &c.)

However, the ancient oracles were sometimes given in verse, sometimes in prose; but neither is contrary to reason: we must only have true conceptions of the godhead, and not believe that Apollo formerly composed the verses, and even now whispers the oracles to the Pythia, speaking as it were through a mask. The sentence of Heraclitus will undoubtedly be well known to you, that the oracle at Delphi neither speaks nor conceals, but only indicates to the king. For the god worshipped there employs the Pythia to see and hear, as the sun employs the moon. He reveals himself to men by the mortal body and immortal soul of the Pythia, who, however much she may desire to live in quietness, yet cannot remain unmoved during the inspiration of the god, or retain her natural calmness, but is driven about by the movements and strong passions awakened within her, like a ship upon the sea. That which is called enthusiasm appears to be a mixture of two movements; the one acting from without upon the soul, and the other already lying in the nature of the soul itself.

In the same manner other powers and natures belong to other things, which have each their peculiar movement, although they may be influenced by the same cause. Thus it is impossible that he who knows not a single letter should talk in the language of poets, much less have read poems like the priestesses of the god. She is certainly of good and honourable family, and of an unspotted reputation; but as she was educated at the house of a poor peasant, she entered the oracle without the smallest experience of art or any artistic skill.

We accept as truth, that this god, to reveal his will, employs the voices of herons, wrens, and ravens, without ever requiring that they should, as messengers and heralds of the gods, express everything in words and with a clear voice. The most ancient priestesses delivered their oracles

in prose; but at that age the capabilities and powers of the soul became active through the smallest incitement or irritation of the imagination. To such a degree were men carried away by that which was proper to their nature.

"As regards ambiguity, circumlocution, and obscurity, I am not surprised that the ancients were sometimes compelled to have recourse to them. For those who visited the oracle were not common people, to ask counsel upon a purchase or trade, but powerful states, kings, or princes. To foretell disagreeable events to these would not have been favourable to those connected with the temple; for Apollo does not seem to find it advisable to follow that saying of Euripides,—Phœbus alone must prophesy to man. He employs mortal men as his servants and prophets; over their safety he must watch, and see that his priests do not come to harm by bad men. He did not wish entirely to suppress the truth, but yet leaves its revelations, like a ray of light, to shine through, and become softened in verses, for the purpose of removing from it everything harsh and unpleasant. Besides, tyrants and enemies may not learn that which stands before them. For them he enveloped his replies in obscurity and conjecture, which concealed the meaning of the oracle to all others, but revealed it to the questioner without deceit."

Those inscriptions on the doors of the Delphian temple, of which the one is E, or Ε*υ*, Thou art, and the other, Know thyself, Γνῶθί σεαυτὸν, are of a profound psychological meaning. For the first is an address and welcome to the questioner of Apollo; the second, as it were, the reply. "The first awakens," says Plutarch, "at once a conception of the power of this god, and contains the true, single, and only fitting greeting which is taken from his being."

In writing upon Isis and Osiris, where he treats of the Egyptian mysteries, Pythia informs Manethos that they call the magnet after Horus and iron, the bones of Typhon, to signify the inspiring, healing, and opposing motions.

Of Mercury she says, that he had cut out the nerves of Typhon to use as strings of his harp, to indicate that reason brings the inharmonic to harmony, and does not destroy

their destructive powers, but only perfects it. Further on, the Kyphi is spoken of,—a mixture of sixteen materials, which is prepared according to the prescription of the sacred books, and which, diffusing around an aromatic power and healing vapour, soothes the wearied body into a profound sleep.

SECOND DIVISION.

MAGIC AMONG THE ROMANS.

Amongst the Romans we find again the medical science of the Greeks and Egyptians, for it was introduced there partly through travellers and fugitives, and partly through the custom of the Romans adopting all foreign deities; besides that the dream-sleep (incubatio) was there used from the very earliest times. "Incubare dicuntur proprie hi, qui dormiunt ad accipienda responsa, unde ille incubat Jovi, id est dormit in Capitolio, ut responsa possit accipere" (Servius supra Virgilium.) But even before the introduction of foreign deities, magic was cultivated at the building of Rome by Numa. He is said by magical practices to have brought down Jupiter from heaven, that he might reveal by divine inspiration in what manner the religious service and the sacred rites should be established (Livy, i. 20). The same thing is related by others in different ways. Plutarch, in Numa, says, for example, that at the same time came Launus and Picus, men celebrated for their magic, science, and sorcery, to Italy, and were kindly received by Numa. In the manner of Proteus, they could change themselves into different shapes, could compel Jupiter from heaven, and present him before Numa, so that he learned from him the art of performing miracles.

It is known, too, that the ancient Etruscans, and also the Sabines, had a kind of sacrificial rite by which they could avert storms and receive prophetic visions. The Etruscans attributed to certain words and voices the power of enabling them to avert all kinds of evils. They were

accustomed to inscribe Etruscan words on the door-posts, to check and extinguish the outbreak of fire (Festus de verborum significatione, "arse, verre").

The Marsi were, according to Pliny, very skilful in the arts of sorcery, from the most ancient times. They enchanted poisonous serpents, and drew them by their songs from their nocturnal rest. We find also in ancient Rome what we find everywhere and among all people, namely, somnambulic phenomena, elicited in different modes, and magical practices to defend themselves from evil, the nature of which were unknown to men in their rude infancy, whence they were attributed to higher beings, and to which, by degrees, fables of the most absurd kinds were knit up. The Græco-Egyptian medical science, transplanted to Rome, and modified according to the national genius of the Romans, contains peculiarities which are no longer new to us, but which in many respects are remarkable.

Podalirius, the son of Æsculapius, was very early worshipped by the Daunians as a helper in diseases. "They wash themselves in the river Althänus, and, sleeping on rocks, hear the true oracles of the god of medicine." Podalirius, expelled by the burning of Troy to the Ausonian coast, in the territory of the Daunians, continued to practise the healing art, which he had learned from his father. And Strabo says (Strabo, lib. vi.), "In the land of the Daunians of that time the tomb of Podalirius remains, at a hundred stadia from the sea. The water of the river Althänus heals all diseases of cattle. Others also say that to Kalchas, the seer mentioned in the Iliad, a temple was dedicated in Daunia, a province of Italy, where he answered dreamers, and where the inquirers laid themselves down on the skin of a sacrificial wether, in order to obtain prophetic inspirations" (Wolf's Miscellaneous Writings and Essays).

In a similar manner the subjects of King Latinus inquired of the oracle of Faunus:—

"In the Albun abyss, which pours to the nymphs of the woods
Loudly its waters, and breathes up its vapours mephitic,
He who, blessed by the priests, and sleeping on skin of the wether,
Sees hovering around him visions and forms of high wonder;
Hears marvellous sounds, and holds with the gods everlasting
Lofty discourse, and to Acheron calls in Avernus."

In the following war of the Rutuli about Trona, the venerable priest Umbro was the only physician amongst the Marubii. He was accustomed to cast into sleep the hordes of adders and the pestilent-breathing Hydra, through magic song and stroking. When at length Æneas himself was wounded, Japys sought to heal him. Apollo had offered him, out of fervent love, his own offices,—divination by birds, the lyre, and the arrows. But he preferred—

> "The virtue of herbs, and the genial methods of healing,
> And the practice of science secure, of glory regardless."

And in consequence the Romans always acknowledged the Etruscans as their teachers in the divine arts of healing and of vaticination, and the interpretation of prognostications was their especial business. For this purpose, twelve Roman youths of the most distinguished families were committed to the care of the Etruscans to be instructed in the mysteries of soothsaying. The inspection of birds was particularly in use in the time of the Romans, and Numa established a College of Augurs, and these in the earliest periods were the physicians of Rome.

One of the oldest practices in Rome, by which it was attempted to avert the wrath of the gods and to dissipate diseases, says Sprengel (i. p. 230), consisted in consulting the oracle in the Sibylline books. But, in fact, the Sibylline books were only resorted to in the later ages; in the earliest time the Sibyl herself was applied to, not only in diseases, but in the affairs of state, and in important circumstances of life. In general the name of the Sibyl is not even named; only occasionally an historical inquirer has discovered anything actual concerning her; as an extraordinary apparition, he has deigned her more or less attention, and, according to his judgment, has placed her in the realm of folly, or, but very rarely indeed, amongst well-attested truths. For the history of magnetism there is nothing more requisite in antiquity than a complete history of the Sibyls, which really affords the same testimonies as the oracles, that we may discover magnetism in all ages and in all countries of the world; not, indeed, under its present name, but under the veil of a mysterious science. If we attempt, however, to extract the entire history of magnetism out of the popular

books written upon the subject, we shall find ourselves deceived. For this purpose a most laborious research is necessary. Many things in the history of the Sibyls, and particularly *à propos* to our object, are to be found in the "Bibliothèque du Magnétisme animal, T. II." pp. 154 and 242. I have pursued this inquiry to a voluminous extent, and will here present a condensed summary of what I have discovered.

THE SIBYLS.

By a Sibyl was understood an oracular woman, who, informed by the divine spirit, foretold future events (Petri Petiti de Sibylla, libri tres). "Sibylla est puella, cujus pectus numen recipit." The word is composed out of σίος, God, according to the Æolian dialect, and βουλὴ, the counsel (Diodorus Sicculus et Origenes)—therefore, God's counsel. According to others it may be derived from σίω, to agitate violently (agito), and βύλλος, full,—that is, full of violent agitation during prophecy (Dissert. sur les Oracles des Sibylles, par G. Crasset, Paris, 1678); because she was generally in a state of violent agitation while she prognosticated. Men have never from that time been able to come to a clear agreement as to the number and age of the Sibyls, their real country, and the period in which they lived. Scarcely any single author can be found who agrees with another on this head. This sufficiently shows that they had no clear idea of the nature of the spirit which inspired these women or maidens.

Some authors name one; others two, three, or four; others ten Sibyls. Varro (lib. ix. ad C. Cæsar.), whom St. Augustine styles the most learned and eloquent man amongst the heathen, speaks of ten. With him agree Lactantius (De falsa religione, c. 6) and the greater part of the fathers. Ælian (Ælian, ποικίλης ἱστορίας, lib. xii. c. 35) speaks of four; Solinus three. Pliny also speaks of three, whose statues were to be found in the Capitol in Rome. The three of Solinus are the Delphic, the Erythräic, and the Cumanian. Diodorus of Sicily speaks only of one, whom he calls Daphne. Others call her Mantho, a daughter of Tiresias, who was

sent in a sack from Thebes through the Epigonians to Delphi, seven hundred and twenty years before the destruction of Troy (Crasset, l. c.) Plato, in Phædro, speaks also of one (καὶ ἐὰν ἐή λεγωμεν Σεβύλλαν). And Cicero speaks only of one, both in his work on the Nature of the Gods and on Soothsaying. Plutarch speaks frequently in the plural number, but distinguishes Sibyls from the prophetic women.

The dispute about the number of the Sibyls may, however, be decided in the following manner. There is only one prophecy according to nature, one illumination, one counsel of God, but many prophets. There may be many enlightened, though there be only one sunshine, the rays of which produce various effects on various things. The number of soothsayers cannot be, however, by any means determined. Two, three, or ten Sibyls admitted, are much too few: thus far the describers of the Sibyls have all been wrong. But if they speak only of the number of the Sibyls known to them and their cotemporaries, they may all be right. So, for example, Martian Capella heard only of two, Solin of three, but Varro of ten. The nature of the thing itself they did not understand, and could not, therefore, perceive that soothsaying and soothsayers were different, as Petitus had already perceived, when he said—"The spirit of prophecy, like the counsel of God, is only one, but may be exercised by many: many may become celebrated through it." Also, in respect to the period, no time is given,—it has always been as the light has ever been. The early age of fable needs, therefore, little defence, as the refuge and the bugbear of confusion and lies. Moreover, we have only one clairvoyance, one inward illumination of the ruling spirit, but many clairvoyants.

If I now enumerate the Sybils mentioned by Varro, their names, and the countries where they more particularly exercised their powers, will become apparent, as well as which of them was the most remarkable.

The first is the Persian or Chaldæan. She is said to have been the most ancient, and to have written four-and-twenty books, in which the future, and the birth of Christ, his sufferings, his death, and resurrection, were proclaimed with the most perfect accuracy (Crasset, l. c.) The second was

the Lybian Sibyl; the third the Delphic, or the Daphne of Diodorus, of whom Homer sings, and to whom the most celebrated oracular sayings of Delphi are attributed. It is clear from this, that many women succeeding each other in the service of the gods, bore the same name; from which circumstance, those who were ignorant of this attributed the age of many to that of one. The fourth, and one of the most celebrated, was the Cumæan Sibyl, who, born in the district of Troy, is said to have gone to Italy, and was held in especial honour by the Romans, because, according to their belief, she foretold the whole destiny of their commonwealth (Plinius, lib. xxxiv. c. 5). Before the arrival of the Cumæan Sibyl in Italy, the people had particularly admired Carmenta, the mother of Evander, for her powers of vatication (Plin. lib. i.) "Carmenta, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum miratæ hac gentes fuerant." Thence the proverb has arisen, when any one speaks of hidden things, "He has spoken with the mother of Evander." Of this Cumæan Sibyl many things are related. Nævius, in his War of Africa, and Piso in his Annals, relate many things of her; and Virgil the poet has given a circumstantial account of this Sibyl. She delivered her oracles before Æneas landed in Italy, being said to dwell in a deep cave in the vicinity of the Avernian lake. She was called a maiden and the priestess of Apollo. She wrote her answers on palm leaves, and laid them in the entrance of the cave, whence they were carried by the winds into the distance. But when she gave her answers orally, she was in the highest state of agitation. Virgil describes this agitated condition in a masterly manner, as you not seldom see it in the crises of the magnetic sleep. "She changes her features and the colour of her countenance," says Virgil (Æneid. lib. vi. v. 45, et seq. "Her hair erects itself; her bosom heaves full and panting; and her wild heart beats violently. Her lips foam, and her voice is terrible. As if beside herself, she paces to and fro in her cave, and gesticulates as if she would expel the god out of her breast."

This is the Corybantism which the Greeks, too, describe; the raving divination (divinatio per furorem) which, in attacks of cramp, and especially of hysteric women, is not a very rare occurrence; therefore Aristotle, and many others, styled divi-

nation a peculiar characteristic of the hypochondriacal. The Sibyl speaks of herself thus :—"I am entirely on the stretch, and my body is stupefied, so that I do not know what I say; but God commands me to speak: why must I publish this song to every one? And when my spirit rests after the divine hymn, God commands me to vaticinate afresh. I know the number of the grains of sand, and the measure of the sun, and the height of the earth, and the number of men, of the stars, and of the trees, and of the beasts," &c. (Traité de la créance des pères à l'occasion de l'esprit attribué aux Sibylles, par David Blondel, Charenton, 1652, p. 25, 64, &c.; or in the eighth book of the Sibyl, p. 13.) According to Plutarch, she foretold the eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ, and in which Pliny the naturalist himself is said to have met with his death (Plut. lib. cur nam Pythia non amplius reddat oracula.)

"Was not that last event," he says, "of Cumæa proclaimed by the Sibyl long beforehand? I speak of that fiery eruption of the mountain, of that swelling of the sea, of that throwing up of burning rocks, and wind, by which so many cities were destroyed, so that no wanderer has again met with a trace of them." The Cumæan Sibyl was called Herophile and Amalthea, and, on account of these different names, Varro has styled her the seventh. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solin, and Pliny, relate many wonders of her. Her books were the most trustworthy, and were always preserved by the Romans with the greatest respect.

The fifth and also very celebrated Sibyl was the Erythräic, which some regard as the Persian. She announced long beforehand to the Lesbians that they should lose the sovereignty of the sea; and she is said to have positively foretold the burning of Troy.

The sixth is the Samian, of whom Eratosthenes speaks. The seventh, according to Varro, the Herophile. The eighth was the Sibyl of the Hellespont, who prophesied, according to Heraclides, in the days of Solon and Cyrus. The ninth the Phrygian, who is probably the same as the Cumæan. The tenth the Tiburtina, who resided by the Tiber, and was honoured as a goddess. Long after her death, her statue was found, with a book in her hand, and it was placed in the

temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by order of the senate (Poisardus de Sibyllis, p. 275.)

From these Sibyls proceed the Sibyllinic Books, which were consulted in later times, not only in sickness but in affairs of state, and which were regarded in Rome as the keepers of human destinies, and honoured accordingly. Their origin is as wholly unknown as the history of the oracles. Their number was great, but at the same time uncertain, since only one, the Erythräic, signed her books with her name. They are, moreover, of two kinds,—namely, the books of the elder Sibyls, that is, of the Grecian and earlier Roman times; and the later, which are said to be much falsified and full of interpolations. Of the latter there are said yet to remain eight books in the Greek and Latin languages. Those which were preserved in Rome were a collection of various Sibyls and oracles, whch had been brought together from different places and times, since, according to Lactantius (Divin. instit. lib. i. c. 6) every Sibyl had her own book; or if she had it not, yet her vaticinations were taken down by others who surrounded and counselled with her. These books contained, for the most part, in the most mysterious language and symbolic phrases—sometimes, however, in words as clear—the unfoldings of the future. At first they were permitted only to be read by descendants of Apollo, but later by the priests, until certain persons were appointed in Rome to take charge of them, and in cases of difficulty to answer inquiries from them.

The history of the manner in which these books came to Rome, and what was their fortune there, is as follows:—A little, old, and unknown woman came to Tarquin, the king, at Rome, with a number of books. According to some writers she had nine of them; according to Pliny only three. It was believed that this ancient matron was the Cumæan Sibyl herself, and that she offered them to the king for three hundred gold pieces. The king laughed at so high a price; but the old woman threw three of them into the fire, and then asked whether the king would give the same price for the remaining six. The king thought she was mad. She immediately threw three more into the fire, and asked him, for the last time, whether he would yet give the same price for the remaining three. Tarquin was startled at this strange

firmness, and gave her the price. The woman vanished, and was never seen again. The king now committed these three books to two men (duumviris) for their careful preservation and consultation, by which Rome was so often afterwards helped in her need, and had not unfrequently her fortunes stated beforehand. Two hundred and thirteen years afterwards, ten more were appointed to their guardianship (decemviri). Sulla added five more (quindecimviri). These watched the books, and gave no answers out of them except on command of the senate, which only happened on the appearance of extraordinary prodigies, on the occurrence of some public misfortune, or when affairs of extreme importance were in agitation.

According to the historians Livy, Suetonius, and Tacitus, these books were preserved in the capitol, which, however, was soon afterwards burnt down. But the books were saved, and carried to the temple of Apollo Palatinus, which also was afterwards burnt down. The books of the Cumæan Sibyl were preserved in profound secresy, and these, they say, were by no means burnt, being kept in a stone chest which was buried in the earth. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Antiq. Rom. i. 4) says: "These books remained uninjured in a subterranean cave of the capitol in a stone chest till the Marsian war. After they, in whatever manner it might be, were lost or destroyed, Augustus sent three ambassadors, P. Gabinus, M. Otacillius, and L. Valerius, to Asia, Africa, and Italy, but especially to the Erythræan Sibyl, to collect everything which could possibly be obtained of the Sibylline oracles, for they valued them as the Palladium of the empire.

From this it may have proceeded that the books became much enlarged, and probably very full of false interpolations. Their number, according to Tacitus and Suetonius, was so great, and their contents so falsified, that Augustus is said to have burnt about two thousand of them, and only, after a close investigation, retained eight of the smallest. According to others, the collection of Augustus was itself burnt under Julian. In the meantime, it appears, from a careful inquiry, that the Cumæan books were not lost under Augustus; since in the first place they are said to have been in many hands, as Varro testifies; and secondly, as they

were rescued in good time at the burning of the temple Apollo Palatinus. Flavius Vopiscus (in Aureliano, lib. xxiii.) says:—"If there had not been timely assistance at the fire, the Cumæan books would have perished. Augustus is said to have ordered these books to be transcribed, because the characters in which they were written could not be read without difficulty ("jussu Augusti transcripti a pontificibus quia characteres exsolescebant.") According to the inquiries of Crasset, they were first burnt after the time of Constantine the Great in the year 339 A.D. by one Stilikon, who introduced the Goths into the country, and destroyed the Sibylline books beforehand, that no aid might be obtained from them.

The abodes of the Sibyls were for the most part remote and quiet places, especially caves, as was the case with the Oracles in Greece; and in Bœotia, which abounded with such caves and dens, according to Plutarch, the chief oracles were found. Near Cumæ, the whole country was volcanic; steaming water, and vapour of sulphur, made them often inaccessible to the wanderer. The vapours ascending from the Grotto del Cane and the Avernian Lake were of so fatal a nature that even birds approaching fell dead out of the air. "If it were now the question, as it frequently has been, whether the whole story of the Sibyls and Oracles is not fabulous, it may be answered that there is no subject on the truth of which the testimony of all historians, poets, and philosophers, is so completely agreed. For the rest, the Sibyls, like the Oracles and our mesmeric sleepers, made known their visions, now in metaphors and hints, now by writing and words, for they prophesied, says Servius (Servius ad Maronis verba: Tribus modis futura prædicit, aut voce, aut scriptura, aut signis, horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit obscuris vera involvens—Maro.)"

Besides the philosophers and historians, Grecian and Roman,—as Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Ælian, Pausanias, Apollodorus, Lucian, Homer, Aristides, Plutarch, Varro, Cicero, Diodorus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Livy, Florus, Valerius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, etc.,—they are the Fathers of the Church who most eminently maintained the truth of the Oracles and the

testimony of the Sibyls. The holy fathers have often not only brought forward the evidence of the Oracles to convince the unbelieving, because these, ages beforehand, announced the advent of Christ. The Sibyls were to the heathens what the prophets were to the Jews. Their books contained especially the mysteries of religion, on which account they were strictly forbidden by the Emperors, in the first ages of Christianity, to be read. St. Justin complains loudly against this prohibition, in his defence, since he produced the oracles to confound the incredulous. As the early Christians disregarded this prohibition, and only the more addicted themselves to the reading of them, they were, therefore, denominated Sibyllines (Origenes contra Celsum, lib. vii.)

Amongst the Fathers of the Church who most celebrated the oracles stand pre-eminent the Pope Clemens, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Eusebius, Lactantius, Clemens of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and Isidor of Seville, who all supported the truth of Christianity by the evidence of the Sibyls. One remarkable place is found in Justin (Admonitorum ad Græcos) which describes admirably the somnambulic condition of Sibyls:—"Res multas et magnas recte et vere dicunt, nihil eorum, quæ dicunt, intelligentes. Sibyllæ enim haudquaquam sicuti poetis etiam postquam poemata scripsere, facultas fuit, corrigendi atque expolienda responsa sua, sed in ipso afflatus tempore sortes illæ suas explebat et evanescente instinctu ipso simul quoque dictorum memoria evanuit."

Onuphrius, who wrote a book, also spoke of them in a later century, as did also Sextus of Sienna, P. Canisius, Salmeron, and others. How generally received and sacred with them was the voice of the Sibyls, is still attested to us in the mass for the dead, where it says—"According to the testimony of David and of the Sibyls, the last day of wrath will terminate with fire."

> "Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet seclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla."

That the Oracles in the prophesying also announced the coming of Christ, is proved by many places to be found

scattered through the writers we have mentioned. We will here quote some from both heathens and Christians:—

Cicero, who lived seventy years before Christ, seems to corroborate these prognostications of the coming of Christ by the Sibyls, where he says—"If we attend to the rhymes of the Sibyls, they tell us—'He whom we hold to be the true king, we must also style king, in order to become happy. And if these things are contained in those books, to what man and to what times do they apply?'" (Cicero de divination. lib. ii. c. 110.) Virgil, the prince of poets, forty years before Christ sings (Virgil, Eclog. iv.):—

> "Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto,
> Ultima Cumæi venit carminis ætas,
> Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, etc.
> Tu modo nascenti puero, qui ferrea primùm
> Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> Casta Lucina fave."

That is,—"A new race is sent down to us from heaven, the last of the ages sung by the Cumæan Sibyl, etc. Therefore, chaste Lucina, be gracious to this boy who shall be born, through whom the iron age shall cease, and the golden one shall be brought into the world."

Tacitus (lib. xi.) says—"Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judæa potirentur." Suetonius (in Vespasiano) and Livy were enemies of the Christians; yet they speak of a very ancient prophecy, that a man born in Judæa should become master of the whole world. One of the most furious enemies of the Christians, the Emperor Aurelian, forbade the books of the Sibyls to be read under the severest penalties. But as he did not see his way clear in the Markoman war, he wrote to the senate a letter, in which he said—"I wonder, holy fathers, that it is so long delayed to open the Sibylline books, as if they belonged only to the Church of the Christians, and not to the temple of all the gods."

St. Augustin is probably to be regarded as the most especial defender of the Sibylline books amongst the fathers (De civitate Dei, lib. xviii. c. 23.) In the very commencement of his work he speaks of the Sibyls, and quotes seven-and-twenty verses of the Erythræan Sibyl, which foretold the

coming of Christ, and his sufferings. His words are—"He will fall into the hostile hands of the wicked; with poisonous spittle will they spit upon him; on the sacred back they will strike him; they will crown him with a crown of thorns; they will give him gall for food, and vinegar for drink. The veil of the temple will be rent, and at mid-day there will be a darkness of three hours long. And he will die, repose three days in sleep, and then, in the joyful light, he will come again as the first."

The learned Jesuit Canisius refers to other oracles which had foretold the same, which he says he drew from unprinted manuscripts, which Bethulejus also mentions. Lactantius, also, refers to these prophecies (Divin. institut. lib. i.) "I do not doubt," he says, "that in earlier times the books of the Sibyls were regarded as absurdities, because they were not understood. People called the miracles adventures, of which neither the time, the place, nor the worker, were identified."

What Justin Martyr writes is very remarkable (Justin Martyr adversus gentes oratio, Admonitorum ad Græcos). "It would be easy to determine which is the true religion if people observed what the prophets and the Sibyls have foretold. The Sibyl was born at Babylon, and came thence to Cumæ, where she revealed future things. In the midst of her dwelling are three cisterns hewn in the stone for bathing. The Sibyl, though she speaks great and wonderful things, knows not herself what she says. Especially when she begins to lose the inspiring spirit, she loses at the same time the memory of all that she has foretold. Therefore people are not accustomed to wonder at the deficiencies which are found in the books; the fault lies not in them, but in those who wrote the deliveries down, and who through ignorance did not write them down fully or correctly." Still more important is what he says in his second defence, which he laid before the Emperor Antoninus, and in which he greatly complained that the Christians were forbidden to read the books of the Sibyls. According to Clemens of Alexandria, even the Apostle Paul defended the oracle, which we learn from the inquiries of Crasset (Crasset, l. c. p. 12.) Clemens makes the Apostle speak thus:—"Take the books of the Greeks; behold the Sibyl, how she

maintains the unity of the godhead, and all things which shall come to pass. Take Hystaspes, and read him, and you will see that he speaks clearly and openly of the Son of God." To this place belongs the passage in Plato—"We derive great benefit from that rage which we see in the prophetesses of Delphi and Dodona, when under the divine influence. If, therefore, we were here to relate all that the Sibyls and others have foretold, we should require much time and labour; but these things are so well known to the world, that they require here no further remark." In Varro (Varro de re rustica, lib. i. c. 1.) it is said:—"I will not concede that the Sibyl has not sung what, as well during her life as since her death, has been of so much advantage, whose books we still publicly consult, if we desire to learn what we are to expect from this or that prognostication."

Finally, Constantine the Great gives the highest and most weighty testimony. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that his speech on the Sibyls was read in the first council of the church at Nicäa. He had still the books, and it was not till fifty years after his death that they were burnt (Crasset.) To the literature regarding the Sibyls belong also the following writings:—E. Schmidii Sibyllina, Wittemb. 1618; Gutbier, de Sibyllis ejusque oraculis, 1690; Gaetani, de Sibyllis, 1756; Poseus, Sibyllarum icones. Colon. 1756; Wagneri Inquisitio in oracula Sibyllarum, Tübing. 1664; Koerber, de Sibyllarum libris, Geræ, 1680; Mark, de Sibyllinis carminibus, Francof. 1682; Sibyllina oracula cum commentario Galæi, Amstel. 1689.

THE ORACLES.

It has generally been believed that the Oracles, through the coming of Christ, had lost their voice, and that nothing was ever afterwards to be heard from them. This belief had its foundation in the ignorance of their nature, and in the superstitious notion that the devil through them carried on his evil work. This idea was strengthened by some occasional answers of the Oracles themselves, and, amongst others, Porphyrius received this response—"The voice comes no longer to the priestess; she is condemned to a long

silence." To Augustus, too, who, according to Suidas and Nicephorus, sent to the Oracle to inquire what successor he should have, it was answered—"The Hebrew child, whom all the gods obey, drives me hence."

But the Oracles did not cease with Christ, since they continue still to speak; on the contrary, the clear light was indeed first kindled, and made so strong that no storm or wind has power to extinguish it; while before it only found security in dark caves. We can prove this from the earlier histories. Plutarch, who lived after Christ, says expressly: "The Oracle of Lebadia, that of Trophonius and of Delphi, continue still." In another place he says, "The temple of Delphi is more splendid than ever, all dilapidations are repaired, and new buildings erected, so that the little city of Delphi draws its support from it."

Suetonius, in the Life of Nero, relates that the Oracle of Delphi warned Nero beforehand that he should beware of his three-and-seventieth year. Nero believed, therefore, that he should live to that age, and did not dream of the three-and-seventy years' old Galba, who deprived him of the empire. Philostratus speaks of Apollonius, who lived ninety years after Christ, and who had visited the Oracles of Amphiaraus, of Delphi, and Dodona. Julian sent to Delphi to inquire whether he should undertake the expedition against Persia. Dionysius says that Amphilochus vaticinated in dreams two-hundred-and-fifty years after Christ. Macrobius relates that in the times of Arcadius and Honorius, the god at Heliopolis in Syria, and Fortuna at Antium, still flourished. According to Kinderling on "The Somnambulism of our time compared with the Incubation or the Temple-sleep and Soothsaying of the Ancient Pagans," 1788, the temple-sleep was still in practice in the fifteenth century. The people were so confident of help in the temples that even to have imagined themselves in a temple in a dream was considered a sign of convalescence. The Greeks yet fast on certain days, in order more surely to obtain dreams. But with Constantine the temple establishments entirely ceased, as he forbade all offerings most strictly, as Cæsar already had pronounced sentence of death on all pagan soothsayers.

High as stood the reputation of the Sibyls amongst the

Romans, still higher were the Oracles esteemed amongst the Greeks; yes, even the expounders of the Sibylline books sometimes referred directly to the Oracles as to a higher authority. Apollo was very early paid divine honours by the Romans. The Consul Brutus sent to Delphi to seek counsel on account of the evil auguries which created such anxiety in Rome; and about 461 years before Christ a temple was built to Apollo, and the Vestal virgins were appointed to the service of it. Not long afterwards Æsculapius was not less honoured here than in Epidaurus, having come in this manner to Rome. In a very fatal sickness amongst the people, the Sibylline books were opened, and the interpreters themselves counselled that a deputation should go to Æsculapius to seek his advice. Quintus Apulinus was therefore sent thither the next year. When he had delivered his message, instead of an answer, a serpent rolled itself, to the admiration of all, out of the temple, down to the shore, sprang into the ship, and laid itself down quietly in the cabin of the ambassador.

According to Ovid (Metamorph. lib. xv. v. 622) the ambassador received through a dream the revelation that Æsculapius would change himself into a serpent. Some of the Asclepiads immediately accompanied him, to make the Romans acquainted with the service of the god. When the anchor was cast at the mouth of the Tiber, the snake sprang upon the Tiber island, and laid himself quickly down. This was a sign to them that the god must here be honoured. A temple, therefore, was built on the spot, and the worship established on the same plan as at Epidaurus. Under the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the temple of Æsculapius was so much frequented, and so celebrated on account of the cures done, that masters sent their slaves thither to be healed; and by a decree of the emperor all so healed became free (Sueton. in Claud.) Petronus also corroborates this statement by the assertion that in Nero's time these consultations in the temple were very common; and Pliny gives some of the curative means recommended; amongst others, the roots of the wood-rose against the bite of venomous creatures. Others are to be found in the pages of Ælian and Galen. The Egyptian Serapis had also a high reputation amongst the Romans; and a separate

temple was soon afterwards built by Junius Bubulcus to Hygeia. In consequence she became honoured as the goddess of health (dea salus), and was generally represented with a serpent, and with a sacrificial cup in her hand. Isis had a temple in the field of Mars, which was again destroyed fifty years before Christ. Minerva was worshipped by the Romans under the name of the prophetess (fatidica medica). Mercury and Hercules, according to Livy, were also honoured as medical divinities. Lucina was held in high veneration by the women, as the goddess of birth.

Much might be said on the magic of the Romans which would agree with the modes of magnetic treatment, or still more with the means of conducting the magnetic fluid, if we had not already repeatedly pointed out the resemblance. In no country was it carried to so high a pitch of superstition—yea, of madness and of abuse—as amongst the Romans. Frequently the commands of the senate and the sternest imperial prohibitions were totally unavailing to check the horrible abuses and corruptions resulting from its practice. So early as under the consulate of Lucius Æmilius Paulus many magicians were expelled from Rome. The severe prohibitions of Julius Cæsar and the Emperor Constantine are well known. Under the government of Marcus the greater part of the magical books were destroyed by a legal order.

But there have been many zealous defenders of magic, who have brought forward such means of cure, the number and peculiar properties of which it would carry us too far to enumerate;—amongst others, Asclepiades, who lived in the time of Pompey the Great, and cured many severe diseases by the magical art. To cure the falling sickness, he caused the patient to bind upon his arm a cross with a nail driven into it. Xenocrates is known as a magician, as well as Basilides and Karpocrates, and their disciples. Julianus, the necromancer (Theurgus), won the highest reputation, and is said even to have driven the plague out of Rome by magical power. Equally celebrated was Apuleius, a Platonic philosopher, who wrote much that is interesting on magic. Amongst the physicians there were many who successfully exercised this means. Serenus Samonicus cured ague, by hanging bones round the neck, in

a very short time, and attributed great power to amulets and to certain words, as we learn by his Abracadabra. Marcellus the empiric, Ætius, and Alexander Trallian, have, as defenders of magic, both used and described such means. Several of the emperors, moreover, threw themselves into the lists of the champions of magic; amongst whom the most eminent were Antonine, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus. Under the elder Tarquin, Attius Nævius was well known as a very remarkable clairvoyant, who in his soothsayings even revealed to the king his thoughts, and gained such a reputation that the Romans erected a statue to him. We perceive here and there, moreover, clear traces of a magnetic manipulation resembling our own, by passes with the hands, etc. "Unquestionably," says Kluge, "is the manipulation with strong contact, rubbing and stroking with the hands, which according to him was borrowed principally from the Sclaves, or shampooing, the oldest and most general of all manipulations" (Description of Animal Magnetism, pp. 403 and 404). Seneca (Epist. 66) says, "Shall I deem Mucius happy, who handles fire, as if he had lent his hand to the magical performer?" And the poet Martial sings (Martial, iii. Epigr. 82):—

> "Percurrit agile corpus arte tractatrix,
> Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris."

In Plautus it is said:—"How if I stroke him slowly with the hand, so that he sleeps?" (Plautus in Amphitryo). It has not been well understood what this touching by passes really meant. Here I find more than I sought. It is said, "with a soft and uplifted hand" (Basilii Fabri Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticæ, t. ii. p. 25, 38).

As to what relates to the curative means employed by the Oracles in different cases of illness, there are sufficiently detailed accounts to inform us that they used many—inscribed them on sacred tables—represented them by pictures, and often engraved their uses and benefits on pillars. To produce metamorphoses, they had various magical means, such as are mentioned by Homer—*φάρμακα λυγρὰ; πανφάρμακος*—and which Circe, to effect metamorphoses, mixed together, and touched with her magic wand. We

should probably know more if we had the writings of Antipater, Demetrius Phalareus, Artemon, Milet, Nicostratus, and Geminus of Tyre, etc.; still there is here and there a trace to be found; and probably the curative means of Hippocrates were chiefly such temple formulæ as he had collected from the sacred tables.

Pliny and Galen also have made some of these known. According to the first, amongst others, the roots of the wild rose were recommended by the Oracle against the bite of a mad dog (Pliny, H. N. lib. xxv. c. 3); according to the latter, the root of the dittany was particularly recommended by the Oracle of Phthas. The magnetic passes for the healing of sickness were not unusual in the times of the Romans. King Pyrrhus cured the spleen by a touch of the foot; and it was believed that in the great toe of the right foot resided a divine power. The Emperor Hadrian cured blindness merely by touching, and was cured himself of a violent fever by a similar touch (Ælius Spartian. vita Hadrian.) In the same manner Vespasian cured blindness and lameness.

Of the inscriptions themselves on the pillars, very little is known to us. In the time of Pausanias there yet remained, as I have already shown, six such inscriptions in the temple of Epidaurus, and these inscriptions were composed in the Doric dialect (Pausan. lib. ii. c. 27; Strabo, lib. viii.) In modern times there have been, on the Tiber island at Rome, a marble tablet with four different inscriptions from the temple of Æsculapius dug up, all referring to magnetical modes of treatment. They were first published by Mercurialis in his work, "De arte gymnastica;" and Gruter has given us a copy of them. Fabret, Tomasius, Hundertmark, Sprengel, and Wolf, have communicated them. The inscriptions collected by Gruter from various Roman monumental stones all say:—Visu monitus; ex visu positus; in somno admonitus, etc. Marc. Antoninus thanks the gods for the means revealed in sleep which healed him. Such monuments were also dedicated to Serapis. Many such inscriptions are to be found in the "Bibliothèque du Magnétisme animal, par MM. les Membres de la Société du Magnétisme," tom. vi. vii. and especially viii. 1819.

The inscriptions on what were called the mosaic tables

were as follows:—1st. "In the days which are past, one Caius who was blind received the Oracle, that he should approach the sacred altar; go from the right to the left; lay the five fingers of the hand on the altar, and then hold the hand on his eyes. And behold! the blind man received sight in the presence of the applauding people, who rejoiced that so splendid a miracle should still take place in the days of the Emperor Antonine."

2nd. "The god commanded the son of Lucius, who suffered under a stitch in the side without intermission, by a nocturnal apparition, that he should come and take ashes from the altar, mix these with wine, and lay them on the ailing side. And he was cured, and thanked the god publicly before all the people, who wished him happiness."

3rd. "Julian, who spat blood, and was given over by every one, received from the god an answer, that he should come and take from the altar the seeds of the fir-tree, and take these for three days mixed with honey. And the man became sound, and thanked the god before all the people."

4th. "Valerius Apex, a blind soldier, received an answer from the god that he should mix the blood of a white cock with milk, and bathe his eyes with it for three days. And behold! he received his sight, and thanked the god publicly."

In the sentences of Solon which Stobæus has collected, according to the edition of the Greek Gnomic, Von Brunk, Strasburg, 1784; of Solon, Fragment v. B. 56—62, it says:—

> "Great suffering often from trivial cause has arisen,
> And vainly the means of assuagement been sought for:
> Yet, bitterly tortured with heavy and racking disorder,
> Touched by the hand, the man has been suddenly healèd."

Brunk himself attributed this to the magnetism of life.

Another place in Apuleius is also frequently quoted, which says:—"Quin et illud mecum repeto; posse animum humanum, et puerilem præsertim simplicemque, seu carminum avocaminto, seu odorum delineamento soporari et ad oblivionem præsentium externari, et paulisper remota corporis memoria redigi ac redire ad naturam suam, quæ est immortalis scilicet et divina, atque ita veluti quodam sopore, futura rerum præsagire."

As to what regards the theory of magnetism amongst the

Romans, we may pass that over, as all their science was derived from the Greeks, and they were therefore, more or less, imitators of that people, but did not by any means equal them in it; though Cicero endeavoured zealously to prove that his countrymen far exceeded all others in learning (Cicero de oratore, lib. i. sect. 15). "Ingenia nostrorum hominum multum cæteris hominibus omnium gentium præstiterunt." (Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. c. 1):—"Sed meum judicium semper fuit, omnia nostros aut invenisse per se sapientius, quam Græcos, aut accepta ab illis fecisse meliora," etc. At the same time, I have already given the views of Cicero in a former section on soothsaying, and that fully, from which we may understand both his own opinions and those of many others which he has brought together in a very masterly manner. As respects the opinions of later Italian magicians, there are in their very diffuse writings grains of genuine gold buried in the heaps of dross, but more especially in the long dream-stories of apparitions, mixed with much superstition; and their doctrines are, more or less, of modern Platonic origin.

How greatly the practice of conjuration was exercised amongst the Romans, Pliny, amid various other instances, gives us abundant evidence in his Natural History (xxx. 1, etc.) He complains, however, greatly of the foreign gods; that is, of invoking foreign divinities with native ceremonies, as he instances in the case of the Druids in Britain,—"vatum medicorumque genus." The arts of necromancy were by no means practised so secretly in Rome as in Greece; but they fell into far greater misuse and excess in Rome, though they were often most strictly forbidden. "Cum multa sacra susciperent Romani, magica semper damnarunt," says Servius. Divination by fruits was already forbidden by the twelve tables (Pliny, xxviii. 2). As something similar, the Bacchanalian orgies were prohibited in 568, and human sacrifices in 657; as Pliny says (xxx. 1): "Palamque in tempus illud sacra prodigiosa celebrata." Sully condemned to death all "qui susurris magicis hominem occiderint, qui mala sacrificia fecerint vel habuerint, venenaque amatoria habuerint." Valerius Maximus (i. 3) relates that it was forbidden to enquire of the "sortes fortunæ" at Præneste. In the meantime, by the pressing in of foreign

divinities a multitude of necromantic arts in Rome, the resolve to drive out these was taken along with the prohibition of the strange deities. "Profani ritus; superstitionis externæ rea; divi sacrum ritus; actum est de sacris Ægyptiis Judæisque pellendis," etc. says Tacitus.

Necromancy was, however, so prevalent that it was classed with treason and other offences, and especially with the mixing of poisons. "Proinde ita persuasum sit intestabilem, irritam, inanam esse, habentem tamen quasdam veritatis umbras, sed in his veneficas artes pollere, non magicas" (Pliny, xxx. 2). But all the prohibitions and the punishments were unable to suppress either the thing or the belief in it, and the soothsaying of the Chaldæans and the Egyptians continued in vogue. Thus Agrippina inquired of the Chaldæans (the soothsayers) as to the future fortunes of Nero. The evil of the times, the corruption of morals, and the decline of faith in the native gods, were not without a great influence in the matter; and the natural disposition, "e cœlo futura et verissima," to learn, displayed itself, according to Pliny, all the stronger. The black magic became eventually the affair of the common people; and magic had that singular fate that it was diffused by soothsayers and old women—"cantatrices aniculæ;" and amongst the upper classes it was cherished, though a misunderstood new-Pythagorean and new-Platonic philosophy, and acquired such force that it was used as a weapon against Christianity, which its enemies were not able to combat with the power of the Olympian gods. On the other hand, it was by no means denied by the Christians, as they regarded the magical reign produced by the Chaldæans as the "legio fulminatrix" of the devil. The art of necromancy soon, therefore, stood no longer in opposition to the Græco-Roman religion, but united itself with these in a new alliance to weaken the credibility of the miracles of Christianity.

As, therefore, the miracles, as we have already seen, were imitated by the heathen, especially within the province of natural history, and as the powers of nature may be wielded by a scientific hand in a manner which is unknown to the majority of the world, it is plain that the heathen were able in part to produce like wonders, but in part sought

behind these the original divine principle. Now the knowledge of the secret powers of nature conducts farther and more securely to a reverence and firm faith in the true Creator, than ignorance and a terror of the same, which only lead to superstition and perdition. Therefore we find amongst the more intelligent heathen, not merely ideal performances in art and science— not merely a moral course of life serving for an example, but also a religious revelation, with a genuine love of our neighbour, which probably would put to shame the majority of Christians. But wherever ignorant and mistaken longings to practise secret arts and perform miracles exist, there the inquisitive and incautious experiment avenges itself; and this is ascribed to the imaginary ruling divinity of the place.

A very remarkable example of this kind is related by Livy (i. c. 31). Tullus Hostilius read in the books of Numa of the mysterious art, in order, most probably, to produce an electrical fire, of which more will be said presently. But as he did not understand the matter thoroughly, and went awkwardly to work with it, the fire was indeed kindled, but destroyed him together with his house. Jupiter, in whose myth that electric fire was symbolised, was thus the god of the land who punished the criminal daring of the unconsecrated.

Before we explore the hitherto unsuspected traces of magic in the Mythology, we will cast a glance at the new-Platonic school of Alexandria, which, for the history of magic and the doctrine of magnetism, is too important to be passed over. The new-Platonists stood at the point where antiquity and the modern world divide. They stood yet nearer to the mysteries, and knew, in a place like Alexandria, certainly much more of them than people usually imagine. They united the mystic theology of the Egyptians with the philosophy of the Greeks; and the soothsaying character of the Therapeutists is in a most remarkable manner united with philosophical acumen in the new-Platonism. Therefore the new-Platonists became the connecting links of the old pagan views of the world with the new Christian knowledge and faith. Now, no antiquarian has attempted to deny that the knowledge of the mysteries belonged to the theology of the Greeks and Romans.

Hence it comes that the influence of the new-Platonic philosophy in the formation of the theology and philosophy of the middle ages was so predominant; a circumstance which, the closer we look at it, is certainly more important to the progressive improvement of the race than the so-called mystical enthusiasm, which has only diffused nonsense and superstition.

The coming together of the Jews who had returned from Asia with Zoroastic ideas, and of the Greek philosophers and Egyptian mystics at Alexandria, the point of union between the east and the west, of the spiritual and temporal life and traffic of the time, soon after the commencement of the Christian era, originated that remarkable school in which at once all the tendencies of the Greek philosophy with the doctrines of the orientals, of the Jewish Kabbalah with the reflections and speculations of the later occidentalists, amalgamated. The new-Platonism sought to present the elements of theosophy and philosophy according to the primeval doctrines of the oriental prophets, in combination with the poetical Platonism and the Aristotelian philosophy in the form of Grecian dialectics. The oriental doctrine of emanation, the Pythagorean number of harmony, Plato's ideas on the creation and the separation from the world of sense, constitute the proper fabric of the so-called new-Platonic eclectic school.

In judging of this school we have to distinguish the highest principles of theology and philosophy from the opinions and views on particular circumstances and things in the world of nature and of men. We will here only notice the notions which the new-Platonists had respecting magic,—what they knew, and we may learn something from them. In this department we find much, as well on the nature of ecstasy and its explanation, as that in an historical point of view we obtain guidance and information respecting the ancient mysteries. The amount of these revelations we perceive best when we take in hand the writings of Plotinus, Porphyrius, and Iamblichus. These pre-eminent spirits exerted themselves to defend falling paganism; but their principles came on many sides so near to Christianity, that they unconsciously produced a powerful influence on the advocates of that religion, and on the age; and their views, especially

through Dionysius Areopagita, passed over to the mystics of the middle ages, according to whom contemplation and a predominating quietism were the business of men.

Ammonius Saccas is said to have been the chief founder of this school (220 B.C.) He said that the philosophy which originated amongst the people of the east, which was brought by Hermes to Egypt, and which was darkened and disturbed by the disputations of the Greeks, was restored to its purity by Plato, and that the religion of the people was at the bottom synonymous with this, and only required to be freed from its errors, which Jesus especially, an excellent man and friend of God, had done;—that he had the art to purify the imagination so that it could perceive spirits, and by their help could perform miracles (Brucker, Th. ii. S. 211; Büsching, a. O. S. 475).

The most intellectual of the new-Platonists is Plotinus, who lived in the deepest abstraction, often fasted and fell into ecstasy, in which he immediately perceived the moral condition of every man, and penetrated into the most concealed things. Once, as an humble widow who lived in his house with her children had a valuable necklace stolen, she caused all the inmates to pass in review before Plotinus, who looked sharply at them, and then pointed to one, with the words—"This is the thief;" and the man, after some denial, confessed. Porphyrius, his biographer, also relates of himself that Plotinus once came suddenly to him and said—"Thy intention, O Porphyrius, has not its foundation in the spirit, but proceeds from a bodily ailment;" and he, therefore, advised him to travel to Rome, where, indeed, he was cured.

"Plotinus arrived," says Porphyrius, "in his spiritual illumination (*δαιμονιῳ φωτί*) at the direct view of God, who is supreme over all life and thought; for union with God was the object of all his philosophy and his cogitations. This union takes place through abstract contemplation, since God is not without but within us, not in a place but in the spirit. God is present to all, even to those who do not perceive him; but men fly from him, and go forth out of him, or rather out of themselves. The union with the body is only in part, as when one has his foot in the water, and by elevation of the spiritual centre we unite ourselves with the centre

of the universe. Disembodied things are not separated by space, but by the difference of qualities; if this difference ceases, they are immediately near each other. Now as God is everywhere, we are near him when we resemble him" (Æneid. 6. lib. ix. c. 8.) Men breathe and live through God, not rent away from him, and their choice consists in their inclination towards the divine in opposition to the attraction of the corporeal nature. Through this inclination the soul raises itself into the region where there is no more evil, but peace only, and there receives her true life in her tranquil union with the Eternal, by which beauty, uprightness, and virtue are produced, and the real strength of the spiritual man; for in the perfect union with God the soul looks into herself and into God, glorified and filled with the divine light, without any earthly weight, which only again shows its power by darkening. But why does the soul not continue so? Because she has not yet quitted the earthly, in which she only occasionally reaches the higher vision, by which the gazing spirit is at rest, and stands at once above reason and that which is seen, and the perceiving and the perceived (subjective and objective) are no longer two but one. The soul is, namely, no longer self (purely subjective), but she is different—that, namely, which she beholds; she passes over into the objective as a point brought into contact with another becomes one point and not two (l. c. c. 10.) Therefore this condition is somewhat incomprehensible, because one cannot make that which is seen intelligible to another as different from the seer. Thence came the prohibition concerning the mysteries, not to impart the divine to the uninitiated, because it is essentially unimpartable to him who does not by his own perception participate in it.

In the highest state of contemplation the soul is at perfect rest, disposed to nothing more; transcending the beautiful, and ascending above the choir of the virtues, as one who has entered the holy of holies and has left the statues of the temple behind him, which at his going out again are the first visions that present themselves. These, according to the order, are the second contemplations, which present themselves after the first and innermost contemplation or vision, whose object is without form (objec-

tive). Yet is the vision perhaps not a vision, but another kind of seeing,—a stepping out of one's self, an exaltation and simplifying of one's self, a thought in rest. Plotinus asserts further that the contemplators must approach God and assimilate themselves to him, in order truly to know him. "The eye would never see the sun, if it were not of the nature of the sun—ηλιοειδής."

The workings of nature take place also in opposing beams upon a spiritually wise man (dynamic): namely, out of the eternal light-fountain of God flow unceasing images (powers), shapes, or spirits, like the Idolen of Heraclitus; that we may regard the universe as filled with spirits (Dämonen), and animated by them; and we may compare this to the human body, in which all parts hang together, and stand fast in manifold sympathy. The wise man seeks to discover the harmony of parts, and is not astonished when he finds it the most opposite things; when he finds stars agreeing with plants, and one indicated by the other. There exists but one only power, and this he calls the magical power of nature.

To the community of spirits which surrounds us in manifold forms man can arrive only by withdrawing himself from the outward sensual attractions. Thence such community is obtained in ecstasy, which generally is the work of spirits. Plotinus himself had these spirits completely in his power, and through this he healed the most dangerous diseases, and obtained thus such a reputation that people believed him to possess a demon, by whose aid he foretold future events, and performed superhuman actions. His confidant and scholar, Porphyrius, related extraordinary things of him. He also himself knew his demon, and held familiar conversations with him. Amongst other things, when Æmilius invited him to attend the service of the church, he replied—"The spirits must come to me, not I to the spirits."

By the help of spirits, or through his extraordinary spiritual power, he was able to operate upon his enemies. When a strife arose between him and one Olympius, as to which held the first rank in philosophy, Olympius challenged him to a trial of magical arts. Plotinus let loose upon him all his science, and said to his disciples, "Now the body of Olympius shrinks together like a purse;" which Olympius found, and that so painfully, that he abstained from his hos-

tility, and acknowledged Plotinus to be possessed of the highest spiritual power (Porphyr. vita Plot. c. 10). For the rest, Plotinus based his doctrine on the idea of universal harmony, according to Plato in the Banquet; yet he used certain figures to unite medical science with theosophy, and ascribed an especial power to certain words, as well as to harmonious sounds, which wonderfully expel evil spirits.

Porphyrius, one of the most renowned eclectics, had similar views. "The mind," he said, "must be purified if it is to become participant of the vision of God and his angels. There are good and bad spirits; the good conduct everything to healing, insure our health, and assist us in our business and exertions. The good spirits warn us in dreams of impending dangers, or by some other means" (Porph. de abstinentia, ii.)

That man may unite his soul to God, Porphyrius was firmly pursuaded. "To this end," said he, "there requires no sacrifice, except a perfectly pure mind. Through the highest purity and chastity we shall approach nearer to God, and receive in the contemplation of Him the true knowledge and insight."

Very remarkable is the letter which Porphyrius wrote to Anebo, an Egyptian priest (Porphyrii epistola ad Anebonem Ægyptium, in Iambl. de mysteriis Ægypt. edit. Gale, Oxonii, 1678.) This Anebo was probably the name of Anubis, the son of Osiris, who had a temple and received divine honours. The priest also bore the name of the god. In this letter he puts to Anebo nothing but questions on God, —on the demons, on prayer, on nature, on the signs of separation of the corporeal from the soul. Whether in the apparitions of ecstasy, God, the archangels, and angels speak with us, and as ignorance of divine things is a closed fountain and a defect of piety, how far knowledge or want of knowledge extends. On all these questions he desired from Anebo to learn the truth, and, above all, on the foreknowledge of future things. "In sleep," he says, "we arrive at a knowledge of the future, and that often without any convulsive agitation (sine exstasi tumultuosa), for our body is really in rest. But yet we do not always perceive things so distinctly as when awake.

"Many see future things in an inspiration, or in a divine

transport, and this truly as though they were awake and their senses in activity.

"Of those who fall into a transport, I see some who are especially excited when they hear a song, a cymbal, or a drum; and this is particularly the case with the Corybantes and the frenzied (qui Corybantismo patiuntur, aut Sabazio obtinentur), or the servants of Cybele (aut qui deorum matri operantur). To some this happens when they drink water; for example, to the priests of Apollo at Colophon; to others when they sit at the entrance of a cave, as the utterers of the oracles at Delphi; to others through the rising of steam from water, as the prophetesses at Branchis; to others through certain signs, by which they enter into community with spirits, etc. Others, again, in everything else perfectly self-possessed, are inspired simply by the imagination, and this through the help either of the darkness, or through certain drinks, or through singing, or by leaning on some particular substance, against a wall, or in the open air, or through the influence of the sun, or even of a planet. Others also have prognosticated through birds, entrails," etc.

He inquires farther regarding the arts and occasions of soothsaying, whether gods and spirits actually become the means of it, or whether our own souls vaticinate out of their own strength; whether all this be nothing more than an inward concealed spark, which only requires to be fanned into a flame; or whether soothsaying consists partly of divine inspiration, and partly proceeds from the soul's own power? That the cause lies in the soul itself appears very likely, he continues (l. c. p. 4), since, in some, vapours and incenses, in others prayers and consecrations, are necessary; and to this it must be added that not all vaticinate, but only the younger and more delicate persons. Thus every vaticination proceeds either from a transport, or from diseased confusion of the imagination, or madness (insania), or from too long and much watching, or from an excited imagination during sickness, or, finally, from magic arts. The whole of nature and all parts of the universe have a reciprocating agreement: nature, so to say, is but one animal: therefore nature and all parts of the world communicate their prognostications. To Porphyrius it did not

seem probable that spirits must necessarily be the agents of vaticination, "which may otherwise, and from purely natural causes, take place; for if all nature stands in reciprocating agreement, it requires only that the inner spark be awakened, in order to give a view of the parts of the whole. This is a natural attribute of man, which, however, is only revealed under certain circumstances." Finally, he put to Anebo this question:—"What then do the Egyptians regard as the origin of all things? Then, Whether anything can stand alone, or in connection with another thing, or with many? Whether they have a physical or spiritual idea of things? Whether they deduce all things from one or more causes? Whether the first bodies are endowed with properties or not? And whether they believed matter to be created or uncreated? Whether men have actually a guardian spirit given to them, or more of them; or whether even every part of the body has not such? "For it appears that one guards the health, another beauty; and that over all these individual spirits there stands a general one. Or whether there be one guardian for the body and another for the soul; and that it may happen that one of these be a good spirit and the other a bad one? I suppose that the proper guardian is a part of the soul itself, and that the mind; and that those only are happy who have a wise understanding." "Suspicor autem dæmonem proprium esse quandam animæ partem, videlicet mentem; eumque esse felicem, qui sapientem habeat intellectum" (l. c. p. 1). A short and comprehensive abridgment of this letter may be found in Augustin. de civit. dei, lib. x. c. 2.

All these questions his disciple Iamblichus from Cœle-Syria endeavours to answer in his work on the Mysteries of the Egyptians (Iamblichi Chalcidensis ex Cœlesyria de mysteriis Ægyptiorum). I will here notice some of these answers which the more particularly concern us. This Iamblichus, who was so celebrated for his extraordinary cures and for his learning that Cunapius called him worthy of admiration (θαυμάσιον), and Proclus the divine (θεῖον), answered Porphyrius first (sect. i. cap. 3) on the question concerning the gods, thus:—"The idea of the gods is imprinted on our souls, as well as the belief in spirits which are compre-

hended, not from reason, nor the conclusions of reason, but from a pure and simple conception, which is eternal and contemporary with the soul. He defended demons as mediators between God and men, and which succeed each other in regular ranks, so that those nearest to the gods are ethereal—the demons of air, but the souls more earthy." The more a thing is bound to the body and the corporeal world, the more it is confined to a particular place, the more limited and dependent it is; the more incorporeal it is, and nearer to God, the more unconfined and of universal presence is it (sect. i. c. 8). The prescience of the gods extends over all things, and fills everything which is capable of it, as the sunshine does. As regards dreams and vaticination, Plato, in his idea of genii or spirits, has exactly divined the truth:—"They are they who reveal to us the future." Thus, he is totally opposed to the opinion of Porphyry that it is the natural office of the soul to prophesy. His theory of dreams and of prescience contains much that is curious and beautiful, of which we will hear a little more. "There are good and bad spirits; and according to their character are the vaticinations true or false. Vaticination itself is not the work of nature or of art, but a gift of the divine beneficence. The prophesying conferred on us by the gods takes place in dreams, or in a medium state between sleep and waking, or in a state of full wakefulness. It is often as if we heard voices speaking. Sometimes an invisible spirit hovers over the sleeping one, so that he does not perceive it with the eye, but becomes conscious of it by a particular faculty; and this performs the wonderful service of averting the troubles of the soul and the body. When the dreams sent by God are over, we hear a broken voice, which teaches us what is to be done; often, too, we hear it in a middle condition between sleep and waking. Sometimes there appears a pure and perfectly quiescent light to the soul, during which the eyes remain closed, while the other senses are awake, and comprehend the presence, the speech, and the actions of the gods. But all this is perceived with perfect distinctness when the eye too sees, and the invigorated understanding is at the same time excited with that peculiar faculty. All these circumstances are of divine origin when they contain anything of a prophetic nature,

and are not to be confounded with ordinary sleep; therefore, speak not of sleep in connection with divine dreams."

As many do not deserve these prognostications in divine dreams, or regard them as human things, they have but seldom or never such a knowledge of the future; and therefore they doubt, and this very unjustly, that there may be also truth in dreams (Iamblich. l. c. sect. iii. c. 2).

At the approach of such a divine inspiration in dream, the heart begins to droop, and the eyes involuntarily close, as in the middle state between sleep and waking. In ordinary dreams we sleep fast and perfectly; we cannot with sufficient distinctness determine what is present to our imagination. But when the dream comes from God, then we do not sleep; we perceive perfectly all the circumstances, and that much more so than in a waking state. And on this kind of dream is soothsaying founded. The life of our soul is double: a part adheres to the body and a part dissevers itself from it, and is of a divine nature (altera corpori annexa, altera divina et separabilis).

In the waking state we use almost always only the corporeal soul; in sleep, on the contrary, we are, as it were, released from every bond of the body, and avail ourselves of that circumstance, and of body-detached soul, and then this spiritual or divine part quickly awakes, and acts according to its proper nature. Now since the mind relates to the being, and the soul contains the foundation of all occurrences already in itself, it is no wonder if out of a general occasion the future also is foreseen. But when the soul unites her double nature—that is, the life of the body and of the understanding with the general spirit out of which she is taken—then will she demand a more perfect vaticination: then she becomes filled with all the knowledge of the general universe, so that she also experiences what takes place in the upper world."

"If the soul thus strives to unite herself with the gods, she receives the power and the capacity to know all things —that which has been and which shall be; she illuminates all times, and beholds all things about to take place, regulates them already beforehand, as it seems best, to order, to heal, and to improve. Where there are feeble invalids, she renovates them; if men commit any disorders an crime

she restores all to propriety again. She discovers arts, deals out justice and right, and establishes the order of the laws. Thus are sicknesses healed through divine dreams in the temple of Æsculapius: thus has the art of healing arisen through the observation of the nocturnal apparitions in divine visions. For Æsculapius learnt medicine from his father Apollo through this medium of revelation, by which also the use of poisons in the cure of diseases was introduced. Æsculapius taught the science to his children, and these extended it farther. The whole mighty army of Alexander would have been destroyed if Dionysius had not demonstrated in sleep the means of averting nameless disasters. But," so he ends this chapter, "what avails it to run through all particular instances, as I see every day similar things sufficient to render superfluous all reasoning, by their marvellous appearance? These things are enough to have demonstrated the truth of vaticination through divine dreams,—what it is, whence it comes, and, finally, what advantage it confers on mankind."

As remarkable is what he says in the fourth and fifth chapters:—"The diviner receives from the gods different inspirations. Genuinely divine inspirations they, however, only receive who fully dedicate their lives to the gods, or who have converted their own life into a divine one; who are no longer slaves to their senses—"neque sensuum utuntur officio"—who do not direct their views merely to a selfish end, and who do not voluntarily lay open their knowledge to the day. These no longer lead a mere animal or human life, but a divine one, by which they are inspirited and guided. Sometimes there hovers an invisible, bodiless spirit around these slumberers, who are not informed through the sight, but through another sense and another perception. This spirit approaches with a rushing sound, surrounds them on all sides without touching them, and wonderfully assuages to them the sufferings of the soul and of the body. Sometimes a clear and tranquil light illuminates them, by which the eye is closed and bound; but the other senses are awake, and perceive how the gods walk in the light, and hear what they say, and know what they do. In sleep we are more freed from the fetters of the body, and enjoy the ideas and the knowledge of the spiritual life:

and then awakes the divine and intellectual form of the soul. Then is the soul influenced by the whole of which it is a part, and is filled with wisdom and the true gift of prophecy, that it may be able to comprehend the origin of things."

"There are, however, different kinds of this divine inspiration; therefore the appearances are different. Either God dwells in us himself, or we consecrate ourselves to him wholly. Sometimes we are participant in the highest, the intermediate, and the lowest degree of divine power; sometimes God is revealed in his full presence to us; sometimes it is a union through inspiration. Sometimes the soul only partakes of the inspiration; sometimes the body with it, and so the whole man—"totum animal." According to these differences appear the different signs in the inspired. Some, namely, are agitated through their whole frames; others only in certain limbs; others again remain in perfect rest. Sometimes a well-regulated harmony is perceived—a dance, or an accordant song; sometimes the opposite of these. Sometimes their bodies seem to grow in height, sometimes in breadth; sometimes to hover in the air. Sometimes they perceive a soft, melodious voice; sometimes the greatest variety through pauses, and deeper or higher tones," &c. (sect. iii. c. 4, 5).

We see how Iamblichus knew the condition of the clairvoyant to the very smallest particular, and how correctly he had comprehended and described the different anomalies of this condition. The cause of this he seeks not, however, in the body or in the soul, but in God alone. "It is no transport, but a secret emotion (motus anagocicus). It is a mediation of spirits and a breath of God—enthusiasm. It is divine light and the spirit of God that pervades and enlightens us." (See the Doctrine of the Exegetic Society of Stockholm; the Philosophy of Benathan, etc.) Iamblichus explains the assertion of Porphyry that some directly fall into a transport if they hear a musical instrument:—

"What is usually said of music and its effects, by which our minds are now disturbed, now soothed; by which some are excited to excesses, others to peace and gentleness, and in which different minds are so differently affected—all this appears to me natural, human, and not divine. But the

gods themselves have their own harmony; and when song and music are dedicated to God it then acquires a different relationship: then it is a divine music. Then the gods communicate by their presence; yes, then is the inspiration much more perfect, of a greater power and a more liberal measure: but on that account we cannot assert that the soul before it was united to the body arose out of harmony. We may more reasonably believe that the soul then belonged to the divine harmony; but after she was come into the body, and there hears again the divine tones, she is so affected that she is carried away by them, and drinks in as much of this harmony as she can contain. And in this manner every one may comprehend the origin of this divine prophesying (sect. iii. c. 9).

"For the rest," says Iamblichus, "the power of divining is confined to no spot, as Porphyry appears to suppose when he speaks of water at Colophon, or the subterranean vapours at Delphi, and of the stream of water at Branchis; and if it be nothing corporeal, but free, and unconfined, throws itself into all things which it is capable of pervading, it is everywhere and always present (c. 12).

On divination by signs (per characteres) Iamblichus does not seem to place much reliance. It may sometimes succeed, but not with the precision and certainty as in those cases where it is done to the honour and in the presence of the gods. This is only a superficial divination, full of defect and delusion (fraudibus et errore plena). These make only a feeble impression on the mind, since the presence of God is wanting. They give only half-intelligible signs, because they are disturbed by evil spirits, and are, moreover, weak in themselves. Since as the mist of darkness cannot bear the beams of the sun, flies from them, and returns to nothing, so is it with the power of the gods, which fills and shines through all good, scatters the hosts of the wicked spirits, and chases them to the kingdom of shadows. To become a genuine diviner, much more is necessary; to that end are imperative great holiness, many long exercises of virtue, and the service of God: since what can we expect of good and perfect from those who by the work of a single day attempt to fathom the eternal and veritable nature of God?"

He pursues farther the different modes of divining, as well the natural—by water, by the sun and moon, by music and song—as those artificial ones, by entrails, the flight of birds, and by the stars. He endeavours as much as possible to combine them into an art, but to ascribe the final cause to the gods, which, through certain signs and demons, are wont to speak with men. But that men themselves, or the priests, can be the cause of divining, he regards as a sort of blasphemy against the gods. Without are we incapable of doing anything; for the work of man is a vain thing, and without stability, and, in fact, only a plaything. Neither can the human soul from its own power, as it were from an inward, hidden fire, as Porphyry supposes, be the cause of divination, since this depends wholly upon God, and without him can do nothing. In regard to divination in sleep (per quietem), and through dreams, he attributes this to an external cause, "since as truth sometimes appears voluntary and without constraint, this shows that such a divination may come from an external cause, as well as from the gods; but this is a cause dependent only on itself, and the result lies not in our power (per se existens causa, non in nostra potestate eventus, sect. iii. c. 23). Iamblichus knew, too, that there is in quiet sleep a divination, but that we cannot compel this.

And yet so many believe that we can and may compel somnambulism. I hold with Iamblichus, that we ought to leave the sleepers in quiet, and only so far lead and handle, as this may promote the development of the inward divination. We should take care that the divination should be true, and that it shall, if it will, reveal to us the actual future (quod libera sit divinatio, et quod, quando vult, et quomodo vult, futura nobis revelet, cum benevolentia.)

Sickness and passion cannot be the sources of divination, Iamblichus thinks; as, for instance, how shall a maniac see what the rational cannot see? Yet there may, probably, be some relationship and agreement between them and soothsaying.

"As regards the external means, such as the use of incense, and the like, these have no reference to the soul of the seer (non recipiunt animam spectantis), but to God. Prayer and invocation also concern our minds little, and our

bodies not at all; but these notes are only sung to God. The reason why only certain persons, more particularly the simple and young, are fitted for subjects of divination, arises from the fact that these are more easily affected by the spirits than others."

What Iamblichus, in the remaining chapters of his work, yet more diffusely describes, is chiefly repetition. One thing, however, I cannot resist quoting, and that is, his observation on prayer. We here learn what are the opinions on this head of a heathen philosopher,—and they, in more than one respect, belong to our subject; and we shall see whether there be anything in them which may instruct us:—

"Prayer constitutes a great portion of the sacred service, and confers a universal advantage on religion, by creating an unerring connection between the priests and God. This in itself is praiseworthy and becoming, but it further conducts us to a perfect knowledge of divine things. Thus prayer procures us this knowledge of heavenly things, the union of an indestructible bond between the priests and God; and, thirdly—and which is the most important—that inexpressible devotion which places its whole strength in God alone, imparts to our souls a blessed repose. No act prospers in the service of God where prayer is omitted. The daily repeated prayer nourishes the understanding, and prepares our hearts for sacred things; opens to man the divine, and accustoms him by degrees to the glory of the divine light. It enables us to bear our sufferings and our human weaknesses; attracts our sentiments gradually upwards, and unites them with the divine life; produces a firm conviction and an inextinguishable friendship; warms the holy love in our souls, and enkindles all that is divine. It purges away all waywardness of mind (quidquid animo adversatur, expurgat); it generates hope and true faith in the light. In a word, it helps those to an intimate conversation with the gods who exercise it diligently and often. From this shines forth the reconciling, accomplishing, and satisfying strength of prayer; how effectual it is; how it maintains the union with the gods; how prayer and sacrifice mutually invigorate each other, impart the sacred power of religion, and make it perfect. It becomes us not, therefore, wholly to contemn

prayer, or only to employ a little of it, and to throw away the rest. No, wholly must we use it; and above all things must they practise it who desire to unite themselves sincerely with God." (Sect. v. c. 26.)

These new-Platonic doctrines, of which I have quoted here as much as concerns our topic, have, through all ages, found defenders and followers: amongst the later ones, Gale, Cudworth, and especially Henry Moore, being the most celebrated.

Akin to this school, and drawing from the same well, are the Theosophists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These practised chemistry, by which they asserted that they could explore the profoundest secrets of nature. As they strove, above all earthly knowledge, after the divine, and sought the divine light and fire, through which all men can acquire the true wisdom, they were called the Fire Philosophers (philosophi per ignem). The most distinguished of these are Theophrastus, Paracelsus, Adam von Boden, Oswald Croll; and later, Valentine Weigel, Robert Fludd, Jacob Böhmen, Peter Poiret, etc. In the next chapter I shall turn back to notice several things, that I may not pass over what is most remarkable and instructive in magnetism.

*** *To equalize the thickness of the volumes, it has been thought advisable to place the* INDEX *here.*

INDEX.

Abgarus, Prince of Edessa, i. 315.
Abnormal somnambulism, nature of, i. 81.
Abodes of the Sibyls, i. 429.
Abracadabra, the talisman of Serenus Sammonicus, i. 121.
Abraxes, or carved stones of the early ages, i. 262.
Abuse of magic by the Romans, i. 435.
Account of the fakeer buried alive at Lahore, ii. 436.
Accusations of the witch-hammerers, ii. 165.
Aconite, Van Helmont's experiment with, ii. 251.
Æsculapius, miracles performed by, i. 360.
—, staff of, i. 362.
—, temples of, i. 363.
African witches, ii. 475.
Agostine Fosari, somnambulism of, ii. 440.
Agrigentum, Empedocles of, a celebrated Pythagorean, i. 402.
Agrippa (H. C.) on the influence of the stars, ii. 255.
— on the nature of matter, ii. 254.
Allegorical visions, i. 50.
Allusions in the Bible to magnetism and somnambulism, i. 251.
Ammonius Saccas, founder of the New-Platonists, i. 444.
Amphiaraus, oracle of, i. 373.
Amulets and charms of the Middle Ages, ii. 95.
—, great antiquity of, ii. 483.
—, Lord Verulam upon the powers of, ii. 484.
Analogy between mineral and animal magnetism, ii. 330.
Ancient Egyptian mysteries, i. 237.
— Etruscans, sacrificial rites of the, i. 420.
Ancient Germans, magic of the, ii. 85.
— Germany, prophetic women of, ii. 89.
— mode of wearing rings, ii. 487.
— nations, magnetism among various, i. 152.
— priests of Egypt, i. 240.
— use of the magnet, ii. 35.
— use of narcotics, ii. 488.
Ancients, magnetism understood by the, ii. 68.
Angel, meaning of the word in the Old Testament, ii. 132.
Angels and spirits, ii. 133.
Animal magnetism as defined by Mesmer, ii. 330.
— considered, ii. 329.
Anthropological digression on Christianity, i. 324–335.
Antidotes, Kircher's, against poisonous animals, ii. 270.
Antoinette Bourignon, apparitions of, ii. 223.
Antiquity of the English deasil, ii. 182.

Antiquity of the magi, i. 2.
— of the myth, ii. 9.
— of the myths, Greek authors on the, ii. 17.
Apis or Serapis, Pliny's account of, i. 248.
Apollonius of Tyana, miraculous cures of, i. 405.
—, philosophy of, i. 407.
—, his distinction between magic and sorcery, i. 406.
Apostles, miracles of the, i. 317.
Apparitions, remarkable accounts of:—
Jane Leads, apparition of, ii. 224.
Ghosts of the slain at the battle of Marathon, ii. 341.
Königsberg professor, the, ii. 341.
Dr. Scott and the title-deed, ii. 345.
Apparition seen by Lady Pennyman and Mrs. Atkins, ii. 351.
Story of Sir Charles Lee's daughter, ii. 356.
Dorothy Dingley, apparition of, ii. 358.
Lord Tyrone, apparition of, to Lady Beresford, ii. 363.
Two apparitions to Mr. William Lilly, ii. 369.
Mr. Booty and the ship's crew, ii. 373.
Edward Avon, apparition of, to Thomas Goddard, ii. 374.
Ghost seen by a Dutchman at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, ii. 378.
Apparition seen by Sir John Sherbroke and General Wynyard, ii. 380.
Miss Pringle, apparition of, ii. 384.
Apparition seen by Samuel Wallace, ii. 385.
Apparition of Dr. Donne's wife, ii. 387.
Appendix by the Editor, ii. 341–518.
Arabic learning brought to Europe by the Saracens, ii. 93.
Arabs, magic among the, i. 229.
Aristides, dreams and visions of, i. 389.
—, magnetic nature of, i. 391.
—, his mention of divine sleep, i. 366.
— on the Grecian oracles, i. 384.
Aristotle's theory of dreams, i. 404.
— treatise on dreams, i. 130.
Arras, witch prosecutions at, ii. 176–178.
Arrows, divination by means of, ii. 453.
Asia, magic originated in, i. 187.
Atmosphere, opinions of the ancients regarding the, i. 149.

Babylon, dreams first cultivated in Asia at, i. 224.
Bacchus, significance of the mythic, ii. 61.
Balaam, visions and prophecies of, i. 288.
Baptista Van Helmont, extracts from the works of, ii. 242–253.
— on magnetism, ii. 333.
Basilakaus's prophecy fulfilled, i. 80.
Bede's (the Venerable) account of sorcerers in the British Isles, ii. 103.
Becker and Thomasius successfully oppose witchcraft, ii. 191.
Bed, Graham's magnetic, ii. 260.
Belief of the Greeks in demonology, i. 351.
Bells and bowls mentioned in the Mosaic law, i. 379.
Bible, magnetic records in the, i. 281.
—, Satan of the, ii. 131.
Biblical accounts of magnetism and somnambulism, i. 251.
— laws against magic, i. 20.
— view of Egyptian magic, i. 232.
Birds, divination by means of, ii. 459.
Black magic of the early times, i. 4.
Bleeding wounds, i. 102.
Bodily suffering, insensibility to, ii. 213.
Böhme on God and the soul, &c. ii. 321–328.
— on the Divine manifestation, &c. ii. 304.
— on the constellations, ii. 316.
— on the creation of the world, ii. 308.
— on the four elements, ii. 318–320.
— on the human creation, ii. 306.
— on the new man, ii. 299.
— on planetary creation, ii. 311.
— on the sun as a centre of natural life, ii. 314.
Book of the Secret, the, on the means of producing visions, i. 205.

Books of Numa, destruction of the, ii. 11.
Brahma-Atma, i. 205.
Brahma in the heart, i. 207.

Cabbalah, or Jewish philosophy, inquiries regarding the, i. 7.
—, teachings of the, respecting women, i. 14.
Cataleptic case described by Sauvages, i. 72.
Cats, infernal magical sacrifice of, ii. 102, 105.
Celebrated oracles amongst the Fathers of the Church, i. 430.
Cellini's vision during a fever, i. 77.
China, the magnet worshipped in, ii. 36.
Chinese, magic among the, i. 211.
Christian ages, revival of visions in the, i. 33.
Christianity and Germanity, ii. 75.
—, anthropological digression regarding, i. 324–335.
—, sophisms mingled with, i. 309.
—, the great miracle of, i. 339.
Christ prophesied by the sibyls, i. 430.
— the great prophet and healer, i. 337.
— the true exorcist, i. 341.
Chronic convulsions, singular treatment of persons afflicted with, i. 74.
Chrysippus on soothsaying and dreams, i. 126.
Cicero on the magic art, i. 126.
— on natural soothsaying, i. 62.
— on the prognostications of the sibyls, i. 431.
— on soothsaying, i. 57.
Cimbrians, prophetic women of the, ii. 91.
Clairvoyance the highest state of somnambulism, i. 28.
Claudian's idyls on the magnet, ii. 27.
Cledonism, or divination from words, ii. 454.
Cock, divination by means of a, 453.
Compass, doubts regarding the first discovery of the, ii. 333.
Compass, origin of the discovery of the, ii. 331.
Constantine the Great's speech on the sibyls, i. 433.
Countess M., magnetic experiments upon, i. 200.
Count Cagliostro's magnetic experiments, ii. 281.
Creation, Mosaic account of the, i. 275.
Cratippus on the magic influences, i. 126.
Creuzer on symbolic poetry, ii. 6.
Cures by the use of the magnet, early records of, ii. 334.
— of Apollonius of Tyana, i. 405.
— of Æsculapius related by Aristides, i. 387.
— performed by Graterakes, ii. 261.

Dactyls, the wonder-working, ii. 65.
Daniel, vision of, i. 303.
Deasil, antiquity of the, ii. 182.
Death foretold by an apparition, ii. 366.
De la Harpe's account of a singular prediction, ii. 445.
Delphian temple, inscriptions on the doors of the, i. 418.
Democritos's reasoning agencies, i. 127.
Demonology, belief of the Greeks in, i. 351.
— of James the First, ii. 181.
Demons, belief of the early Christians in, ii. 139.
Denon on Egyptian symbols, i. 264.
Deserts conducive to visions, i. 179.
Devil, first trace of a formal compact with the, ii. 142.
—, the, of the fifteenth century, ii. 147.
Devils, Christ the great caster-out of, ii. 135.
Devs, the, of ancient Persia, i. 222.
Dietary regulations of the Greek priesthood, i. 368.
Diodorus on the dreams of Isis, i. 231.
Dioscuri, or the Sons of Heaven, ii. 23.
Discovery of the compass, origin of the, ii. 331.
Disciples of Paracelsus, ii. 271–273.

Disciples of Pythagoras, habits of the, i. 398.
Divination by signs, Iamblichus on, i. 454.
Divinations:—Artificial divination, ii. 452; natural divination, *ib.*; axinomancy, 453; alectoromantia, *ib.*; arithmonancy, *ib.*; belomancy, *ib.*; cleoromancy, 454; cledonism, *ib.*; coscinomancy, 455; capnonancy, *ib.*; catoptromancy, *ib.*; chiromancy, 456; dactyliomancy, *ib.*; extispicium, *ib.*; gastromancy, 457; geomancy, *ib.*; hydromancy, *ib.*; oneirocritica, 458; onomancy, or onomamancy, *ib.*; onycomancy, 459; ornithomancy, *ib.*; pyromancy, 460; psychomancy, or sciomancy, *ib.*; rhabdomancy, *ib.*
Divining rod, experiments with the, ii. 461.
Doctrine of Paracelsus, ii. 230.
Doctrines of Jacob Böhme, ii. 301.
Dodona, oracle of Jupiter at, i. 375.
Dodonian priestesses, the, i. 381.
—, prophecies of, i. 382.
"Doubles," erroneous notion regarding, i. 67.
Dreams, accounts of remarkable:—Gennadius, i. 55.; Aristides, 389; Dr. Doddridge, ii. 410; Nicholas Wotton, 412; Captain Rogers, 414; William Howitt, 416; Edmund Halley, 416; Rev. Joseph Wilkin, 417; Awde, 417; Lord Lyttleton, 419.
—, death of parents confirmed by, ii. 421.
—, anecdotes concerning, i. 34.
—, Aristotle's theory of, i. 404.
— first cultivated in Asia, at Babylon, i. 224.
—, Homer on double, i. 55.
— mentioned in the Old Covenant, i. 273.
—, occasional vividity of, i. 51.
—, physiological explanation of, i. 35.
—, power of producing, in others, i. 52.
Druids, Pomponius on the wisdom of the, ii. 86.
Drummer of Tedworth, the, ii. 396.
Dryden and his son's nativity, ii. 450.
Dualists, antiquity of the, i. 141.
Dying predictions, frequent mention of, in the authors of antiquity, i. 63.

Earliest attempts to explain magic, i. 138.
Early Christians' belief in demons, ii. 139.
—, magic among the, ii. 81.
East of Europe, vampirism in the, ii. 185.
Eberhart's views of the sources of magical art, i. 4.
Ecstasy, as defined by ancient writers, i. 85.
—, various descriptions of, i. 86.
Ecstatic and inspired visions, i. 25.
Efficacy of youthful breath and blood applied to old or diseased persons, i. 117.
Egg, the Orphean, i. 392.
Egypt, celebrated temples in, i. 244.
Egyptian belief, leading features of, i. 269.
— magic from a biblical point of view, i. 232.
— statues connected with magnetism, i. 267.
— symbols explained by Denon, i. 264.
Egyptians, magic among the, i. 231.
—, magnetic practices among the, i. 261.
—, materialism known among the, i. 141.
—, mysterious monuments of the, i. 254.
Elements of Montanism, ii. 82.
Elfish fairies of Scotland, ii. 113.
Elijah and Elisha, prophecies of, i. 292.
Elves, white and black, ii. 109.
Emmerich, the bleeding wounds of Anna Katharina, i. 102.
Empedocles the Pythagorean, i. 402.
Enlightenment wars against witchcraft, ii. 189.

Epirus, oak of Dodona in, i. 378.
Etymology of the word "Obi," ii. 478.
Europe, witch-mountains of, ii. 195.
Execution of Maria Renata, ii. 183.
Exorcism, mention of by ancient writers, i. 120.
Experiment with the root of aconite, ii. 251.
— with the divining-rod, ii. 461.
Extract from the Upanischad, i. 206.
Extraordinary magnetic cures of Gassner, ii. 277.

Fable regarding the ring of Gyges, ii. 487.
Faith and magnetism, Paracelsus on, ii. 241.
Fakirs, Zimmermann on the Indian, i. 205.
Fathers of the Church, celebrated oracles among the, 430.
— divinations condemned by the, ii. 461.
Finger-nails, divination by means of the, ii. 459.
Fire, divination by means of, ii. 460.
Flying magicians, &c., early mention of, ii. 143.
Forbes's account of Brahminical prophecies, i. 208.
Foreign sources of the Greek myths, ii. 55–60.
Fox family, the, and spirit-rapping, ii. 491.
Fulfilment of a Brahmin's predictions, i. 208.

Galen's predictions in connection with diseases, i. 128.
Gassner's extraordinary cures, ii. 277.
— magnetic operations, ii. 274.
Gennadius, dream of, related by St. Augustin, i. 55.
Geomancy, various kinds of, ii. 457.
German emperors, magic practised by the, ii. 96.
Germanity and Christianity, ii. 75.
Germans, magic of the, ii. 73.
—, reliance of the ancient, in soothsaying, i. 59.
Ghost stories, ii. 341–388.
Good and evil spirits, ii. 129.
Gospels, miracles recorded in the, i. 310.
Graham's magnetic bed, ii. 261.
Graterakes' wonderful cures, ii. 261.
Great miracle of Christianity, the, i. 339.
Grecian oracles described by Aristides, i. 384.
Greece a living magic, i. 347.
Greek and German mythology, the, ii. 5.
Greek authors on the antiquity of the myths, ii. 17.
— mysteries, Hamberger on the, i. 346.
— myths, foreign sources of the, ii. 55–60.
— priesthood, dietary regulations of the, i. 368.
—, the healing art connected with the, i. 357.
Greeks, ecstatic visions rare among the, i. 32.
—, faith of the ancient, in soothsaying, i. 59.
—, magic among the, i. 343.
Grimm on the German elves, ii. 114.
— on the wishing-rod, ii. 47.

Hamberger on the Greek mysteries, i. 346.
Hand of Isis, symbolic meaning of the, i. 258.
—, use of the, in magnetism, ii. 335.
Hands, divination by the lines of the, ii. 456.
Hauf's idea of Realism, i. 159.
Haunted houses, remarkable accounts regarding:—
Correspondence about the Wesleys' house, 388–396.
House near Bow haunted by demons, &c., ii. 407.
Mr. Jermin's story of a haunted house, ii. 409.
Healing art, the, among the heathens, ii. 205.

Healing art connected with the Greek priesthood, i. 357.
Healing by the touch, i. 109.
Health restored by an apparition, ii. 386.
Heathens, the healing art among the, ii. 205.
Hercules, identity of, with magnetism, ii. 27.
—, the myth of, ii. 25.
Hereditary priesthood of ancient Greece, i. 367.
Hermes, great significance of the god, ii. 43.
—, the magic-staff of, ii. 45.
Hexenhammer, description of the work called, ii. 159.
Hippocrates on dreams, i. 128.
History of the Sibyls, i. 423.
— of the Sibyllinic books, i. 427.
— of magnetism, the, ii. 338.
Hodges, Governor, fulfilment of prophecies regarding, i. 209.
Homer on double dreams, i. 55.
Hooks and rings used for magnetic purposes, ii. 33.
Horns and wings, symbolic, explained, ii. 71.
Horst's account of the witch prosecutions at Arras, ii. 176–178.

Iamblichus on divine inspiration, i. 453.
— on the force of prayer, i. 456.
—, answer of, to Porphyrius, i. 449.
Idaic dactyls, Schweigger on the, ii. 28.
Identity of magnetism and Hercules, ii. 25, 27.
Imagination, power of the, i. 101.
Increasing ignorance of the Middle Ages, ii. 123.
Indian fakirs, Zimmermann on the, i. 205.
— seers, visions of, i. 203.
Influence of the stars, Agrippa on the, ii. 255.
Inscriptions on the doors of the Delphian temple, i. 418.
Insensibility to bodily suffering, ii. 213.
Inspirations and visions of the saints, i. 93.
Intermittent fevers, visions during, i. 76.
Iron betrothal rings in Pliny's time, ii. 33.
Iron-stone, magnetic properties of, ii. 331.
Isis, Diodorus on the dreams of, i. 232.
Israelites, magic among the, i. 272, 289, 319.
Israel, spiritual destiny of, i. 295.
—, the prophets of, i. 299.

Jewess, Molitor's story of a, i. 21.
Judge Edmonds on the "Rochester knockings," ii. 495.
Julius Hamberger on the nations of antiquity, i. 42.
Justin Martyr on the Sibyls, i. 432.

Kettle-drum, Laplander's magical, ii. 98.
Key to mythical wisdom, the, ii. 19.
King James's Demonology, ii. 181.
Kircher's antidotes against poisonous animals, ii. 270.
— just ideas of magnetism, ii. 265.
— upon natural instincts, ii. 267.
Kischuph, the, or higher magical influence, i. 10.
Kyphi, soothing effects of the, i. 419.

Lady Alice Kyteler, ii. 465.
Laplanders, magic of the, ii. 99.
—, magic kettle-drum of the, ii. 98.
Language of dreams remarkable, i. 36.
Laughing-fits, ii. 217.
Laurel, the, sacred to Apollo and Æsculapius, i. 372.
Laws of Manu analysed, i. 194.
Letter of Porphyrius to Anebo, i. 447.
Letters, divination by the aid of, ii. 458.
Life-magnetism and mesmerism, meaning of the terms, ii. 330.
Loadstone described by Lucretius, ii. 25.
—, magnetic properties of, ii. 331.
Lucretius's remarkable verses on magnetism, ii. 32.

Madness of the ancient poets, i. 379.
—, Socrates on, i. 402.
Maid of Orleans, trial and execution of the, ii. 175.
Magi, antiquity of the, i. 2.
Magic, abuse of, by the Romans, i. 435.
— among the Arabs, i. 229.
— among the Chinese, i. 211.
— among the early Christians, ii. 81.
— among the Egyptians, i. 231.
— among the Greeks, i. 343.
— among the Israelites, i. 272, 289, 319.
— among the Orientals, i. 172.
— among the Romans, i. 420.
— attributed to women by the earliest antiquity, ii. 193.
—, derivation of the word, i. 1.
—, earliest attempts to explain, i. 138.
— herbs, trees, &c. ii. 201.
— in mythology, ii. 63.
— in Pagan and Christian faith, ii. 119.
— in the mythology, i. 442.
—, Jacob Böhme on, ii. 303.
— of the ancient Germans, ii. 85.
— of the Germans, ii. 73.
— of the Laplanders, ii. 99.
— of the Middle Ages, ii. 117.
— of Scandinavia, ii. 97.
—, origination of, in Asia, i. 187.
— power, Van Helmont on, ii. 245.
— practised by the German emperors, ii. 96.
— sight, notions regarding, i. 10.
— staff of Hermes, the, ii. 45.
—, theoretical views of the ancients regarding, i. 124.
Magical cures mentioned in the New Covenant, i. 307.
— ecstasy and true inspiration, i. 89.
— effects of stones, ii. 69.
— fires, ii. 30.
— influences, i. 167.
— soothsaying, Cicero's observations on, i. 134.
Magnet, ancient use of the, ii. 35.
—, Claudian's idyls on the, ii. 27.
Magnet, derivation of the term, ii. 332.
—, mention of the, by ancient writers. ii. 332.
—, Paracelsus on the, ii. 233.
—, the, reverenced in China, ii. 36.
—, the, known among the ancient Egyptians, ii. 35.
Magnetic experiments of Count Cagliostro, ii. 281.
— experiments upon the Countess M. i. 200.
— nature of Aristides, i. 391.
— operations of Gassner, ii. 274.
— phenomena, Van Helmont on, ii. 247.
— power, Paracelsus on, ii. 235.
— practices among the Egyptians, i. 261.
— records in the Bible, i. 280.
Magnetism among the ancient nations, i. 152.
— and miracles, i. 335.
—, ancient and modern, history of, ii. 338.
—, an historical fact, ii. 338.
—, Egyptian statues relating to, i. 267.
— explains the Egyptian Abraxes, i. 262.
—, Kircher's just ideas of, ii. 265.
—, Maxwell's views on, ii. 257–260.
— of music, Kircher on the, ii. 268.
—, phenomena produced by, ii. 336.
— practised in the temples of Isis, &c. i. 260.
—, &c., Robert Fludd's views on, ii. 256.
—, the key of, i. 171.
— understood by the ancients, ii. 68.
Magnetizing by the hands or eyes, ii. 336.
Malleus Maleficarum, publication of, ii. 157.
Manu, laws of, described, i. 194.
Maria Renata, execution of, at Clarus, ii. 183.
Marlborough, witch trial at, ii. 181.
Marsi, the, skilful in the art of sorcery, i. 421.
Mary Goffe, trance of, ii. 434.

Materialism current among the Egyptians, i. 141.
Matikon, theories of a mystical work entitled, i. 276.
Matter, Agrippa on the nature of, ii. 254.
Maxwell's views on magnetism, ii. 257–260.
Melampus, celebrated cures of, i. 360.
Mesmer, Dr., on animal magnetism, ii. 330.
Mesmeric influence of magnetism, ii. 335.
Mesmerism, so called after the discoverer of animal magnetism, ii. 30.
Middle Ages, amulets and charms of the, ii. 95.
—, magic of the, ii. 117.
Mind, the spiritual in the, ii. 137.
Mineral and animal magnetism, analogy between, ii. 331.
Minerva, mythological parentage of, ii. 49.
Miracles and magnetism, i. 335.
— of the Apostles, i. 317.
— performed by Æsculapius, i. 360.
— recorded in the Gospels, i. 310.
Mirror, divination by means of a, ii. 455.
Miss Rachel Baker, the sleeping preacher, ii. 442.
Molitor's researches into the Cabbalah, i. 8.
— story of a Jewess, i. 21.
Monen, or computation of time, i. 16.
Montanism, elements of, ii. 82.
Montanists and Paulists, ii. 83.
Montezuma's sister, supposed death of, i. 78.
Moral writings of Plutarch, i. 408–418.
Mora, witch-trial at, ii. 179.
Mosaic account of the creation, i. 275.
Murder discovered by an apparition, ii. 343–345.
— prevented by an apparition, ii. 370.
Musæus and Orpheus, i. 353.
Mysteries, ancient Egyptian, i. 237.
Mysterious monuments of the Egyptians, i. 254.
Mystical theories in Matikon, i. 276.
Mystic symbols in Nature, ii. 29.
Myth, great antiquity of the, ii. 9.
— of Hercules, ii. 25; explained, ii. 67.
— physical formation of the, ii. 17.
Mythical wisdom, the key to the, ii. 19.
Mythologic fable, symbolic meaning of, ii. 39.
Mythological parentage of Minerva, ii. 49.
Mythology, magic in the, i. 442.
—, on magic in, ii. 63.
— perfected before γοητεία existed, i. 349.
—, the Greek and German, ii. 5.

Napellus root, Van Helmont's experiments with the, i. 82.
Narcotics, ancient use of, ii. 488.
Natural divination, ii. 452.
— instincts, Kircher upon, ii. 267.
— philosophy conducts to God, ii. 16.
— soothsaying, belief of the ancient Greeks in, i. 61.
Necromancy among the Romans, i. 441.
New Covenant, magical cures mentioned in the, i. 307.
New-Platonists, the, i. 443.
—, the founder of the, i. 444.
Nichuseh, or prophetic indication, i. 16.
Nicolaus de la Flüe, extraordinary fasting of, i. 107.
Northern mythology the work of the Scalds, ii. 108.
Numa, destruction of the books of, ii. 11.
Numeral 4, the, sacred to the Pythagoreans, i. 395.
Numerical theory, as described in the Magicon, i. 394, 396.
Numerals, Plato's views regarding, i. 399.

Oak of Dodona, in Epirus, i. 378.
Obeah, or African witchcraft, ii. 475.
"Obi," etymology of the word, ii. 478.

Old Covenant, dreams mentioned in the, i. 273.
Old Testament meaning of the word "angel," ii. 132.
Oracle mentioned by Strabo, i. 374.
— of Amphiaraus, i. 373.
— of Apollo described by Iamblichus, i. 374.
— of Jupiter described by Herodotus, i. 375.
—, the Pythian, i. 371.
Oracles, Plutarch regarding, i. 409–418.
Oriental, Greek, and Germanic magic, the three periods of, i. 155.
— nations, various forms of magic among the, i. 191.
Orientals, magic among the, i. 172.
—, philosophy of the, i. 175.
Original man, Plato's, i. 401.
Origin of mythology, Schweigger on the, ii. 3.
— of the name of Witch, ii. 122.
Orphean egg, the, i. 392.
Orpheus and Musæus, i. 363.
Oupnekhat, the, on the production of visions, i. 205.

Pagan and Christian faith, magic in, ii. 119.
Paracelsian doctrine, the, ii. 230.
Paracelsus, numerous disciples of, ii. 271–273.
— on the magnet, ii. 233.
Parsee faith, description of the, i. 217.
Passavent's explanation of the vision of Daniel, i. 304.
Paulists and Montanists, ii. 83.
Pausanias, oracular sentence related by, i. 382.
Penn, witchcraft abolished in Pennsylvania by, ii. 518.
Phenomena of second sight, i. 66.
— produced by magnetism, ii. 336.
Philosophy of Apollonius, i. 407.
— of the Orientals, i. 175.
Philters, Van Helmont on the use of, ii. 485.
Physical foundation of the myths, iii. 17.
Physiological explanation of dreams, i. 35.
Pigmies, Gnomes, and Necks of Scandinavia, ii. 111.
Pins and needles, impositions with, ii. 214.
Plato's error regarding the origin of magic, i. 3.
— original man, i. 401.
— teachings regarding the soul, i. 400.
— views on soothsaying, i. 130.
— views regarding minerals, i. 399.
Pliny's account of Serapis or Apis, i. 248.
— account of the discovery of the magnet, ii. 332.
Plotinus, a celebrated New-Platonist, i. 444.
— challenged by Olympius, i. 446.
Plutarch regarding oracles, i. 409–418.
Plutarch's ideas concerning divination, i. 129.
— mention of brazen bowls, i. 380.
— moral writings, extracts from, i. 408–418.
Podalirius, healing powers of, i. 421.
Pomponius on the wisdom of the Druids, ii. 86.
Pope Innocent and his bull against witchcraft, ii. 171.
Pope Innocent VIII. sanctions witch-persecutions, ii. 125.
Popular superstitions, ii. 202–204.
Pordage, visions of, ii. 221.
Posidonius on dreams, i. 126.
Power of imagination, i. 101.
— of imagination, Kircher on the, ii. 269.
— of producing dreams in others, i. 52.
Prayer, efficacy of, in all ages and nations, i. 122.
—, Iamblichus on the force of, i. 456.
Preaching epidemic, the, in Sweden, ii. 508.
Predictions, extraordinary fulfilment of a Brahmin's, i. 208.
— of persons when dying, i. 62.

Predictions, remarkable instances of, in antiquity, i. 58.
Priests of Isis, the, i. 245.
Principal features of Egyptian belief, i. 269.
Principles of the Parsee faith, i. 218.
Prophecies of Elijah and Elisha, i. 292.
— of Dryden regarding his son fulfilled, ii. 450.
— of the Dodonian priestesses, i. 382.
— of Veleda, ii. 90.
Prophetic delirium in inflammatory diseases of the brain, i. 71.
— visions of Saul and Samuel, i. 291.
— women of ancient Germany, ii. 89.
— women of the Cimbrians, ii. 91.
Prophets of Israel, the, i. 299.
Psychological oracular sentence related by Pausanias, i. 382.
Pythagoras in Egypt, i. 241.
Pythagoras's theory of magic, i. 126.
— mode of instruction, i. 398.
Pythagorean numeral theory, signification of the, i. 394, 396.
Pythagoreans, opinions of the, i. 147.
Pythian oracle, the, consulted by Crœsus of Lydia, i. 371.

Quintus on dreams and divination, i. 135.

Rappings, account of the, in America, ii. 491–518.
Records of singular cures by the magnet, ii. 334.
Religious sentiment of the Shemites, i. 173.
Remarkable apparitions, accounts of, ii. 341–388.
— dreams, accounts of, ii. 410–422.
— dreams mentioned by Cicero, i. 53.
— trial concerning an apparition, ii. 374.
Resumé, ii. 329–340.
Revelations in the Witch-hammer, ii. 163.
Rev. W. Tennant, trance of the, ii. 429.
Richter's account of Pythagoras, i. 393.
Rinaldo des Trois Echelles, execution of, ii. 152.
Ring, divination by means of a, ii. 456.
Rings, great antiquity of, ii. 485.
—, how anciently worn, ii. 487.
Robert Fludd's views on magnetism, ii. 256.
Rods or staves, divination by means of, ii. 460.
Roman oracles, the, i. 433.
Romans, magic among the, i. 420.
Royal touch, recorded efficacy of the, i. 111.

Saints, visions and inspirations of the, i. 93–99.
Salem witchcraft, account of the, ii. 510–518.
Salic laws against witchcraft, ii. 93.
Sammonicus's Abracadabra, i. 121.
Samothrace, great antiquity of the secrets of, i. 353.
Saracens, Arabic learning brought to Spain by the, ii. 93.
Satan of the Bible, ii. 131.
Saul and Samuel, prophetic visions of, i. 291.
Scandinavia, magic of, ii. 97.
—, the Gnomes, Pigmies, &c. of, ii. 111.
Schubert's account of the gardener's daughter's vision, i. 27.
— on a prophecy of the Voluspa, i. 235.
Schweigger on the origin of mythology, ii. 3.
Scotland, elfish fairies of, ii. 113.
Seat of the soul, views of the Platonists regarding the, i. 146.
Second-sight, Werner's authenticated instances of, i. 68.
—, as recorded by Rev. J. Griffiths, ii. 424.
— of a Highland chief, ii. 248.
—, remarkable instances of, ii. 422–429.

Shemites, religious sentiment of the, i. 173.
Ship saved from destruction by a dream, ii. 414.
Sibyllinic books, history of the, i. 427.
Sibyls, abodes of the, i. 429.
— history of the, i. 423.
— enumerated by Varro, i. 424.
Siderit, another name for the magnet, ii. 332.
Sieve, divination by means of a, ii. 455.
Significance of the god Hermes, ii. 43.
— of the mythic Bacchus, ii. 61.
Singular cures related by Aristides, i. 387.
— prediction narrated by M. de la Harpe, ii. 445.
Sleeping preacher, the, ii. 442.
Smoke, divination by means of, ii. 455.
Somnambulism of Agostine Fosari, ii. 440.
Society of Flagellants, ii. 216.
Socrates on madness, i. 402.
Socratic warnings as attested by his scholar Xenophon, i. 404.
Somnambulism a subject of early investigation, i. 64.
—, nature of, i. 64.
—, variously defined, i. 65.
— of Agostine Fosari, ii. 440.
Sons of Heaven, or the Dioscuri, ii. 23.
Soothsaying, Cicero on, i. 58.
Soothing effects of the Kyphi, i. 419.
Sophisms mingled with Christianity, i. 309.
Sorcery-bull of Innocent VIII. ii. 155.
Sorcery of the Thessalonians, i. 352.
Southern France the nursery of the black art, ii. 151.
Soul, Plato's views regarding the, i. 400.
—, views of the Stoics regarding the, i. 144.
Spasms at the witch trials, ii. 211.
Spirit-rappings, Judge Edmonds' inquiry into the, ii. 495.
Spirits and angels, ii. 133.
Spirits, good and evil, ii. 129.
Spiritual appearances, i. 168.
— destiny of Israel, i. 295.
— magic, nature of, i. 17.
— manifestations in America, ii. 491–518.
Staff of Æsculapius, i. 362.
Stoics', the, opinions regarding the soul, i. 144.
Stones, magical effects of, ii. 69.
—, talismanic influence of, i. 114.
Story of the Lady Alice Kyteler, ii. 465.
Struggle between Christianity and Heathenism, ii. 141.
St. Vitus's dance, divinatory visions resulting from, i. 75.
Sweden, the preaching epidemic in, ii. 508.
Swedenborg on God and the Creation, ii. 285.
— on faith and love, ii. 291.
— on man, ii. 287.
— on the plan of Divine Providence, ii. 292–297.
Swedenborg's works, ii. 284.
Symbolic dreams of Oberlin, i. 50.
— horns and wings explained, ii. 71.
— meaning of mythological fable, ii. 39.
— meaning of the hand of Isis, i. 258.
— mythological characters, ii. 51–54.
— poetry, Creuzer on, ii. 6.
Sympathetic cures, ii. 209.
— influence mentioned by Van Helmont, ii. 247.
— superstitions, ii. 207.
Sympathy, Wirdig on magnetic, ii. 270.

TABLE-TURNING, &c. ii. 494–502.
Tacitus's relation of Vespasian's healing powers, i. 247.
Taigheirm, double meaning of the word, ii. 107.
—, or magical sacrifice of cats, ii. 102, 105.
Taishitaraugh, the Gaelic term for second-sight, i. 65.
Tales about vampires, ii. 479–482.
Talisman, derivation of the term, i. 113.

Tellurism, magnetism so called by Kieser, ii. 330.
Temples of Æsculapius, i. 363.
Theosophists, the, of the 16th and 17th centuries, i. 457.
Thessalonians, sorcery of the, i. 352.
Thout, Thot, or Taaut, i. 249.
Three spirits in man, Paracelsus on the, ii. 237.
Tiedemann on the powers of magic, i. 5.
Title-deed discovered by the aid of an apparition, ii. 346–351.
Touch, healing by the, i. 109.
Trasimenides' statue of Æsculapius, i. 362.
Trial and execution of the Maid of Orleans, ii. 175.
Timæus of Locris the most ancient writer extant upon magic, i. 140.
Trance and somnambulism, instances of, ii. 429–442.
Treasure discovered through the agency of an apparition, ii. 372.
True inspiration and magical vision, i. 91.
True knowledge the opponent of witchcraft, ii. 173.
Tumah, or physical and moral uncleanness, i. 18.

Universal language, possible ancient existence of one, i. 39.
Upanischad, extract from the, i. 206.

Vampires, tales regarding, ii. 479–482.
Vampirism in the East of Europe, ii. 185.
Van Helmont on magic power, ii. 245.
— on magnetic phenomena, ii. 247.
— on the inward light of the soul, ii. 252.
— on the magnetic cure of wounds, ii. 243.
on the use of philters, ii. 485.
— on the will, ii. 249.
—, his experiment with the Napellus root, i. 82.
Van Helmont, his facts of sympathetic influence, ii. 247.
Various definitions of somnambulism, i. 65.
Varro, sibyls enumerated by, i. 424.
Veleda, prophecies of, ii. 90.
Ventriloquism, divination by means of, ii. 457.
Verulam (Lord) on the powers of amulets, ii. 484.
Vespasian's power of healing, i. 247.
Vestal fires, ii. 31.
Views of Paracelsus, ii. 239.
Vision of Benvenuto Cellini, i. 77.
— of Daniel, i. 303.
Visions and inspirations of the Brahmins, i. 193.
— and inspirations of the saints, i. 93.
— and prophecies of Balaam, i. 288.
— and religious ecstasies, ii. 225.
— an essential part of magic, i. 22.
—, different kinds of, i. 31.
— generally of a religious nature, i. 32.
—, writers of antiquity regarding, i. 23, 24.
— of Indian seers, i. 203.
— of Pordage, ii. 221.
—, life in the deserts conducive of, i. 179.
Voluspa, Schubert's opinion regarding the, i. 235.
Votive tablets and inscriptions of ancient Greece, i. 369.

Water, divination by means of, ii. 457.
Weather-making in the Middle Ages, ii. 199.
Welsh superstitions regarding fairies, ii. 489.
Werner's anecdotes of second-sight, i. 68.
White and black elves, ii. 109.
— magic and faith, ii. 219.
Will, Van Helmont on the, ii. 249.
Wirdig's magnetic sympathy, ii. 270.
Wisdom of the remotest antiquity, ii. 13.

Wisdom of the Witch-hammer, ii. 167.
Wishing-rod, Grimm on the, ii. 47.
Witch-burning frenzy of the thirteenth century, ii. 148.
Witchcraft, decrease of, with the dawn of learning, ii. 187.
— abolished by William Penn, ii. 518.
—, knowledge the firm opponent of, ii. 173.
— put down by the Reformation and science, ii. 191.
—, Salic laws against, ii. 93.
—, stories about, ii. 464–479.
Witch-fairies, tales about, ii. 489.
Witch-hammer, publication of the, ii. 157.
Witch metamorphoses, ii. 145.
— mountains of Europe, ii. 195.
—, origin of the name of, ii. 122.
— persecution of the fifteenth century, ii. 150; sanctioned by Innocent VIII. ii. 125; works written against, ii. 128.
— revel, description of a, ii. 197.
— trial at Marlborough, ii. 181; at Mora, in Sweden, ii. 179.
Women, magic attributed to, in the earliest ages, ii. 193.
Wonderful clairvoyant vision of mysteries, ii. 37.
Wonder-working dactyls, the, ii. 65.
Works against witch-persecution, list of, ii. 128.
Works of Emanuel Swedenborg, ii. 285.
— of Jacob Böhme, ii. 302.
— relating to second-sight, i. 70.
— to be consulted on somnambulism, i. 65.
Wounds, Van Helmont on the magnetic cure of, ii. 243.

Xaverius, ecstatic vision of, fulfilled, i. 27.

Zendavesta, early records of myths in the, i. 6.
—, principal doctrines of the, i. 221.
Zimmermann on the Indian Fakirs, i. 205.
Zoroaster the first recorded magician, i. 125.
Zschokke on second sight, ii. 425.

Swm, 204, 234, 293–312
Tree 377

London:
Wilson and Ogilvy,
Skinner Street.

CATALOGUE OF

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

740 Volumes, £158 19s. 6d.

The Publishers are now issuing the Libraries in a NEW AND MORE ATTRACTIVE STYLE OF BINDING. The original bindings endeared to many book-lovers by association will still be kept in stock, but henceforth all orders will be executed in the New binding, unless the contrary is expressly stated.

New Volumes of Standard Works in the various branches of Literature are constantly being added to this Series, which is already unsurpassed in respect to the number, variety, and cheapness of the Works contained in it. The Publishers beg to announce the following Volumes as recently issued or now in preparation :—

Goethe's Faust. Part I. The Original Text, with Hayward's Translation and Notes, carefully revised, with an Introduction and Bibliography, by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature at King's College, London. [*In the Press.*

Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland. Edited by A. W. Hutton, Librarian, National Liberal Club. [*Preparing.*

Ricardo on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Edited with Notes by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A., Lecturer, University College, Liverpool. [*See p.* 19.

Schopenhauer's Essays. Selected and Translated. By E. Belfort Bax. [*See p.* 9.

Voltaire's Tales. Translated by R. B. Boswell. Vol. I. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*See p.* 8.

Count Grammont's Memoirs of the Court of Charles II. With the Boscobel Tracts, &c. New Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*See p.* 5.

Gray's Letters. New Edition. Edited by the Rev. D. C. Tovey, M.A. [*In the press.*

Schools and Masters of Fence. By C. Egerton Castle. New Edition. With numerous Illustrations. [*In the press.*

Montaigne's Essays. Cotton's Translation, revised by W. C. Hazlitt. New Edition. 3 Vols. [*In the press.*

Descartes' Principal Works. Edited by Professor G. Croom Robertson and Thomas Whittaker. 2 Vols.

Hartley Coleridge's Essays and Marginalia. Edited by the Lord Chief Justice. [*Preparing.*

Hoffmann's Works. Translated by Lieut.-Colonel Ewing. Vol. II. [*In the press.*

Bohn's Handbooks of Games. New enlarged edition. In 2 vols. [*See p.* 21.

Vol. I.—Table Games, by Major-General Drayson, R.A., R. F. Green, and 'Berkeley.'
II.—Card Games, by Dr. W. Pole, F.R.S., R. F. Green, 'Berkeley,' and Baxter-Wray.

Bohn's Handbooks of Athletic Sports. 8 Vols. [*See p.* 21.

For BOHN'S SELECT LIBRARY, see p. 23.

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

STANDARD LIBRARY.

338 *Vols. at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (59*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*)

ADDISON'S Works. Notes of Bishop Hurd. Short Memoir, Portrait, and 8 Plates of Medals. 6 vols.

This is the most complete edition of Addison's Works issued.

ALFIERI'S Tragedies. In English Verse. With Notes, Arguments, and Introduction, by E. A. Bowring, C.B. 2 vols.

AMERICAN POETRY. — *See Poetry of America.*

BACON'S Moral and Historical Works, including Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Henry Prince of Wales, History of Great Britain, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus Cæsar. With Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes by J. Devey, M.A. Portrait.

— *See also Philosophical Library.*

BALLADS AND SONGS of the Peasantry of England, from Oral Recitation, private MSS., Broadsides, &c. Edit. by R. Bell.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER. Selections. With Notes and Introduction by Leigh Hunt.

BECKMANN (J.) History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. With Portraits of Beckmann and James Watt. 2 vols.

BELL (Robert).—*See Ballads, Chaucer, Green.*

BOSWELL'S Life of Johnson, with the TOUR in the HEBRIDES and JOHNSONIANA. New Edition, with Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. A. Napier, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Holkham, Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the 'Theological Works of Barrow.' With Frontispiece to each vol. 6 vols.

BREMER'S (Frederika) Works. Trans. by M. Howitt. Portrait. 4 vo's.

BRINK (B. ten). Early English Literature (to Wiclif). By Bernhard ten Brink. Trans. by Prof. H. M. Kennedy.

BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works. Edit. by S. Wilkin, with Dr. Johnson's Life of Browne. Portrait. 3 vols.

BURKE'S Works. 6 vols.

— **Speeches on the Impeachment** of Warren Hastings; and Letters. 2 vols.

— **Life.** By Sir J. Prior. Portrait.

BURNS (Robert). Life of. By J. G. Lockhart, D.C.L. A new and enlarged edition. With Notes and Appendices by W. Scott Douglas. Portrait.

BUTLER'S (Bp.) Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; with Two Dissertations on Identity and Virtue, and Fifteen Sermons. With Introductions, Notes, and Memoir. Portrait.

CAMOËN'S Lusiad, or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Trans. from the Portuguese, with Dissertation, Historical Sketch, and Life, by W. J. Mickle. 5th edition.

CARAFAS (The) of Maddaloni. Naples under Spanish Dominion. Trans. from the German of Alfred de Reumont. Portrait of Massaniello.

CARREL. The Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II., by Armand Carrel; with Fox's History of James II. and Lord Lonsdale's Memoir of James II. Portrait of Carrel.

CARRUTHERS. — *See Pope, in Illustrated Library.*

CARY'S Dante. The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. Trans. by Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A. With Life, Chronological View of his Age, Notes, and Index of Proper Names. Portrait.

This is the authentic edition, containing Mr. Cary's last corrections, with additional notes.

CELLINI (Benvenuto). Memoirs of, by himself. With Notes of G. P. Carpani. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portrait.

CERVANTES' Galatea. A Pastoral Romance. Trans. by G. W. J. Gyll.

—— **Exemplary Novels.** Trans. by W. K. Kelly.

—— **Don Quixote de la Mancha.** Motteux's Translation revised. With Lockhart's Life and Notes. 2 vols.

CHAUCER'S Poetical Works. With Poems formerly attributed to him. With a Memoir, Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by R. Bell. Improved edition, with Preliminary Essay by Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. Portrait. 4 vols.

CLASSIC TALES, containing Rasselas, Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, and The Sentimental Journey.

COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) Friend. A Series of Essays on Morals, Politics, and Religion. Portrait.

—— **Aids to Reflection. Confessions** of an Inquiring Spirit; and Essays on Faith and the Common Prayer-book. New Edition, revised.

—— **Table-Talk and Omniana.** By T. Ashe, B.A.

—— **Lectures on Shakespeare and** other Poets. Edit. by T. Ashe, B.A.
Containing the lectures taken down in 1811-12 by J. P. Collier, and those delivered at Bristol in 1813.

—— **Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical** Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions; with Two Lay Sermons.

—— **Miscellanies, Æsthetic and** Literary; to which is added, THE THEORY OF LIFE. Collected and arranged by T. Ashe, B.A.

COMMINES.—*See Philip.*

CONDÉ'S History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Trans. by Mrs. Foster. Portrait of Abderahmen ben Moavia. 3 vols.

COWPER'S Complete Works, Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. Edit. with Memoir by R. Southey. 45 Engravings. 8 vols.

COXE'S Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. With his original Correspondence, from family records at Blenheim. Revised edition. Portraits. 3 vols.
*** An Atlas of the plans of Marlborough's campaigns, 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

COXE'S History of the House of Austria. From the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Death of Leopold II., 1218-1792. By Archdn. Coxe. With Continuation from the Accession of Francis I. to the Revolution of 1848. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

CUNNINGHAM'S Lives of the most Eminent British Painters. With Notes and 16 fresh Lives by Mrs. Heaton. 3 vols.

DEFOE'S Novels and Miscellaneous Works. With Prefaces and Notes, including those attributed to Sir W. Scott. Portrait. 7 vols.

DE LOLME'S Constitution of England, in which it is compared both with the Republican form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe. Edit., with Life and Notes, by J. Macgregor.

DUNLOP'S History of Fiction. New Edition, revised. By Henry Wilson. 2 vols., 5*s.* each.

EDGEWORTH'S Stories for Children. With 8 Illustrations by L. Speed.

ELZE'S Shakespeare.—*See Shakespeare*

EMERSON'S Works. 3 vols.

Vol. I.—Essays, Lectures, and Poems.

Vol. II.—English Traits, Nature, and Conduct of Life.

Vol. III.—Society and Solitude—Letters and Social Aims—Miscellaneous Papers (hitherto uncollected)—May-Day, &c.

FOSTER'S (John) Life and Correspondence. Edit. by J. E. Ryland. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures at Broadmead Chapel.** Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Critical Essays contributed to** the 'Eclectic Review.' Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Essays: On Decision of Charac**ter; on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion.

—— **Essays on the Evils of Popular** Ignorance, and a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India.

—— **Essay on the Improvemen of** Time, with Notes of Sermons and other Pieces.

—— **Fosteriana:** selected from periodical papers, edit. by H. G. Bohn.

FOX (Rt. Hon. C. J.)—*See Carrel.*

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Complete and unabridged, with variorum Notes; including those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and others. 7 vols. 2 Maps and Portrait.

GOETHE'S Works. Trans. into English by E. A. Bowring, C.B., Anna Swanwick, Sir Walter Scott, &c. &c. 14 vols.

Vols. I. and II.—Autobiography and Annals. Portrait.

Vol. III.—Faust. Complete.

Vol. IV.—Novels and Tales: containing Elective Affinities, Sorrows of Werther, The German Emigrants, The Good Women, and a Nouvelette.

Vol. V.—Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.

Vol. VI.—Conversations with Eckerman and Soret.

Vol. VII.—Poems and Ballads in the original Metres, including Hermann and Dorothea.

Vol. VIII.—Götz von Berlichingen, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, Iphigenia, Clavigo, Wayward Lover, and Fellow Culprits.

Vol. IX.—Wilhelm Meister's Travels. Complete Edition.

Vol. X.—Tour in Italy. Two Parts. And Second Residence in Rome.

Vol. XI.—Miscellaneous Travels, Letters from Switzerland, Campaign in France, Siege of Mainz, and Rhine Tour.

Vol. XII.—Early and Miscellaneous Letters, including Letters to his Mother, with Biography and Notes.

Vol. XIII.—Correspondence with Zelter.

Vol. XIV.—Reineke Fox, West-Eastern Divan and Achilleid. Translated in original metres by A. Rogers.

—— Correspondence with Schiller. 2 vols.—*See Schiller.*

—— Faust.—*See Collegiate Series.*

GOLDSMITH'S Works. 5 vols.

Vol. I.—Life, Vicar of Wakefield, Essays, and Letters.

Vol. II.—Poems, Plays, Bee, Cock Lane Ghost.

Vol. III.—The Citizen of the World, Polite Learning in Europe.

Vol. IV.—Biographies, Criticisms, Later Essays.

Vol. V.—Prefaces, Natural History, Letters, Goody Two-Shoes, Index.

GRAMMONT (Count). Memoirs of the Court of Charles II. With the Boscobel Tracts, &c. New Edition.

GREENE, MARLOWE, and BEN JONSON (Poems of). With Notes and Memoirs by R. Bell.

GREGORY'S (Dr.) The Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion.

GRIMM'S Household Tales. With the Original Notes. Trans. by Mrs. A. Hunt. Introduction by Andrew Lang, M.A. 2 vols.

GUIZOT'S History of Representative Government in Europe. Trans. by A. R. Scoble.

—— English Revolution of 1640. From the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portrait.

—— History of Civilisation. From the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portraits. 3 vols.

HALL'S (Rev. Robert) Works and Remains. Memoir by Dr. Gregory and Essay by J. Foster. Portrait.

HAUFF'S Tales. The Caravan—The Sheikh of Alexandria—The Inn in the Spessart. Translated by Prof. S. Mendel.

HAWTHORNE'S Tales. 3 vols.

Vol. I.—Twice-told Tales, and the Snow Image.

Vol. II.—Scarlet Letter, and the House with Seven Gables.

Vol. III.—Transformation, and Blithedale Romance.

HAZLITT'S (W.) Works. 7 vols.

—— Table-Talk.

—— The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays.

—— English Poets and English Comic Writers.

—— The Plain Speaker. Opinions on Books, Men, and Things.

—— Round Table. Conversations of James Northcote, R.A.; Characteristics.

—— Sketches and Essays, and Winterslow.

—— Spirit of the Age; or, Contemporary Portraits. New Edition, by W. Carew Hazlitt.

HEINE'S Poems. Translated in the original Metres, with Life by E. A. Bowring, C.B.

—— Travel-Pictures. The Tour in the Harz, Norderney, and Book of Ideas, together with the Romantic School. Trans. by F. Storr. With Maps and Appendices.

HOFFMANN'S Works. The Serapion Brethren. Vol. I. Trans. by Lt.-Col. Ewing. [*Vol. II. in the press.*

HOOPER'S (G.) Waterloo: The Downfall of the First Napoleon: a History of the Campaign of 1815. By George Hooper. With Maps and Plans. New Edition, revised.

HUGO'S (Victor) Dramatic Works. Hernani—Ruy Blas—The King's Diversion. Translated by Mrs. Newton Crosland and F. L. Slous.

—— **Poems,** chiefly Lyrical. Collected by H. L. Williams.

HUNGARY: its History and Revolution, with Memoir of Kossuth. Portrait.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel). Memoirs of. By his Widow, with her Autobiography, and the Siege of Lathom House. Portrait.

IRVING'S (Washington) Complete Works. 15 vols.

—— **Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. With Index and a Portrait. 2 vols.

JAMES'S (G. P. R.) Life of Richard Cœur de Lion. Portraits of Richard and Philip Augustus. 2 vols.

—— **Louis XIV.** Portraits. 2 vols.

JAMESON (Mrs.) Shakespeare's Heroines. Characteristics of Women. By Mrs. Jameson.

JEAN PAUL.—*See Richter.*

JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets. Edited, with Notes, by Mrs. Alexander Napier. And an Introduction by Professor J. W. Hales, M.A. 3 vols.

JONSON (Ben). Poems of.—*See Greene.*

JOSEPHUS (Flavius), The Works of. Whiston's Translation. Revised by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A. With Topographical and Geographical Notes by Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B. 5 vols.

JUNIUS'S Letters. With Woodfall's Notes. An Essay on the Authorship. Facsimiles of Handwriting. 2 vols.

LA FONTAINE'S Fables. In English Verse, with Essay on the Fabulists. By Elizur Wright.

LAMARTINE'S The Girondists, or Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution. Trans. by H. T. Ryde. Portraits of Robespierre, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday. 3 vols.

—— **The Restoration of Monarchy** in France (a Sequel to The Girondists). 5 Portraits. 4 vols.

—— **The French Revolution of 1848.** Portraits.

LAMB'S (Charles) Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition. Portrait.

LAMB'S (Charles) Specimens of English Dramatic Poets of the time of Elizabeth. With Notes and the Extracts from the Garrick Plays.

—— **Talfourd's Letters of Charles** Lamb. New Edition, by W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols.

LANZI'S History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the 18th Century. With Memoir and Portraits. Trans. by T. Roscoe. 3 vols.

LAPPENBERG'S England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings. Trans. by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. 2 vols.

LESSING'S Dramatic Works. Complete. By E. Bell, M.A. With Memoir by H. Zimmern. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Laokoon, Dramatic Notes, and** Representation of Death by the Ancients. Trans. by E. C. Beasley and Helen Zimmern. Frontispiece.

LOCKE'S Philosophical Works, containing Human Understanding, Controversy with Bishop of Worcester, Malebranche's Opinions, Natural Philosophy, Reading and Study. With Introduction, Analysis, and Notes, by J. A. St. John. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Life and Letters,** with Extracts from his Common-place Books. By Lord King.

LOCKHART (J. G.)—*See Burns.*

LUTHER'S Table-Talk. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Life by A. Chalmers, and LUTHER'S CATECHISM. Portrait after Cranach.

—— **Autobiography.**—*See Michelet.*

MACHIAVELLI'S History of Florence, THE PRINCE, Savonarola, Historical Tracts, and Memoir. Portrait.

MARLOWE. Poems of.—*See Greene.*

MARTINEAU'S (Harriet) History of England (including History of the Peace) from 1800-1846. 5 vols.

MENZEL'S History of Germany, from the Earliest Period to the Crimean War. Portraits. 3 vols.

MICHELET'S Autobiography of Luther. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Notes.

—— **The French Revolution** to the Flight of the King in 1791. Frontispiece.

MIGNET'S The French Revolution, from 1789 to 1814. Portrait of Napoleon.

MILTON'S Prose Works. With Preface, Preliminary Remarks by J. A. St. John, and Index. 5 vols. Portraits.

—— **Poetical Works.** With 120 Wood Engravings. 2 vols.

MITFORD'S (Miss) Our Village. Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery. 2 Engravings. 2 vols.

MOLIÈRE'S Dramatic Works. In English Prose, by C. H. Wall. With a Life and a Portrait. 3 vols.

'It is not too much to say that we have here probably as good a translation of Molière as can be given.'—*Academy.*

MONTAGU. Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lord Wharncliffe's Third Edition. Edited by W. Moy Thomas. New and revised edition. With steel plates. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

MONTESQUIEU'S Spirit of Laws. Revised Edition, with D'Alembert's Analysis, Notes, and Memoir. 2 vols.

NEANDER (Dr. A.) History of the Christian Religion and Church. Trans. by J. Torrey. With Short Memoir. 10 vols.

—— **Life of Jesus Christ, in its Historical** Connexion and Development.

—— **The Planting and Training of** the Christian Church by the Apostles. With the Antignosticus, or Spirit of Tertullian. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the History of** Christian Dogmas. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Memorials of Christian Life in** the Early and Middle Ages; including Light in Dark Places. Trans. by J. E. Ryland.

NORTH'S Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guildford, the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North. By the Hon. Roger North. Edited by A. Jessopp, D.D. With 3 Portraits. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

'Lovers of good literature will rejoice at the appearance of a new, handy, and complete edition of so justly famous a book, and will congratulate themselves that it has found so competent and skilful an editor as Dr. Jessopp.'—*Times.*

OCKLEY (S.) History of the Saracens and their Conquests in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. Comprising the Lives of Mohammed and his Successors to the Death of Abdalmelik, the Eleventh Caliph. By Simon Ockley, B.D., Portrait of Mohammed.

PASCAL'S Thoughts. Translated from the Text of M. Auguste Molinier by C. Kegan Paul. 3rd edition.

PERCY'S Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, consisting of Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, with some few of later date. With Essay on Ancient Minstrels, and Glossary. 2 vols.

PHILIP DE COMMINES. Memoirs of. Containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. With the History of Louis XI., by Jean de Troyes. Translated, with a Life and Notes, by A. R. Scoble. Portraits. 2 vols.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. Translated, with Notes and Life, by A. Stewart, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and G. Long, M.A. 4 vols.

POETRY OF AMERICA. Selections from One Hundred Poets, from 1776 to 1876. With Introductory Review, and Specimens of Negro Melody, by W. J. Linton. Portrait of W. Whitman.

RACINE'S (Jean) Dramatic Works. A metrical English version, with Biographical notice. By R. Bruce Boswell, M.A. Oxon. 2 vols.

RANKE (L.) History of the Popes, their Church and State, and their Conflicts with Protestantism in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Trans. by E. Foster. Portraits. 3 vols.

—— **History of Servia.** Trans. by Mrs. Kerr. To which is added, The Slave Provinces of Turkey, by Cyprien Robert.

—— **History of the Latin and Teu**tonic Nations. 1494–1514. Trans. by P. A. Ashworth, translator of Dr. Gneist's 'History of the English Constitution.'

REUMONT (Alfred de).—*See Carafas.*

REYNOLDS' (Sir J.) Literary Works. With Memoir and Remarks by H. W. Beechy. 2 vols.

RICHTER (Jean Paul). Levana, a Treatise on Education; together with the Autobiography, and a short Memoir.

—— **Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces,** or the Wedded Life, Death, and Marriage of Siebenkaes. Translated by Alex. Ewing. The only complete English translation.

ROSCOE'S (W.) Life of Leo X., with Notes, Historical Documents, and Dissertation on Lucretia Borgia. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lorenzo de' Medici,** called 'The Magnificent,' with Copyright Notes, Poems, Letters, &c. With Memoir of Roscoe and Portrait of Lorenzo.

RUSSIA, History of, from the earliest Period to the Crimean War. By W. K. Kelly. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

SCHILLER'S Works. 7 vols.
Vol. I.—History of the Thirty Years' War. Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. Portrait.
Vol. II.—History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, the Trials of Counts Egmont and Horn, the Siege of Antwerp, and the Disturbance of France preceding the Reign of Henry IV. Translated by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison and L. Dora Schmitz.
Vol. III.—Don Carlos. R. D. Boylan—Mary Stuart. Mellish—Maid of Orleans. Anna Swanwick—Bride of Messina. A. Lodge, M.A. Together with the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy (a short Essay). Engravings.
These Dramas are all translated in metre.
Vol. IV.—Robbers—Fiesco—Love and Intrigue—Demetrius—Ghost Seer—Sport of Divinity.
The Dramas in this volume are in prose.
Vol. V.—Poems. E. A. Bowring, C.B.
Vol. VI.—Essays, Æsthetical and Philosophical, including the Dissertation on the Connexion between the Animal and Spiritual in Man.
Vol. VII.—Wallenstein's Camp. J. Churchill.—Piccolomini and Death of Wallenstein. S. T. Coleridge.—William Tell. Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., LL.D.

SCHILLER and GOETHE. Correspondence between, from A.D. 1794-1805. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols.

SCHLEGEL (F.) Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language. Trans. by A. J. W. Morrison.

—— The History of Literature, Ancient and Modern.

—— The Philosophy of History. With Memoir and Portrait. Trans. by J. B. Robertson.

—— Modern History, with the Lectures entitled Cæsar and Alexander, and The Beginning of our History. Translated by L. Purcell and R. H. Whitelock.

—— Æsthetic and Miscellaneous Works, containing Letters on Christian Art, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Remarks on the Romance Poetry of the Middle Ages, on Shakspeare, the Limits of the Beautiful, and on the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. By E. J. Millington.

SCHLEGEL (A. W.) Dramatic Art and Literature. By J. Black. With Memoir by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison. Portrait.

SCHUMANN (Robert), His Life and Works. By A. Reissmann. Trans. by A. L. Alger.

—— Early Letters. Translated by May Herbert. With Preface by Sir G. Grove.

SHAKESPEARE'S Dramatic Art. The History and Character of Shakspeare's Plays. By Dr. H. Ulrici. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols.

SHAKESPEARE (William). A Literary Biography by Karl Elze, Ph.D., LL.D. Translated by L. Dora Schmitz. 5s.

SHERIDAN'S Dramatic Works. With Memoir. Portrait (after Reynolds).

SISMONDI'S History of the Literature of the South of Europe. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portraits. 2 vols.

SMITH'S (Adam) Theory of Moral Sentiments; with Essay on the First Formation of Languages, and Critical Memoir by Dugald Stewart.

—— *See Economic Library.*

SMYTH'S (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. 2 vols.

—— Lectures on the French Revolution. With Index. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY.—*See Cowper, Wesley, and (Illustrated Library) Nelson.*

STURM'S Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day. Trans. by W. Johnstone, M.A.

SULLY. Memoirs of the Duke of, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. With Notes and Historical Introduction. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

TAYLOR'S (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying, with Prayers, containing the Whole Duty of a Christian and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions. Portrait.

TEN BRINK.—*See Brink.*

THIERRY'S Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences in England and the Continent. By W. Hazlitt. With short Memoir. 2 Portraits. 2 vols.

ULRICI (Dr.)—*See Shakespeare.*

VASARI. Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. By Mrs. J. Foster, with selected Notes. Portrait. 6 vols., Vol. VI. being an additional Volume of Notes by Dr. J. P. Richter.

VOLTAIRE'S Tales. Translated by R. B. Boswell. Vol. I., containing 'Babouc,' Memnon, Candide, L'Ingénu, and other Tales.

WERNER'S Templars in Cyprus. Trans. by E. A. M. Lewis.

WESLEY, the Life of, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. Portrait. 5s.

WHEATLEY. A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.

YOUNG (Arthur) Travels in France. Edited by Miss Betham Edwards. With a Portrait.

HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

22 *Volumes at* 5*s. each.* (5*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

EVELYN'S Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I. and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne. Edited from the Original MSS. by W. Bray, F.A.S. 4 vols. 45 Engravings (after Vandyke, Lely, Kneller, and Jamieson, &c.).

N.B.—This edition contains 130 letters from Evelyn and his wife, printed by permission, and contained in no other edition.

PEPYS' Diary and Correspondence. With Life and Notes, by Lord Braybrooke. With Appendix containing additional Letters and Index. 4 vols., with 31 Engravings (after Vandyke, Sir P. Lely, Holbein, Kneller, &c.).

N.B.—This is a reprint of Lord Braybrooke's fourth and last edition, containing all his latest notes and corrections, the copyright of the publishers.

JESSE'S Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. 3 vols. With Index and 42 Portraits (after Vandyke, Lely, &c.).

—— **Memoirs of the Pretenders and** their Adherents. 6 Portraits.

NUGENT'S (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. With Memoir. 12 Portraits (after Vandyke and others).

STRICKLAND'S (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest. From authentic Documents, public and private. 6 Portraits. 6 vols.

—— **Life of Mary Queen of Scots.** 2 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lives of the Tudor and Stuart** Princesses. With 2 Portraits.

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

17 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (3*l.* 19*s. per set.*)

BACON'S Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. With Notes by J. Devey, M.A.

BAX. A Handbook of the History of Philosophy, for the use of Students. By E. Belfort Bax, Editor of Kant's 'Prolegomena.'

COMTE'S Philosophy of the Sciences. An Exposition of the Principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive*. By G. H. Lewes, Author of 'The Life of Goethe.'

DRAPER (Dr. J. W.) A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. 2 vols.

HEGEL'S Philosophy of History. By J. Sibree, M.A.

KANT'S Critique of Pure Reason. By J. M. D. Meiklejohn.

—— **Prolegomena and Metaphysical** Foundations of Natural Science, with Biography and Memoir by E. Belfort Bax. Portrait.

LOGIC, or the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. Devey.

MILLER (Professor). History Philosophically Illustrated, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. With Memoir. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCHOPENHAUER on the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and on the Will in Nature. Trans. from the German.

—— **Essays.** Selected and Translated by E. Belfort Bax.

SPINOZA'S Chief Works. Trans. with Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols.

Vol. I.—Tractatus Theologico-Politicus —Political Treatise.

Vol. II.—Improvement of the Understanding—Ethics—Letters.

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

15 *Vols. at* 5*s. each* (*except Chillingworth,* 3*s.* 6*d.*). (3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BLEEK. Introduction to the Old Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Trans. under the supervision of Rev. E. Venables, Residentiary Canon of Lincoln. 2 vols.

CHILLINGWORTH'S Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBIUS. Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea. Trans. by Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. With Notes, Life, and Chronological Tables.

EVAGRIUS. History of the Church. —*See Theodoret.*

HARDWICK. History of the Articles of Religion; to which is added a Series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615. Ed. by Rev. F. Proctor.

HENRY'S (Matthew) Exposition of the Book of Psalms. Numerous Woodcuts.

PEARSON (John, D.D.) Exposition of the Creed. Edit. by E. Walford, M.A. With Notes, Analysis, and Indexes.

PHILO-JUDÆUS, Works of. The Contemporary of Josephus. Trans. by C. D. Yonge. 4 vols.

PHILOSTORGIUS. Ecclesiastical History of.—*See Sozomen.*

SOCRATES' Ecclesiastical History. Comprising a History of the Church from Constantine, A.D. 305, to the 38th year of Theodosius II. With Short Account of the Author, and selected Notes.

SOZOMEN'S Ecclesiastical History. A.D. 324-440. With Notes, Prefatory Remarks by Valesius, and Short Memoir. Together with the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS, as epitomised by Photius. Trans. by Rev. E. Walford, M.A. With Notes and brief Life.

THEODORET and EVAGRIUS. Histories of the Church from A.D. 332 to the Death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. With Memoirs.

WIESELER'S (Karl) Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. Trans. by Rev. Canon Venables.

ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

35 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (8*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. — *See Bede.*

ASSER'S Life of Alfred.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

BEDE'S (Venerable) Ecclesiastical History of England. Together with the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. With Notes, Short Life, Analysis, and Map. Edit. by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

BOETHIUS'S Consolation of Philo-sophy. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of. With an English Translation on opposite pages, Notes, Introduction, and Glossary, by Rev. S. Fox, M.A. To which is added the Anglo-Saxon Version of the METRES OF BOETHIUS, with a free Translation by Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L.

BRAND'S Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar and Provincial Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. By Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S. Frontispiece. 3 vols.

CHRONICLES of the CRUSADES. Contemporary Narratives of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade at Saint Louis, by Lord John de Joinville. With Short Notes. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

DYER'S (T. F. T.) British Popular Customs, Present and Past. An Account of the various Games and Customs associated with different Days of the Year in the British Isles, arranged according to the Calendar. By the Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A.

EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De la Brocquière, and Maundrell; all unabridged. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright. Map of Jerusalem.

ELLIS (G.) Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, relating to Arthur, Merlin, Guy of Warwick, Richard Cœur de Lion, Charlemagne, Roland, &c. &c. With Historical Introduction by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

ETHELWERD, Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER'S Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Trans., with Notes, by Thomas Forester, M.A.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks. Trans. with Notes by the Rev. Charles Swan. Edit. by W. Hooper, M.A.

GILDAS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS' Historical Works. Containing Topography of Ireland, and History of the Conquest of Ireland, by Th. Forester, M.A. Itinerary through Wales, and Description of Wales, by Sir R. Colt Hoare.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to the Accession of Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, and the Letter to Walter. By T. Forester, M.A. Frontispiece from an old MS.

INGULPH'S Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland, with the CONTINUATION by Peter of Blois and others. Trans. with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A.

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Fairy Mythology, illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries. Frontispiece by Cruikshank.

LEPSIUS'S Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; to which are added, Extracts from his Chronology of the Egyptians, with reference to the Exodus of the Israelites. By L. and J. B. Horner. Maps and Coloured View of Mount Barkal.

MALLET'S Northern Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religions, and Literature of the Ancient Scandinavians. Trans. by Bishop Percy. With Translation of the PROSE EDDA, and Notes by J. A. Blackwell. Also an Abstract of the 'Eyrbyggia Saga' by Sir Walter Scott. With Glossary and Coloured Frontispiece.

MARCO POLO'S Travels; with Notes and Introduction. Edit. by T. Wright.

MATTHEW PARIS'S English History, from 1235 to 1273. By Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. With Frontispiece. 3 vols.—*See also Roger of Wendover.*

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER'S Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain, from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. By C. D. Yonge. 2 vols.

NENNIUS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. With Notes, Introduction of Guizot, and the Critical Notice of M. Delille, by T. Forester, M.A. To which is added the CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT. With General and Chronological Indexes. 4 vols.

PAULI'S (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. To which is appended Alfred's ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS. With literal Translation interpaged, Notes, and an ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR and Glossary, by B. Thorpe. Frontispiece.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S Annals of English History, comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. With Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

ROGER OF WENDOVER'S Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. With Notes and Index by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols.

SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES: viz., Asser's Life of Alfred and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester. Edit., with Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Portrait of Alfred.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Earliest Period to King Stephen. By Rev. J. Sharpe. With Notes by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Frontispiece.

YULE-TIDE STORIES. A Collection of Scandinavian and North-German Popular Tales and Traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. Edit. by B. Thorpe.

ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

78 Vols. at 5s. each, excepting those marked otherwise. (*19l. 7s. 6d. per set.*)

ALLEN'S (Joseph, R.N.) Battles of the British Navy. Revised edition, with Indexes of Names and Events, and 57 Portraits and Plans. 2 vols.

ANDERSEN'S Danish Fairy Tales. By Caroline Peachey. With Short Life and 120 Wood Engravings.

ARIOSTO'S Orlando Furioso. In English Verse by W. S. Rose. With Notes and Short Memoir. Portrait after Titian, and 24 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

BECHSTEIN'S Cage and Chamber Birds: their Natural History, Habits, &c. Together with SWEET'S BRITISH WARBLERS. 43 Coloured Plates and Woodcuts.

BONOMI'S Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ. 7 Plates and 294 Woodcuts.

BUTLER'S Hudibras, with Variorum Notes and Biography. Portrait and 28 Illustrations.

CATTERMOLE'S Evenings at Haddon Hall. Romantic Tales of the Olden Times. With 24 Steel Engravings after Cattermole.

CHINA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. Map, and nearly 100 Illustrations.

CRAIK'S (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Numerous Woodcut Portraits.

CRUIKSHANK'S Three Courses and a Dessert; comprising three Sets of Tales, West Country, Irish, and Legal; and a Mélange. With 50 Illustrations by Cruikshank.

—— **Punch and Judy.** The Dialogue of the Puppet Show; an Account of its Origin, &c. 24 Illustrations and Coloured Plates by Cruikshank.

DANTE, in English Verse, by I. C. Wright, M.A. With Introduction and Memoir. Portrait and 34 Steel Engravings after Flaxman.

DIDRON'S Christian Iconography; a History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. By the late A. N. Didron. Trans. by E. J. Millington, and completed, with Additions and Appendices, by Margaret Stokes. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations.

Vol. I. The History of the Nimbus, the Aureole, and the Glory; Representations of the Persons of the Trinity.

Vol. II. The Trinity; Angels; Devils; The Soul; The Christian Scheme. Appendices.

DYER (Dr. T. H.) Pompeii: its Buildings and Antiquities. An Account of the City, with full Description of the Remains and Recent Excavations, and an Itinerary for Visitors. By T. H. Dyer, LL.D. Nearly 300 Wood Engravings, Map, and Plan. *7s. 6d.*

—— **Rome:** History of the City, with Introduction on recent Excavations. 8 Engravings, Frontispiece, and 2 Maps.

GIL BLAS. The Adventures of. From the French of Lesage by Smollett. 24 Engravings after Smirke, and 10 Etchings by Cruikshank. 612 pages. *6s.*

GRIMM'S Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, containing 42 Fairy Tales. By Edgar Taylor. Numerous Woodcuts after Cruikshank and Ludwig Grimm. *3s. 6d.*

HOLBEIN'S Dance of Death and Bible Cuts. Upwards of 150 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce and Dr. Dibdin.

INDIA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times. 100 Engravings on Wood and Map.

JESSE'S Anecdotes of Dogs. With 40 Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick, and others; and 34 Steel Engravings after Cooper and Landseer.

KING'S (C. W.) Natural History of Precious Stones and Metals. Illustrations. *6s.*

LODGE'S Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. 240 Portraits engraved on Steel, with the respective Biographies unabridged. Complete in 8 vols.

LONGFELLOW'S Poetical Works, including his Translations and Notes. 24 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others, and a Portrait.

—— Without the Illustrations, 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Prose Works.** With 16 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others.

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Entertaining Naturalist. Popular Descriptions, Tales, and Anecdotes, of more than 500 Animals. Numerous Woodcuts.

MARRYAT'S (Capt., R.N.) Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the *Pacific.* (Written for Young People.) With 93 Woodcuts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Mission; or, Scenes in Africa.** (Written for Young People.) Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Pirate and Three Cutters.** (Written for Young People.) With a Memoir. 8 Steel Engravings after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Privateersman.** Adventures by Sea and Land One Hundred Years Ago. (Written for Young People.) 8 Steel Engravings. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Settlers in Canada.** (Written for Young People.) 10 Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Poor Jack.** (Written for Young People.) With 16 Illustrations after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Midshipman Easy.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Peter Simple.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAXWELL'S Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. Frontispiece and 4 Portraits.

MICHAEL ANGELO and RAPHAEL, Their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy. Portraits and Engravings, including the Last Judgment, and Cartoons.

MUDIE'S History of British Birds. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. 52 Figures of Birds and 7 coloured Plates of Eggs. 2 vols.

NAVAL and MILITARY HEROES of Great Britain; a Record of British Valour on every Day in the year, from William the Conqueror to the Battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieut. P. H. Nicolas, R.M. Indexes. 24 Portraits after Holbein, Reynolds, &c. 6*s.*

NICOLINI'S History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. 8 Portraits.

PETRARCH'S Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems, in English Verse. With Life by Thomas Campbell. Portrait and 15 Steel Engravings.

PICKERING'S History of the Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution; with AN ANALYTICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN. By Dr. Hall. Map of the World and 12 coloured Plates.

PICTORIAL HANDBOOK OF Modern Geography on a Popular Plan. Compiled from the best Authorities, English and Foreign, by H. G. Bohn. 150 Woodcuts and 51 coloured Maps.

—— Without the Maps, 3*s.* 6*d.*

POPE'S Poetical Works, including Translations. Edit., with Notes, by R. Carruthers. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations.

—— **Homer's Iliad,** with Introduction and Notes by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs.

—— **Homer's Odyssey,** with the BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE, Hymns, &c., by other translators including Chapman. Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs.

—— **Life,** including many of his Letters. By R. Carruthers. Numerous Illustrations.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, and other objects of Vertu. Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection, with the prices and names of the Possessors. Also an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all Marks and Monograms. By H. G. Bohn. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— With coloured Illustrations, 10*s.* 6*d.*

PROUT'S (Father) Reliques. Edited by Rev. F. Mahony. Copyright edition, with the Author's last corrections and additions. 21 Etchings by D. Maclise, R.A. Nearly 600 pages.

RECREATIONS IN SHOOTING. With some Account of the Game found in the British Isles, and Directions for the Management of Dog and Gun. By 'Craven.' 62 Woodcuts and 9 Steel Engravings after A. Cooper, R.A.

RENNIE. Insect Architecture. Revised by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. 186 Woodcuts.

ROBINSON CRUSOE. With Memoir of Defoe, 12 Steel Engravings and 74 Woodcuts after Stothard and Harvey.

—— Without the Engravings, 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENtury. An Account in 1817 of the Ruins of the Ancient City, and Monuments of Modern Times. By C. A. Eaton. 34 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

SHARPE (S.) The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. 2 Maps and upwards of 400 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY'S Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes, Facsimiles of Nelson's Writing, Portraits, Plans, and 50 Engravings, after Birket Foster, &c.

STARLING'S (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. With 14 Steel Portraits.

STUART and REVETT'S Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece; with Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. 71 Steel Plates and numerous Woodcuts.

SWEET'S British Warblers. 5*s.*—*See Bechstein.*

TALES OF THE GENII; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Trans. by Sir C. Morrell. Numerous Woodcuts.

TASSO'S Jerusalem Delivered. In English Spenserian Verse, with Life, by J. H. Wiffen. With 8 Engravings and 24 Woodcuts.

WALKER'S Manly Exercises; containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. 44 Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

WALTON'S Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With Memoirs and Notes by E. Jesse. Also an Account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by H. G. Bohn. Portrait and 203 Woodcuts, and 26 Engravings on Steel.

—— **Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker,** &c., with Notes. A New Edition, revised by A. H. Bullen, with a Memoir of Izaak Walton by William Dowling. 6 Portraits, 6 Autograph Signatures, &c.

WELLINGTON, Life of. From the Materials of Maxwell. 18 Steel Engravings.

—— **Victories of.**—*See Maxwell.*

WESTROPP (H. M.) A Handbook of Archæology, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman. By H. M. Westropp. Numerous Illustrations.

WHITE'S Natural History of Selborne, with Observations on various Parts of Nature, and the Naturalists' Calendar. Sir W. Jardine. Edit., with Notes and Memoir, by E. Jesse. 40 Portraits and coloured Plates.

CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

Translations from the Greek and Latin.

103 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (25*l.* 3*s. per set.*)

ACHILLES TATIUS. — *See Greek Romances.*

ÆSCHYLUS, The Dramas of. In English Verse by Anna Swanwick. 4th edition.

—— **The Tragedies of.** In Prose, with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. History of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens, by C. D. Yonge, B.A. Double volume. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ANTONINUS (M. Aurelius), The Thoughts of. Translated, with Notes. Biographical Sketch, and Essay on the Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.* Fine Paper edition on hand-made paper. 6*s.*

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. 'The Argonautica.' Translated by E. P. Coleridge.

APULEIUS, The Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic, &c. Frontispiece.

ARISTOPHANES' Comedies. Trans., with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. Hickie. Portrait. 2 vols.

ARISTOTLE'S Nicomachean Ethics. Trans., with Notes, Analytical Introduction, and Questions for Students, by Ven. Archdn. Browne.

— **Politics and Economics.** Trans., with Notes, Analyses, and Index, by E. Walford, M.A., and an Essay and Life by Dr. Gillies.

— **Metaphysics.** Trans., with Notes, Analysis, and Examination Questions, by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A.

— **History of Animals.** In Ten Books. Trans., with Notes and Index, by R. Cresswell, M.A.

— **Organon;** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. With Notes, Analysis, and Introduction, by Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Trans., with Hobbes' Analysis, Exam. Questions, and Notes, by T. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

ATHENÆUS. The Deipnosophists. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. With an Appendix of Poetical Fragments. 3 vols.

ATLAS of Classical Geography. 22 large Coloured Maps. With a complete Index. Imp. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BION.—*See Theocritus.*

CÆSAR. Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, with the Supplementary Books attributed to Hirtius, including the complete Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Portrait.

CATULLUS, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. Trans. with Notes and Biographical Introduction. To which are added, Metrical Versions by Lamb, Grainger, and others. Frontispiece.

CICERO'S Orations. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 4 vols.

— **On Oratory and Orators.** With Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

— **On the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, Consulship. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

— **Academics,** De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophers mentioned by Cicero.

CICERO'S Works.—*Continued.*

— **Offices;** or, Moral Duties. Cato Major, an Essay on Old Age; Lælius, an Essay on Friendship; Scipio's Dream; Paradoxes; Letter to Quintus on Magistrates. Trans., with Notes, by C. R. Edmonds. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

DEMOSTHENES' Orations. Trans., with Notes, Arguments, a Chronological Abstract, and Appendices, by C. Rann Kennedy. 5 vols. (One, 3*s.* 6*d.*; four, 5*s.*)

DICTIONARY of LATIN and GREEK Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases. With the Quantities marked, and English Translations. With Index Verborum (622 pages).

— Index Verborum to the above, with the *Quantities* and Accents marked (56 pages), limp cloth. 1*s.*

DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

EPICTETUS. The Discourses of. With the Encheiridion and Fragments. With Notes, Life, and View of his Philosophy, by George Long, M.A.

EURIPIDES. Trans. by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 2 vols.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. In English Prose by G. Burges, M.A. With Metrical Versions by Bland, Merivale, and others.

GREEK ROMANCES of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius; viz., The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. R. Smith, M.A.

HELIODORUS.—*See Greek Romances.*

HERODOTUS. Literally trans. by Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HESIOD, CALLIMACHUS, and Theognis. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Notices by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. Together with the Metrical Versions of Hesiod, by Elton; Callimachus, by Tytler; and Theognis, by Frere.

HOMER'S Iliad. In English Prose, with Notes by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

— **Odyssey,** Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. In English Prose, with Notes and Memoir by T. A. Buckley, B.A.

HORACE. In Prose by Smart, with Notes selected by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

JULIAN THE EMPEROR. Containing Gregory Mazianzea's Two Invectives and Libanus' Monody, with Julian's Theosophical Works. By the Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS, and Eutropius. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

JUVENAL, PERSIUS, SULPICIA, and Lucilius. In Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, by L. Evans, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius by Gifford. Frontispiece.

LIVY. The History of Rome. Trans. by Dr. Spillan and others. 4 vols. Portrait.

LONGUS. Daphnis and Chloe.—*See Greek Romances.*

LUCAN'S Pharsalia. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley.

LUCIAN'S Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea Gods, and of the Dead. Trans. by Howard Williams, M.A.

LUCRETIUS. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Introduction by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version by J. M. Good.

MARTIAL'S Epigrams, complete. In Prose, with Verse Translations selected from English Poets, and other sources. Dble. vol. (670 pages). *7s. 6d.*

MOSCHUS.—*See Theocritus.*

OVID'S Works, complete. In Prose, with Notes and Introduction. 3 vols.

PAUSANIAS' Description of Greece. Trans., with Notes and Index, by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols.

PHALARIS. Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop. With Introduction and Notes by Prof. W. Wagner, Ph.D.

PINDAR. In Prose, with Introduction and Notes by Dawson W. Turner. Together with the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. Portrait.

PLATO'S Works. Trans. by Rev. H. Cary, H. Davis, and G. Burges. 6 vols.

—— Dialogues. A Summary and Analysis of. With Analytical Index to the Greek text of modern editions and to the above translations, by A. Day, LL.D.

PLAUTUS'S Comedies. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

PLINY'S Natural History. Trans., with Notes, by J. Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. 6 vols.

PLINY. The Letters of Pliny the Younger. Melmoth's Translation, revised, with Notes and short Life, by Rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S Morals. Theosophical Essays. Trans. by Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

—— Ethical Essays. Trans. by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A.

—— Lives. *See page 7.*

PROPERTIUS, The Elegies of. With Notes, translated by Rev. P. J. F. Gantillon, M.A., with metrical versions of Select Elegies by Nott and Elton. *3s. 6d.*

QUINTILIAN'S Institutes of Oratory. Trans., by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 2 vols.

SALLUST, FLORUS, and VELLEIUS Paterculus. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notices, by J. S. Watson, M.A.

SENECA DE BENEFICIIS. Translated by Aubrey Stewart, M.A. *3s. 6d.*

SENECA'S Minor Essays. Translated by A. Stewart, M.A.

SOPHOCLES. The Tragedies of. In Prose, with Notes, Arguments, and Introduction. Portrait.

STRABO'S Geography. Trans., with Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton. Copious Index, giving Ancient and Modern Names. 3 vols.

SUETONIUS' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars and Lives of the Grammarians. The Translation of Thomson, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester.

TACITUS. The Works of. Trans., with Notes. 2 vols.

TERENCE and PHÆDRUS. In English Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by H. T. Riley, B.A. To which is added Smart's Metrical Version of Phædrus. With Frontispiece.

THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS, and Tyrtæus. In Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the METRICAL VERSIONS of Chapman. Portrait of Theocritus.

THUCYDIDES. The Peloponnesian War. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

TYRTÆUS.—*See Theocritus.*

VIRGIL. The Works of. In Prose, with Notes by Davidson. Revised, with additional Notes and Biographical Notice, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

XENOPHON'S Works. Trans., with Notes, by J. S. Watson, M.A., and Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. In 3 vols.

COLLEGIATE SERIES.

11 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (2*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

DANTE. The Inferno. Prose Trans., with the Text of the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by John A. Carlyle, M.D. Portrait.

—— **The Purgatorio.** Prose Trans., with the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by W. S. Dugdale.

DOBREE'S Adversaria. (Notes on the Greek and Latin Classics.) Edited by the late Prof. Wagner. 2 vols.

DONALDSON (Dr.) The Theatre of the Greeks. With Supplementary Treatise on the Language, Metres, and Prosody of the Greek Dramatists. Numerous Illustrations and 3 Plans. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D.

GOETHE'S Faust. Part I. German Text, with Hayward's Prose Translation and Notes. Revised, with Introduction and Bibliography, by Dr. C. A. Buchheim. 5*s.*

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy. Revised by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. 12 Plates.

HERODOTUS, Notes on. Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By D. W. Turner, M.A. Coloured Map.

—— **Analysis and Summary of,** with a Synchronistical Table of Events—Tables of Weights, Measures, Money, and Distances—an Outline of the History and Geography—and the Dates completed from Gaisford, Baehr, &c. By J. T. Wheeler.

NEW TESTAMENT (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the Readings of Mill and Scholz, and Parallel References. Also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. Two Fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts. 650 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— or bound up with a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (250 pages additional, making in all 900). 5*s.*

The Lexicon separately, 2*s.*

THUCYDIDES. An Analysis and Summary of. With Chronological Table of Events, &c., by J. T. Wheeler.

SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

48 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (12*l.* 19*s. per set.*)

AGASSIZ and GOULD. Outline of Comparative Physiology. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. With Index and 300 Illustrative Woodcuts.

BOLLEY'S Manual of Technical Analysis; a Guide for the Testing and Valuation of the various Natural and Artificial Substances employed in the Arts and Domestic Economy, founded on the work of Dr. Bolley. Edit. by Dr. Paul. 100 Woodcuts.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.

—— **Bell (Sir Charles) on the Hand;** its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as evincing Design. Preceded by an Account of the Author's Discoveries in the Nervous System by A. Shaw. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— **Kirby on the History, Habits,** and Instincts of Animals. With Notes by T. Rymer Jones. 100 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

—— **Buckland's Geology and Mineralogy.** With Additions by Prof. Owen, Prof. Phillips, and R. Brown. Memoir of Buckland. Portrait. 2 vols. 15*s.* Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. 90 large plates with letterpress.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES. *Continued.*

—— **Chalmers on the Adaptation of** External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. With Memoir by Rev. Dr. Cumming. Portrait.

—— **Prout's Treatise on Chemistry,** Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, with reference to Natural Theology. Edit. by Dr. J. W. Griffith. 2 Maps.

—— **Roget's Animal and Vegetable** Physiology. 463 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

—— **Kidd on the Adaptation of External** Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CARPENTER'S (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. A Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief Forms of Fossil Remains. Revised by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Numerous Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

—— **Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy,** and Horology. A Popular Exposition. 181 Woodcuts.

CARPENTER'S Works.—*Continued.*

— **Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany.** A complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. Revised by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. Numerous Woodcuts. 6*s.*

— **Animal Physiology.** Revised Edition. 300 Woodcuts. 6*s.*

CHEVREUL on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their Application to the Arts; including Painting, Decoration, Tapestries, Carpets, Mosaics, Glazing, Staining, Calico Printing, Letterpress Printing, Map Colouring, Dress, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c. Trans. by C. Martel. Several Plates.

— With an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours, 7*s.* 6*d.*

ENNEMOSER'S History of Magic. Trans. by W. Howitt. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Second Sight, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. 2 vols.

HOGG'S (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Being an Easy Introduction to the Study of Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. 400 Woodcuts.

HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Trans. by E. C. Otté, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Portrait. 5 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each, excepting vol. v., 5*s.*

— **Personal Narrative of his Travels** in America during the years 1799-1804. Trans., with Notes, by T. Ross. 3 vols.

— **Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of** Creation, with Scientific Illustrations. Trans. by E. C. Otté.

HUNT'S (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Professor at the School of Mines.

JOYCE'S Scientific Dialogues. A Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. For Schools and Young People. Numerous Woodcuts.

JUKES-BROWNE'S Student's Handbook of Physical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, of the Geological Survey of England. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations, 6*s.*

JUKES-BROWNE'S Works.—*Cont.*

— **The Student's Handbook of** Historical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Brown, B.A., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of England and Wales. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. 6*s.*

— **The Building of the British** Islands. A Study in Geographical Evolution. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, F.G.S. 7*s.* 6*d.*

KNIGHT'S (Charles) Knowledge is Power. A Popular Manual of Political Economy.

LILLY. Introduction to Astrology. With a Grammar of Astrology and Tables for calculating Nativities, by Zadkiel.

MANTELL'S (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and along the Dorset Coast. Numerous Woodcuts and Geological Map.

— **Petrifactions and their Teachings.** Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. Numerous Woodcuts. 6*s.*

— **Wonders of Geology; or, a** Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. A coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and 200 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCHOUW'S Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature. And Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Trans. by A. Henfrey, F.R.S. Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.

SMITH'S (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Scriptures and Geological Science. With Memoir.

STANLEY'S Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, including an Account of some of the early German Masters. By George Stanley.

STAUNTON'S Chess Works. — *See page 21.*

STÖCKHARDT'S Experimental Chemistry. A Handbook for the Study of the Science by simple Experiments. Edit. by C. W. Heaton, F.C.S. Numerous Woodcuts.

URE'S (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. 150 Illustrations. 2 vols.

— **Philosophy of Manufactures,** or an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. Numerous Figures. 800 pages. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

GILBART'S History, Principles, and Practice of Banking. Revised to 1881 by A. S. Michie, of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Portrait of Gilbart. 2 vols. 10*s.*

RICARDO on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Edited by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A., Lecturer, University College, Liverpool. 5*s.*

SMITH (Adam). The Wealth of Nations. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of. Edited by E. Belfort Bax. 2 vols. 7*s.*

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

32 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (8*l.* 3*s. per set.*)

BLAIR'S Chronological Tables. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, April 1856. By J. W. Rosse. 800 pages. 10*s.*

—— Index of Dates. Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest to the Present, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to the foregoing. By J. W. Rosse. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

BOHN'S Dictionary of Quotations from the English Poets. 4th and cheaper Edition. 6*s.*

BOND'S Handy-book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era. 4th Edition. 5*s.*

BUCHANAN'S Dictionary of Science and Technical Terms used in Philosophy, Literature, Professions, Commerce, Arts, and Trades. By W. H. Buchanan, with Supplement. Edited by Jas. A. Smith. 6*s.*

CHRONICLES OF THE TOMBS. A Select Collection of Epitaphs, with Essay on Epitaphs and Observations on Sepulchral Antiquities. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. 5*s.*

CLARK'S (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. Revised by J. R. Planché. 5*s.* 950 Illustrations.

—— *With the Illustrations coloured*, 15*s.*

COINS, Manual of.—*See Humphreys.*

COOPER'S Biographical Dictionary. Containing concise notices of upwards of 15,000 eminent persons of all ages and countries. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

DATES, Index of.—*See Blair.*

DICTIONARY of Obsolete and Provincial English. Containing Words from English Writers previous to the 19th Century. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

EPIGRAMMATISTS (The). A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times. With Introduction, Notes, Observations, Illustrations, an Appendix on Works connected with Epigrammatic Literature, by Rev. H. Dodd, M.A. 6*s.*

GAMES, Handbook of. Edited by Henry G. Bohn. Numerous Diagrams. 5*s.* (*See also page* 21.)

HENFREY'S Guide to English Coins. Revised Edition, by C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A. With an Historical Introduction. 6*s.*

HUMPHREYS' Coin Collectors' Manual. An Historical Account of the Progress of Coinage from the Earliest Time, by H. N. Humphreys. 140 Illustrations. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

LOWNDES' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Containing an Account of Rare and Curious Books published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the Invention of Printing, with Biographical Notices and Prices, by W. T. Lowndes. Revised Edition by H. G. Bohn. 6 vols. cloth, 5*s.* each, or in 4 vols., half morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

MEDICINE, Handbook of Domestic, Popularly Arranged. By Dr. H. Davies. 700 pages. 5*s.*

NOTED NAMES OF FICTION. Dictionary of. Including also Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, &c. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. 5*s.*

POLITICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. A Dictionary of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge; forming a Work of Reference on subjects of Civil Administration, Political Economy, Finance, Commerce, Laws, and Social Relations. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

PROVERBS, Handbook of. Containing an entire Republication of Ray's Collection, with Additions from Foreign Languages and Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases. 5*s.*

—— **A Polyglot of Foreign.** Comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. With English Translations. 5*s.*

SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS; or, Kindred Words and their Opposites, Collected and Contrasted by Ven. C. J. Smith, M.A. 5*s.*

WRIGHT (Th.)—*See Dictionary.*

NOVELISTS' LIBRARY.

13 *Volumes at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (2*l.* 8*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BJÖRNSON'S Arne and the Fisher Lassie. Translated from the Norse with an Introduction by W. H. Low, M.A.

BURNEY'S Evelina; or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By F. Burney (Mme. D'Arblay). With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis, Author of 'Sylvestra,' &c.

—— **Cecilia.** With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 2 vols.

DE STAËL. Corinne or Italy. By Madame de Staël. Translated by Emily Baldwin and Paulina Driver.

EBERS' Egyptian Princess. Trans. by Emma Buchheim.

FIELDING'S Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. With Roscoe's Biography. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.*

—— **Amelia.** Roscoe's Edition, revised. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 5*s.*

—— **History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.** Roscoe's Edition. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 2 vols.

GROSSI'S Marco Visconti. Trans. by A. F. D.

MANZONI. The Betrothed: being a Translation of 'I Promessi Sposi.' Numerous Woodcuts. 1 vol. 5*s.*

STOWE (Mrs. H. B.) Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. 8 full-page Illustrations.

ARTISTS' LIBRARY.

9 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (2*l.* 8*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BELL (Sir Charles). The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as Connected with the Fine Arts. 5*s.* Illustrated.

DEMMIN. History of Arms and Armour from the Earliest Period. By Auguste Demmin. Trans. by C. C. Black, M.A., Assistant Keeper, S. K. Museum. 1900 Illustrations. 7*s.* 6*d.*

FAIRHOLT'S Costume in England. Third Edition. Enlarged and Revised by the Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A. With more than 700 Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

Vol. I. History. Vol. II. Glossary.

FLAXMAN. Lectures on Sculpture. With Three Addresses to the R.A. by Sir R. Westmacott, R.A., and Memoir of Flaxman. Portrait and 53 Plates. 6*s.*

HEATON'S Concise History of Painting. New Edition, revised by W. Cosmo Monkhouse. 5*s.*

LECTURES ON PAINTING by the Royal Academicians, Barry, Opie, Fuseli. With Introductory Essay and Notes by R. Wornum. Portrait of Fuseli. 5*s.*

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S Treatise on Painting. Trans. by J. F. Rigaud, R.A. With a Life and an Account of his Works by J. W. Brown. Numerous Plates. 5*s.*

PLANCHÉ'S History of British Costume, from the Earliest Time to the 10th Century. By J. R. Planché. 400 Illustrations. 5*s.*

LIBRARY OF SPORTS AND GAMES.

14 Volumes at 3s. 6d. and 5s. each. (2l. 18s. per set.)

BOHN'S Handbooks of Athletic Sports. With numerous Illustrations. In 8 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Vol. I.—Cricket, by Hon. and Rev. E. Lyttelton; Lawn Tennis, by H. W. W. Wilberforce; Tennis, Rackets, and Fives, by Julian Marshall, Major Spens, and J. A. Tait; Golf, by W. T. Linskill; Hockey, by F. S. Creswell.

Vol. II.—Rowing and Sculling, by W. B. Woodgate; Sailing, by E. F. Knight; Swimming, by M. and J. R. Cobbett.

Vol. III.—Boxing, by R. G. Allanson-Winn; Single Stick and Sword Exercise, by R. G. Allanson-Winn and C. Phillipps-Wolley; Wrestling, by Walter Armstrong; Fencing, by H. A. Colmore Dunn.

Vol. IV.—Rugby Football, by Harry Vassall; Association Football, by C. W. Alcock; Baseball, by Newton Crane; Rounders, Field Ball, Bowls, Quoits, Curling, Skittles, &c., by J. M. Walker, M.A., and C. C. Mott.

Vol. V.—Cycling and Athletics, by H. H. Griffin; Skating, by Douglas Adams.

Vol. VI.—Practical Horsemanship, including Riding for Ladies. By W. A. Kerr, V.C.

Vol. VII.—Driving, and Stable Management. By W. A. Kerr, V.C. [*Preparing.*

Vol. VIII.—Gymnastics, by A. F. Jenkin; Clubs and Dumb-bells, by G. T. B. Cobbett and A. F. Jenkin. [*In the press.*

BOHN'S Handbooks of Games. New Edition, entirely rewritten. 2 volumes. 3s. 6d. each.

Vol. I. TABLE GAMES.

Contents:—Billiards, with Pool, Pyramids, and Snooker, by Major-Gen. A. W. Drayson, F.R.A.S., with a preface by W. J. Peall—Bagatelle, by 'Berkeley'—Chess, by R. F. Green—Draughts, Backgammon, Dominoes, Solitaire, Reversi, Go Bang, Rouge et noir, Roulette, E.O., Hazard, Faro, by 'Berkeley.'

Vol. II. CARD GAMES.

Contents:—Whist, by Dr. William Pole, F.R.S., Author of 'The Philosophy of Whist, &c.'—Solo Whist, by R. F. Green; Piquet, Ecarté, Euchre, Bézique, and Cribbage, by 'Berkeley;' Poker, Loo, Vingt-et-un, Napoleon, Newmarket, Rouge et Noir, Pope Joan, Speculation, &c. &c., by Baxter-Wray.

CHESS CONGRESS of 1862. A collection of the games played. Edited by J. Löwenthal. New edition, 5s.

MORPHY'S Games of Chess, being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with explanatory and analytical Notes by J. Löwenthal. With short Memoir and Portrait of Morphy. 5s.

STAUNTON'S Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the Game, with numerous Diagrams. 5s.

— **Chess Praxis.** A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing the most important modern Improvements in the Openings; Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Morphy's Games. Annotated. 636 pages. Diagrams. 5s.

— **Chess-Player's Companion.** Comprising a Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, including the French Match with M. St. Amant, and a Selection of Original Problems. Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece. 5s.

— **Chess Tournament of 1851.** A Collection of Games played at this celebrated assemblage. With Introduction and Notes. Numerous Diagrams. 5s.

BOHN'S CHEAP SERIES.

Price 1*s. each.*

A Series of Complete Stories or Essays, mostly reprinted from Vols. in Bohn's Libraries, and neatly bound in stiff paper cover, with cut edges, suitable for Railway Reading.

ASCHAM (Roger). Scholemaster. By Professor Mayor.

CARPENTER (Dr. W. B.). Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence.

EMERSON. England and English Characteristics. Lectures on the Race, Ability, Manners, Truth, Character, Wealth, Religion. &c. &c.

— **Nature:** An Essay. To which are added Orations, Lectures, and Addresses.

— **Representative Men:** Seven Lectures on PLATO, SWEDENBORG, MONTAIGNE, SHAKESPEARE, NAPOLEON, and GOETHE.

— **Twenty Essays on Various Subjects.**

— **The Conduct of Life.**

FRANKLIN (Benjamin). Autobiography. Edited by J. Sparks.

HAWTHORNE (Nathaniel). Twice-told Tales. Two Vols.

— **Snow Image,** and Other Tales.

— **Scarlet Letter.**

— **House with the Seven Gables.**

— **Transformation;** or the Marble Fawn. Two Parts.

HAZLITT (W.). Table-talk: Essays on Men and Manners. Three Parts.

— **Plain Speaker:** Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. Three Parts.

— **Lectures on the English Comic** Writers.

— **Lectures on the English Poets.**

— **Lectures on the Characters of** Shakespeare's Plays.

— **Lectures on the Literature of** the Age of Elizabeth, chiefly Dramatic.

IRVING (Washington). Lives of Successors of Mohammed.

— **Life of Goldsmith.**

— **Sketch-book.**

— **Tales of a Traveller.**

— **Tour on the Prairies.**

— **Conquests of Granada and** Spain. Two Parts.

— **Life and Voyages of Columbus.** Two Parts.

— **Companions of Columbus:** Their Voyages and Discoveries.

— **Adventures of Captain Bonneville** in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West.

— **Knickerbocker's History of New** York, from the beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty.

— **Tales of the Alhambra.**

— **Conquest of Florida under Hernando de Soto.**

— **Abbotsford & Newstead Abbey.**

— **Salmagundi;** or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of LAUNCELOT LANGSTAFF, Esq.

— **Bracebridge Hall;** or, The Humourists.

— **Astoria;** or, Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.

— **Wolfert's Roost,** and other Tales.

LAMB (Charles). Essays of Elia. With a Portrait.

— **Last Essays of Elia.**

— **Eliana.** With Memoir.

MARRYAT (Captain). Pirate and the Three Cutters. With a Memoir of the Author.

Bohn's Select Library of Standard Works.

Price 1*s.* in paper covers, and 1*s.* 6*d.* in cloth.

1. BACON'S ESSAYS. With Introduction and Notes.
2. LESSING'S LAOKOON. Beasley's Translation, revised, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by Edward Bell, M.A. With Frontispiece.
3. DANTE'S INFERNO. Translated, with Notes, by Rev. H. F. Cary.
4. GOETHE'S FAUST. Part I. Translated, with Introduction, by Anna Swanwick.
5. GOETHE'S BOYHOOD. Being Part I. of the Autobiography. Translated by J. Oxenford.
6. SCHILLER'S MARY STUART and THE MAID OF ORLEANS. Translated by J. Mellish and Anna Swanwick.
7. THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH. By the late Dean Alford.
8. LIFE AND LABOURS OF THE LATE THOMAS BRASSEY. By Sir A. Helps, K.C.B.
9. PLATO'S DIALOGUES: The Apology—Crito—Phaedo—Protagoras. With Introductions.
10. MOLIÈRE'S PLAYS: The Miser—Tartuffe—The Shopkeeper turned Gentleman. Translated by C. H. Walt, M.A. With brief Memoir.
11. GOETHE'S REINEKE FOX, in English Hexameters. By A. Rogers.
12. OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S PLAYS.
13. LESSING'S PLAYS: Nathan the Wise—Minna von Barnhelm.
14. PLAUTUS'S COMEDIES: Trinummus — Menaechmi — Aulularia — Captivi.
15. WATERLOO DAYS. By C. A. Eaton. With Preface and Notes by Edward Bell.
16. DEMOSTHENES—ON THE CROWN. Translated by C. Rann Kennedy.
17. THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.
18. OLIVER CROMWELL. By Dr. Reinhold Pauli.
19. THE PERFECT LIFE. By Dr. Channing. Edited by his nephew, Rev. W. H. Channing.
20. LADIES IN PARLIAMENT, HORACE AT ATHENS, and other pieces, by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart.
21. DEFOE'S THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.
22. IRVING'S LIFE OF MAHOMET.
23. HORACE'S ODES, by various hands. [*Out of Print.*
24. BURKE'S ESSAY ON 'THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL.' With Short Memoir.
25. HAUFF'S CARAVAN.
26. SHERIDAN'S PLAYS.
27. DANTE'S PURGATORIO. Translated by Cary.
28. HARVEY'S TREATISE ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD
29. CICERO'S FRIENDSHIP AND OLD AGE.
30. DANTE'S PARADISO. Translated by Cary.
31. CHRONICLE OF HENRY VIII. Translated by Major M. A. S. Hume.

WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY.

An entirely New Edition of WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY, *thoroughly Revised, considerably Enlarged, and reset in New Type from beginning to end.*

Demy 4to. 2118 *pages,* 3500 *illustrations.*

Prices: Cloth, £1 11s. 6d.; half-calf, £2 2s.; half-russia, £2 5s.; calf, £2 8s. Also in 2 vols. cloth, £1 14s.

In addition to the Dictionary of Words, with their pronunciation, etymology, alternative spellings, and various meanings, illustrated by quotations and numerous woodcuts, there are several valuable appendices, comprising a Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World; Vocabularies of Scripture, Greek, Latin, and English Proper Names; a Dictionary of the noted Names of Fiction; a Brief History of the English Language; a Dictionary of Foreign Quotations, Words, Phrases, Proverbs, &c.; a Biographical Dictionary with 10,000 Names, &c.

This last revision, comprising and superseding the issues of 1847, 1864, and 1880, is by far the most complete that the Work has undergone during the sixty-two years that it has been before the public. Every page has been treated as if the book were now published for the first time.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS ON THE NEW EDITION.

'We believe that, all things considered, this will be found to be the best existing English dictionary in one volume. We do not know of any work similar in size and price which can approach it in completeness of vocabulary, variety of information, and general usefulness.'—*Guardian.*

'The most comprehensive and the most useful of its kind.'—*National Observer.*

'A magnificent edition of Webster's immortal Dictionary.'—*Daily Telegraph.*

'A thoroughly practical and useful dictionary.'—*Standard.*

'A special feature of the present book is the lavish use of engravings, which at once illustrate the verbal explanations of technical and scientific terms, and permit them to remain readably brief. It may be enough to refer to the article on "Cross." By the use of the little numbered diagrams we are spared what would have become a treatise, and not a very clear one. . . . We recommend the new Webster to every man of business, every father of a family, every teacher, and almost every student—to everybody, in fact, who is likely to be posed at an unfamiliar or half-understood word or phrase.'—*St. James's Gazette.*

Prospectuses, with Specimen Pages, on application.

London: GEORGE BELL & SONS, York Street, Covent Garden.

agic. v. 1 #1753

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

1753.

BOHN'S
G.B.&S.
LIBRARIES

BOHN'S SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

ENNEMOSER'S
HISTORY OF MAGIC.

To the very Rev.
Dean Harris
from & with the best wishes
of his friend
C. S. Murray.
March 31st/92.
(223. C. P. W. N. Y.)

LONDON:
WILSON and OGILVY,
Skinner Street.

THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

BY

JOSEPH ENNEMOSER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX OF THE MOST REMARKABLE AND BEST AUTHENTICATED STORIES OF

APPARITIONS, DREAMS, SECOND SIGHT, SOMNAMBULISM, PREDICTIONS, DIVINATION, WITCHCRAFT, VAMPIRES, FAIRIES, TABLE-TURNING, AND SPIRIT-RAPPING.

SELECTED BY

MARY HOWITT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCLIV.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

DEC - 1 1931

1754

CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

PAGE

ON MAGIC IN MYTHOLOGY.

Natural Science the Origin of Mythology . . 3
Greek and German Mythology . . . 5
Symbolism 6
Vast Antiquity of the Myth . . . 8
On Magic in Mythology 11
The Wisdom of the Remotest Antiquity . . 13
On Magic in Mythology—(continued) . . 15
Mythical Signs and their Magical Relations . 17
The Key to Mythical Wisdom . . . 19
The Dioscuri 23
The Myth of Hercules 25
Magnetic and Meteoric Stones . . . 27
Mystic Symbols in Nature . . . 29
Vestal Fires 31
Samothracian Wings; Iron Rings, etc. . . 33
Ancient Use of of the Magnet . . . 35
Wonderful Clairvoyant Vision of Mysteries . . 37
Symbolic Meaning of Mythologic Fable . . 39
The Great Significance of Hermes . . . 43
Symbolic Mythological Characters . . 51
The Significance of the Mythic Bacchus . . 61
The Wonder-working Dactyls . . . 65
The Myth of Hercules Explained . . . 67
Magical Effects of Stones . . . 69
The Symbolic Horns and Wings Explained . . 71

THE MAGIC OF THE GERMANS.

Magic among the Germans 73
Magic among the Early Christians . . 81
Magic of the Ancient Germans and of the Northern Nations 85
The Salic Law against Witchcraft . . 93
Amulets and Charms of the Middle Ages . . 95
Magic of Scandinavia 97
The Magic of the Laplanders . . 99
Pigmies, etc. 107
Magic of the Middle Ages 115
The Witch-hammer 127

PAGE

Witch-prosecutions 127
Good and Evil Spirits . . . 129
The Early Christian Belief in Demons . . . 139
Struggle of Christianity and Heathenism . . 141
Witch Metamorphoses 145
The Devil of the Fifteenth Century . . 147
Witch Persecution of the Fifteenth Century . . 149
The Sorcery-bull of Pope Innocent VIII. . . 155
True Knowledge the Opponent of Witchcraft . . 173
Witch Trials 177
The Cooking-witches 193
Witch Mountains of Europe . . . 195
Magic Herbs, Trees, &c. 201
Superstitions 202
The Healing Art 205
Sympathetic Superstitions . . . 207
Sympathetic Cures 209
Pins and Needles 215
Laughing-fits 217
White Magic and Truth . . . 219

MYSTIC DOCTRINES, AND ENDEAVOURS AFTER A PHILOSOPHICAL ELUCIDATION OF THE MAGIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Theophrastus Paracelsus 229
Paracelsus on the Magnet . . . 233
Baptista Van Helmont 242
Henry Cornelius Agrippa . . . 253
Robert Fludd 256
M. Maxwell 257
Valentine Greatrakes 261
Richter of Stoyen, etc. . . . 263
Athanasius Kircher 264
Tenzel Wirdig 270
Gassner 273
Gassner and his Patients . . . 275
Count Gagliostro 281
Emanuel Swedenborg. . . . 282
On Divine Providence, etc. . . . 292
On the Planets 295
Jacob Böhme 297
On the New Man 299
On God and His Manifestation, etc. . . . 304
On the Sun, etc. 315
On the Constellations 317
On the Four Elements . . . 319
On the Nature of Man after the Fall . . 321
On God in the Soul 323
On the Infection of the Soul . . . 325
Animal Magnetism 331

APPENDIX

SELECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES BY MARY HOWITT.

PAGE

APPARITIONS.

The Königsberg Professor (*Signs before Death*) . . 343
Dr. Scott and the Title-deed (*Do.*) . . 345
Lady Pennyman and Mrs. Atkins (*Do.*) . . 351
The Story of Sir Charles Lee's Daughter (*Demonologia*) 356
Dorothy Dingley (*Signs before Death*) . . . 358
Lord Tyrone (*Do.*) 363
Two Apparitions to Mr. William Lilly (*Do.*) . . 369
Mr. Booty and the Ship's Crew (*Do.*) . . 373
Apparition of Edward Avon to Thomas Goddard (*Do.*) . 374
The Dutchman who could see Ghosts (*Glanvil*) . 378
Sir John Sherbroke and General Wynyard (*Signs before Death*) 380
Miss Pringle (*Do.*) . . . 384
Samuel Wallace (*Nocturnal Revels*) . . . 385
Dr. and Mrs. Donne (*Signs before Death*) . . 387
Ghost Stories 518

HAUNTED HOUSES.

House of the Wesleys (*Signs before Death*) . 388
The Drummer of Tedworth (*Do.*) . . . 396
Haunted House at Bow (*Glanvil*) . . 407
Mr. Jermin's Story (*Do.*) 409

DREAMS.

Remarkable Dream of Dr. Doddridge . . 410
Dream of Nicholas Wootton (*Wanley's Wonders*) . 412
Captain Rogers, R.N. (*Signs before Death*) . . 414
William Howitt's Dream 416
Remarkable Dream by the Rev. J. Wilkins (*Signs before Death*) 417
Dream of Lord Lyttleton (*Do.*) . . . 419
Dream of a Gentleman at Prague (*Wanley's Wonders*) 421

SECOND SIGHT.

Circumstances related by J. Griffiths (*Cambrian Superstitions*) 424
Zschokke (*Truths in Popular Superstitions*) . . 425
Occurrence in the Family of Dr. Ferrier (*Signs before Death*) 428

TRANCE AND SOMNAMBULISM.

Trance of the Rev. W. Tennant (*Early Hist. of Massachusetts*) 429
The Rochester Apparition (*Signs before Death*) . . 433
The Fakeer Buried Alive at Lahore (*Braid on Trance*) 437
Agostine Fosari (*Wanley's Wonders*) . . . 440

ECSTASY.

The Sleeping Preacher (*Early History of Massachusetts*) 442

BF
1589
.E6

PAGE

PREDICTIONS.

A Curious Prediction (*News from the Invisible World*) . 445
Dryden and his Son's Nativity (*Wanley's Wonders*) . 450

DIVINATION.

Artificial and Natural Divination (*Demonologia*) . . 452
Divining Rod (*Truths in Popular Superstitions*) . 461

WITCHCRAFT.

Story of the Lady Alice Kyteler (*Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*) 464
African Witches (*Thaumaturgia*) . . 475

VAMPIRES.

Account of a Vampire, taken from the Jewish Letters (*Phantom World*) 479

AMULETS AND CHARMS 482

NARCOTICS 488

FAIRIES 489

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

Preaching Epidemic and Salem Witchcraft . . 492

THE

HISTORY OF MAGIC.

PART II.

ON MAGIC IN MYTHOLOGY.

As we now have made ourselves acquainted with a number of the historical facts regarding magic amongst the Greeks and Romans, we may be allowed to cast a critical glance backwards on the mythical ground of the same, in order to justify certain assertions made above,—namely, that the Grecian mythology is throughout of a magical character; that in Anthropomorphism the power of nature is symbolised; that magic reflects itself in the mythology, and in the highest antiquity was a kind of natural philosophy. If the mysteries themselves have remained unsolved riddles, so that we only in a fragmentary and indirect manner can determine the inner proceedings and real nature of them from facts, indications, and signs that have become known, it is clear that all attempts at explanation now must be merely hypothetical. The following hypotheses may, therefore, be allowed, which really spring entirely from the regular basis of mythological facts. Moreover, their probability does not rest on wholly vacillating supports, for they do not lean on invention, but on natural phenomena, which the most ancient mythology has wrapped in symbols, and which in the present times are corroborated by magnetic experiences.

In the first place, the question will require answering, whether mythology be not perhaps a misunderstood natural science, so that at least a great portion of those poetic enigmas may have rested originally on views of natural philosophy. If this were the case, then magic and the healing art under it would be things also to be understood. What evidences are discoverable of magical cures, or the magnetic healing art in mythology? That would be the second question, the proper subject of the following observations, which many may regard as strange, and for which a convincing evidence may not be producible. In the meantime they touch on many truths which rest on natural philosophy, and are calculated to clear up many dark particulars of physical and spiritual life.

"If any one exerts himself to introduce, through natural science, useful things for common life, he may with prudence calculate confidently on general approbation. But when any one is disposed to regard the new light acquired by natural science as Promethean light, and endeavours to avail himself of it in this sense to light up the dark corners of our planet, truly the matter is not so easy as lighting up a dark mine, that is, with a Davy-lamp; and the experiment is not so readily accomplishable. In the meantime, history shows us, by splendid examples, that the question is not an impossible thing; and it shows, to say the least, little penetration and historical knowledge, when any one pronounces in a light gossiping tone on matters which ought to be calmly weighed, that they are empty and impracticable speculations."—J. S. C. Schweigger, Introduction to Mythology through Natural History, Halle, 1836.

If mythology must be taken literally as it stands, and as it usually is taken, then it is an extraordinary fabulous production, both as to its contents and its origin. To philology it is the perpetual and unravelled knot in which all its fine roots lie hidden, and out of which all the branches and blossoms shoot downwards, in order to sensualise the divine and natural attributes of things. To poetry it is the inexhaustible source whence the imagination draws her images and pictures of the physical and spiritual world. For religion mythology is a chaos, through which still the dimmed

rays of the sun of the true knowledge of God, which went down in the deluge, faintly gleam, while she is sensible of a cosmic process at work in it, by which gradually in a mythologic purification the true god-man raises himself, and comes forth as in sublimation. If, now, we do not look upon mythology as that so easily assigned fact, but seek to penetrate behind that fact itself, and to fathom the origin of things there, we then, probably, shall seize the right clue and arrive at the true issue.

Is mythology an accidental work of an indolent and playful invention, or is it a necessary development of an instinctive law of nature, a half-conscious infantine speech of actuality advancing through the dark labyrinth of spiritual life? Is the fundamental principle of action the creative imagination, or is it the force of the feelings and of the religious mind which therein symbolises poetical or religious ideas? Are the symbols and signs something springing up accidentally, or an arbitrary work of man; or are they the orginal bearers and interpreters of necessary powers, which are only so far mysterious as we have lost the key to the symbolic explanation of the facts? In short, take the matter as we may, we cannot by all the known paths arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Spiritual life is invariably only to be comprehended from two sides, the poetic and religious. Shall, then, the knowledge of nature and of spiritual power, which is derived from experience, find no place? How if we should ascribe to mythology a scientific foundation and substance? How, of what kind, and whence ought the theory and the principle to be looked for?

"The real contents of mythology are pre-eminently derived from natural history, and the origin of the myths is one of physical symbolic language founded on a natural necessity." This is perhaps the result of the inquiries of Schweigger in the work referred to, and in his history of the physics of the remotest antiquity, as well as in many treatises in his Year-books of Chemistry and Physics, especially for the year 1826.

Schweigger has shown that a lost natural philosophy of antiquity was connected with the most important religious opinions, and that it had, through that means, the greatest influence on art and poetry. According to our fundamental

ideas on the essential characteristics, on the natural laws and development of spiritual strength, given already in our introduction, there can be no existing revelations for one special language, for poetry and religion, as isolated. The human soul is an indivisible unity of spiritual powers. The sense, which in subjective feeling and representation unfolds itself within, comprehends the external objective world, which the understanding and the mind in self-consciousness again shape into a unity; from which, on the other hand, the subjective impulse and conception in the will come forth again objective in revelation. The operations of the understanding and condition of the will are, according to the different reception by the senses of objective things, and according to the individual constitution, more or less palpable, and the will brings the substance of the operations to the revelation. Now, what must man originally have had for objects of physical contemplation, except Nature herself, in which he so wholly, body and soul, was placed? The immediate ideal contemplations of God, to which the outer senses are not adapted, we shall here leave quite unnoticed, for we are speaking not of man in Paradise, but of fallen human nature: and the circumstances of art must first be attended to. The original representations must, therefore, have certainly been images of natural objects, and the feelings connected with them must consist of pleasure or pain, which would necessarily determine the objective attraction and repulsion of the spectator of them. That in young humanity the representations should be brilliant, and the feeling lively, is a natural consequence; and thence the combinations of such images would be influenced more by a fugitive fantasy than by tranquil reason: and this prevailing ascendancy of the imagination over the understanding is strikingly obvious in the ancient mythologies. Theories were the business of reflection, and came afterwards.

Schweigger, in the works referred to, has in the amplest manner placed side by side the historical evidences in favour of the philosophical, æsthetic, and artistic views, with the physical comprehension of the myths, to which I must refer the reader. I shall here, supported by these inquiries and other sources, endeavour to show that magic in the primeval ages—that is, before the so-called historical period—was

contained in the mysteries, and that the greater portion of those poetical enigmas in the mythology rested, in fact, on views of natural science.

The most ancient monuments of the East and of the Greeks point to deeper contemplations of nature. The imagination of the poets took out of these the material for their serious as well as their sportive images, and therefore the true poet is actually styled by Plato, the teacher of the present and the future; whence the Pythian madness is of more value than the human rationality which is so highly lauded; since in these the most eloquent echoes of the past, and anticipating notes of the future, make themselves heard.

But is the myth equally a poem; and is it, therefore, equally empty and fictitious? To such a conclusion one might easily be led if we received the mythology merely from Homer and the historic times. But the ground and substance of mythology lie far beyond Homer, whom antiquity represents expressively by the phrase of "the wise poet," and as an old man, who, not only exalted above the fleeting youth of frivolity, but over the understanding of the man engaged in the affairs of the world, speaks wisdom, drawing from the past knowledge at once for the present and the future. In the language of Homer all the peculiarities of the age of man and the innocence of the child are expressed,—as the fire of youth, the vigour of man, and the calm reflection of the grey-haired sage; and there also are reflected in his poems the saga of the people and the doctrines of the ancient mysteries; so that the mythology is to be regarded as a code of natural philosophy, and of religious and poetical contemplations, in which natural science, or rather the objective and religious relations, furnish the material, and the poetical the form,—which form Homer first presented to the public in so beautiful and unrivalled a manner. Herodotus himself says that Homer and Hesiod have given the genealogy of the gods, have attributed to them names, honours, and arts, and have described their forms. Herodotus gives his view of them merely as an individual, steering clear of the teaching of the priests: for the priests of Dodona drew the names of the gods from Egypt, there being originally in Greece only one nameless god

worshipped. Such were the foundations of the myths, which Herodotus corroborates, only ascribing their fuller development and adornment to Homer and Hesiod.

But it is not merely the question of a Grecian mythology: every original race has its mythology; the Indians, the Egyptians, the Scandinavians, and the Germans. Every where it stands prior to history, and possesses a universal internal resemblance, although the remaining means of understanding these mythologies are greater or less in different countries. The German mythology, for instance, is of all others the poorest and most circumscribed in the means of demonstrating its original completeness. Grimm laments this in his "German Mythology:"—"Here on a dead ground stand trees whose topmost boughs bear green leaves; there the ground is still verdant below, but all the trees are dried up. Seldom are we able to call up to us shapes from the far distant twilight into sufficient distinctness to be able to recognise and describe them." But as the imagination originally embodied objective things and expressive signs and symbols, which is its essential function, the myths have everywhere sprung out of the symbolising, poetical fantasy, and were not first invented by Homer and Hesiod and their age. *Mythology originated in a necessity of nature, and in accordance with ideas which nations entertained of the world, and with the spirit of their language.*

Very beautifully and instructively does Creuzer describe symbolic poetry: although it was by no means his object to represent natural philosophy as the fundamental basis of mythology, yet he really expresses this clearly in his "Introduction to his Symbolism and Mythology," and which we may quote as tending to elucidate what follows:—

"The imaginative compositions and the religions of the nations," he says (Moser's Abridgment, 1822, p. 22), "lie as a fact at the bottom of the general life of things, without any separation of the spiritual and the bodily. This mode of thinking everywhere acknowledges the living and the human from an inward impulse. Man is to himself the centre of the world, and from all the regions of nature life and character reflect themselves back upon him. The perspicuity and figurativeness of writing and of speaking, of thinking and inventing, which prevailed in antiquity, is

not to be looked upon as an arbitrary one, but as an absolutely necessary mode of expression. Man, regarding himself as the centre of creation, thus sees himself in all nature, and all nature in his nature. That which abstract reason terms the operative power, was to his view a person. What we call plastic is thus the impression of the form of thought to which antiquity was addicted, and which the more timid spirit of an educated age cannot altogether withdraw itself from. The old religions lie before us as the memorials of those plastic times whose fundamental character reposes on the creative strength of personification. The elements of nature spoke to man, and she became tangible to him through joy and pain; she expressed to him her sensations in speaking images. That mode of expression brings many characteristics into the focus of a single phrase, which she at once imprints upon the soul, and completes the intuition at a blow. The essential characteristics of symbolism are a hovering and undeterminateness between being and form; the simple light of an idea is in a symbol laid in a coloured ray of signification. This signification, however, arises from the exuberance of the meaning in comparison with the expression. The meaning must be clear; that which is to be expressed must be expressed positively. The comprehensive power of symbols is closely connected with their conciseness, which is only expressive when it is poignant,—when it bursts on us like a flash of lightning, and opens a view into a boundless distance. But only the most important things can be significant—that which originates in the mystery of our being, that which fills and agitates our life; and therefore the ancients were observant of the divine intimations in momentous crises of life; and the embodiment of these they called symbols.

"The strictly symbolical confines itself to the tender middle line between spirit and nature; within these bonds it can avail to render visible to a certain degree even the divine, and is thus so highly expressive. It obeys Nature, merges itself into her form, and animates it; the infinite becomes human, and thus the strife between the two is at an end. That is the divine symbolism; that is the beauty of form united to the highest fullness; and as the Grecian sculpture has most perfectly expressed this, we may call it the

plastic symbolism. The character of necessity in symbols we may also style the symbolic language of nature; for symbols are only a reminiscence of that which speaks to man as an unalterable law of nature: it consecrates the works of man to eternity by reminding us of the eternal course of nature.

"But the Greeks, besides art, knew an expression of higher knowledge of the secret doctrine, which contains the signification—the symbol in the external of an embodied enigma,—αἴνιγμα. Therein especially consists the temple symbolism of Greece and Rome. When the clearness of the scene is wholly annihilated, and only the astonishment remains, so that a certain religious instruction is implied, the symbolism is still more enigmatical, and the key to the mystery is in many cases lost. The symbol is always an embodied idea,—allegory only a general conception; whence the mythos comprehends this, but not the symbol, since in it is a momentary totality,—in the allegory an advance through a series of moments. The myth unfolds itself best in an epos, and endeavours only in Theomythos to compress itself into symbolism. In allegory is freedom; in symbolism the necessity of nature,—both of which conceal a truth."

In the farther observation of the genesis of mythos (p. 31, f.) he speaks of the historical myth, which ordained festivals, &c. to distinguished benefactors, as sons of the gods, in gratitude for their services, and then proceeds:—"Physical occasions for the origination of a myth were probably frequent:—the character or the strength of a beast, the peculiar form or properties of a natural body, and the explanation of these things, propagated itself, according to Pausanias, as a myth. Still more occasion was furnished by the secret operation of the powers of nature, which to the untutored man were so striking. Thence arose a number of relations, in which a physical element or a remarkable phenomenon of nature appeared as the acting personage. Even language was a prolific mother of gods and myths: and still more sprung out of the clothing of symbols, and the locked-up facts of hieroglyphic signs, sagas, and legends. Thus the Mythos divides itself into two chief branches, into doctrine and tradition, which between them comprehend the convictions which, basing themselves on God, nature,

and man, show that the wisdom of all their speculations is embodied in ethical myths, physical traditions, in the knowledge of antiquity and astronomy. The most ancient myths are nothing more than verbal symbols, and thus in the symbolical East the nations are represented as beasts."

Both the symbolising spirit of the ancient natural science and the myth are prior to history, and the mysteries belong to a previous world, from which there have descended to us no evidences to prove whether they were the product of a lost world of civilization, or of the primeval poetical spirit of young humanity. With such speculations we have nothing further to do, but will look around and see how far the mysteries were the interpreters of nature; and what signs they may have contained of the working of nature which yet remain for our contemplation. To this end passages from poetical and historical descriptions of the ancients will avail us, as well as the agreement of modern discoveries of natural philosophy regarding the fixed laws of nature, in the variations and anomalies of phenomena. That great difficulties are to be found here in arriving at truth is obvious, since we are so prone to seize upon what is new as identical with the old, where there is frequently an apparent similarity; and since the antiquities of the mythical ages were so darkly and enigmatically treated by their first transmitters, who, according to all probability, knew far more than they made known. Herodotus says frequently,—"I shrink from speaking of divine things;" that is, of the mysteries, out of which the people's religion first proceeded. Herodotus, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Orpheus, Thales, Parmenides, &c. travelled into Egypt and the East, in order there more perfectly to instruct themselves in natural philosophy and theology; and Herodotus says expressly that he visited the oldest temple in Tyre, in order to inform himself perfectly of the myth of Hercules. Homer himself, to whom Herodotus ascribes only the more extended organization of the Grecian mythology from Egyptian sources, touches lightly on the natural philosophy of the mysteries. Like Herodotus, Cicero also says that he avoids speaking of these things, or passes superficially over them: "I am silent on Eleusis," he makes Cotta say; "those sacred and venerable rites, where the people of the farthest zones go for consecration:

I pass over what is celebrated in Samothrace and Lemnos with nocturnal ceremonies, concealed by woody hedges."

Even far out in the earliest times the material was drawn from ages prior to history. "The ancient, and especially the Grecian art of poetry drew its images out of an ante-historical time," says Schweigger, "for which the sacred sagas interwoven with them, the mysteries, served as a foundation." Plato, in the Book of Laws, states that in Egypt neither the painters nor the artists were allowed within the sphere of religion to invent anything new; but that which had been painted or hewn out ten thousand years before, they were compelled to imitate, and to make the same subjects neither handsomer nor uglier, but precisely of the same fashion. And," adds he, "when we say ten thousand years before, we mean it not as an ordinary figure of speech, but actually." Thus Plato clearly indicates not a mere period of ten thousand years, but the ante-historical type of that world of imagery.

The ancient poets also drew from the same mysteries; and, as Schweigger says, the tragic poets carried this so far, and especially Æschylus, that his representations of some of them occasioned complaints. In the course of time the mysteries became more accessible; and Plato complains of it, wishing that the initiation into them was made more difficult by greater sacrifices. With common people it was forbidden to talk of these things, since they could not comprehend them, and were not accustomed to believe what they did not see. They were also to be on their guard against conversing with ignorant priests and youths upon them. On future occasions the tragedians were the only persons who spoke to the people of the high and solemn truths, at a time when religious culture consisted merely of offerings and ceremonies. "In the mysteries, the truths of nature only were discussed," says Schweigger; and amongst the ancients poetical is to be distinguished from probability in its ordinary sense; for which reason the ancient poets cannot be fully understood "without a knowledge of the mysteries, which are only accessible through a knowledge of natural history."

The Samothracian mysteries are also connected with those of the East and of Egypt, and then again with the later

Grecian and Roman. There is then a continuous, accordant, mysterious, secret doctrine of natural philosophy and theology, so that by the discovery of the knowledge of one we might come eventually upon that of all, as Schweigger has fully shown. But how comes it, it may be asked, that so little has become known of these mysteries, and of their particular contents, through so many ages and amongst so many different times and people? The answer is, that it is owing to the universally strict silence of the initiated. Another cause may be found in the destruction and total loss of all the written memorials of the secret knowledge of the remotest antiquity, so that, besides the votive tables and certain scattered relics of signs and hieroglyphics, nothing remains. What the Persian invasions, and the repeated devastations of the barbarians in Egypt and Greece—what the laying waste with fire and sword and plunder had not annihilated, was completed by the rudeness of the Romans, who, as Pliny relates, on the conquest of Carthage found no book worthy of being translated into Latin but one on agriculture. All the other writings and libraries were given to the small African kings. The Roman people, wandering through the world in desolating wars, learned nothing of the science of the ancient subjected nations: what relics of the secret learning were in existence amongst themselves were for the most part annihilated by the burning of the books of Numa; and the few scattered fragments which yet remained, after several abortive attempts, were finally destroyed by fire. Numa's books, described by Livy, consisting of natural philosophy, were found in his tomb; but they were not allowed to be made known, lest they should reveal the most secret mysteries of the state religion. The Prætor of that time must take an oath that those books should not be published, as destructive to the national religion. The senate and the tribunes of the people determined that the discoverers of these books should be indemnified, but that the books themselves should be burnt, which was done before the people, by the performers of the sacrifices, in a fire kindled for the purpose.

When, however, here and there, any portions of the old natural philosophy were made known, on the spread of Christianity, or a defence of the philosophical nature of the an-

cient myths of Paganism, then arose the Christians with a fiery zeal against the whole of the heathen doctrines, and especially those which reposed on natural science. All miracles which, according to their opinion, God did not perform, were heathen works of the devil; natural philosophers and even mathematicians were obliged to fly, in order to save their lives. From these causes it is not to be wondered that all the remains of ancient natural science were destroyed with the temples and their libraries.

Natural philosophy, poetry, and religion, from their very nature were closely united in the primeval ages, and the most ancient historical accounts show them still maintaining the same alliance; and especially was the science of medicine united with poetry and theology, in the strictest connection, in Egypt, in the East, and in Greece. The Grecian songs upon medical science are ascribed to Orpheus, the poet of hymns. Fragments of poems on natural philosophy, by Parmenides and Empedocles, still remain. Prognostications through natural philosophy were peculiar to the earliest Grecian philosophers; and the doctrine of the gods was established as a part of physiology by Pythagoras, by Plato, and the Stoics. Plutarch, on Isis and Osiris, brings together many ancient attempts at interpretation of important physical myths. That some very widely-extended mystic circles are connected with the most ancient systems of natural philosophy, as in Samothrace, and that heathenism has its origin in a misunderstood science of nature, Schweigger has sufficiently demonstrated in his treatise on the most ancient theory of physics.

But through these medical and philosophical secrets, books and symbols of the ancient world being held secret in their totality, as well as in their fragments, as is still the case in India with astronomical science, this evil arose,—that not only did there cease to be any progress through experimental research, but more and more mistakes were continually arising. For, as Diodorus of Sicily states, the laws of healing diseases were strictly prescribed in the ancient sacred books, and any physician who dared in any degree to depart from them in practice was liable to be arraigned on a capital charge. The science of the early world would, therefore, necessarily remain stationary, or

rather would retrograde from the elevation and the splendour at which it had arrived,—as the perfect memorials of astronomy, of architecture, of painting, of the preparation of mummies, testify; all of which display a profound physical and chemical knowledge. And hereby is explained the singular fact, that, according to Herodotus, in Egypt the art of healing was so distributed amongst the people, that each physician, besides those of the temples, was appointed to the cure of one class of diseases, and not to many; and therefore the country was full of physicians. Some were for the eye, some for the head, others for the teeth, others for the lower part of the body, and others for hidden complaints. All these circumstances worked in direct opposition to progress, and led deeper and deeper down to perfect ignorance; so that the untoward fantasy could at length mould the original meanings at will into poems and legends.

If we wish now to discover the fundamental meaning from the number of mythic envelopments, we must necessarily go back to the primeval wells of mythology themselves, but which lie so far distant, that we need not seek them amongst the Greeks and Romans; for Herodotus has already said that the origin of the significant myth of Hercules seemed to him to lie as remote from his times as it appears to do from our own—that is, in the night of long past ages. Now we know the world in greater circles, and in the knowledge of the natural sciences we stand on an elevation hitherto unknown in history, in which we, by a comparison of the remaining fragments, and by a laborious unravelling of the historical records, entangled as it were in a net, again can discover the original meaning of the symbols. This solution, however, we are in a condition to obtain only by the help of magnetism and the natural sciences, and not in the sense of the literati, by the aid of written records. For the restoration of the ancient text, we can now make use of the discovered remains of signs on the ancient pyramids, and of fallen temples; as the scattered petrefactions enable the professors of natural history to reconstruct and to present before us the primeval creations which existed only before the Flood. Surely there requires for this the learning and the acumen of a Cuvier

and Goldfuss, if we will bring the mythological symbols of antiquity into agreement with the new magnetic phenomena which are added to the long line of magic. Yet the result of our present inquiries will show that the scattered remains of historical records, taken in connection with the facts of magic, will conduct us to this essential agreement, and to a certain firmly-grounded and more intelligent type.

Through the discovered agreement of the old with the new, we are immediately reminded of expressive and convincing axioms of the highest antiquity, which are especially corroborated by the magnetic experiences,—namely, that nature by her simple elements produces the greatest and the most profound effects. Water, air, and light, and the universal earth-magnetism, are the general powers by which nature performs her secret operations; to which, however, we are not conducted by the ordinary aspect of nature, and still less by imagination, which busies itself with all earthly and heavenly things, except with the deeper and silently-working laws of creation. A speculative philosophy will just as little lead us to a right understanding of it; for conviction, says Bacon, comes not through argument, but through experiment. The laborious, inquiring, severe natural philosophy of our time, demonstrates, however, those unchangeable laws of the universal operations of nature, upon which that ancient secret knowledge and the new magnetism support themselves; namely, that the original power of water, as taught by the Egyptian and Indian myths, and as asserted by Thales, actually perfects the wonderful organizations of vegetable and animal life. That those mythic images of heaven and of earth; of Jupiter reigning in the thunder-cloud; of Poseidon, the earth-shaker, in the vaulted rocks of the subterranean, and of the social alternations of the Dioscuri, have the same foundation as the opposing principle of the Pythagorean theory, and the dogmas of Heraclitus; and that, finally, strife is the principle of production, and burning is the solution of the strife. The doctrine of polarity in electro-chemistry and magnetism shows the universal dominion of those laws in inorganic, and of animal magnetism in organic nature.

The all-governing might of the sun-god, the diffuser of life and of blessings, and, at the same time, of the far-off

striking, the punishing and destroying Apollo, is shown in the all-quickening force of light, whose penetrating and miraculous power of kindling and warming is contained even in the polarity of colours. If the influence of sunshine produces magnetic clairvoyance, as well as the intensity of muscular power, does not this agree with the god of the old vaticination, who taught men the right and the true, according to the all-wise and mighty Zeus?

As the universal activity of the elements of nature is shown in the opposition, so is it also in the universal amity and sympathy of spiritual upper, and the physical lower world. At the same time, the idea is also given that the whole visible world is only an image of a spiritual one; an idea which was expressed by the remotest antiquity, though it was poetically, and which the newest philosophy confirms as founded in the double nature of man. The magnetic phenomena now again afford the most complete evidence of a universal polarity and sympathy, or of a physical and a spiritual world acting on each other in that wonderful doubleness of nature and of spirit. Through the poetic conception of these truths of nature the world of images in every respect took the chief place in the primeval times, when the conceptions, as it were, newly clothed, were embodied in the symbols expressive of the appearances resulting from natural laws; while in the after times, a poetry, fallen away from nature, threw everything arbitrarily into confusion. A philological process, therefore, founded on the spirit of those later ages, leads only to a barren ground, or performs only a labour of the Danaids, if the talent for natural inquiry is totally wanting. The true feeling of nature, and the true meaning of the symbols, may already have been absent in the later mysteries, since, according to Herodotus, these mysteries united themselves to a more ancient period, at the bottom of which lay those principles of natural inquiry,—namely, the Samothracian; and from these mysteries proceeded the religion of the people, in which the true understanding of nature, and the true inspiration of the divine, were continually declining. For nature herself is poetic, higher and deeper than all which the imagination of men can reach: she is in her wonderful phenomena the

plastic expression of the divine creation—a voice of God, which it becomes man to observe carefully, in order to be conscious of the marvels which are continually taking place in the world. The genuine observers and honourers of nature only, they who trace out her signs and listen to her voice, learn the secret of her laws which proclaim their lord; they only are affected by the joyful astonishment at the order and beauty of all her parts, and at the harmony of her momentary and successive operations: so that in time devotion sinks down in love and adoration of the all-wise and all-good Creator, while the rest of the world, as if drunk with sleep, becomes more and more estranged from the Divine, and falls into blindness and superstition. Therefore, all great natural philosophers have been genuinely pious men; therefore, the magnetic clairvoyant, passing out of the dream of day into the wakefulness of sleep, breaks into ecstatic admiration, into poetic effusions and songs of praise, in consequence of this deeper insight into the secret workings of nature and of her symbols, like poetical antiquity itself, in which the knowledge of nature, poetry, and religion, were united.

True natural philosophy, therefore, conducts to God, and contempt of nature from him. "A spirit striving against new discoveries in nature, from its slavish attachment to the letter of the past, such as we find it in certain periods of history, and especially in the middle ages,—a spirit which is continually reappearing, as at present in the East, and particularly in India, and which regards every attempt at improvement as something futile to government: such a spirit leads directly, through the darkening of the unintellectual eye, from God to the idols of superstition; that is, to heathenism."—Schweigger, a. a. O. S. 105.

A poetry of nature based on a symbolical personification of the power of creation, included in it the double character of man, according to his natural and divine constitution; not only the physiological, but also the pneumatical or psychological marvels. The world is a miracle, and all its operations, the highest and the lowest, have their play therein. Poetry here is truth. All its marvels lead by the tendency of nature to myths: the primeval myths are

the expression of truth itself; the comprehension of these is the only key to them, and this is preserved by watchfulness and love, but lost by stupidity and savagery.

The poetical understanding of nature is therefore the voice of God,—the highest ideal, which the elements of nature and their powers symbolise. It makes the operations of the mineral and the vegetable kingdom perceptible through free and instinctive feeling, as the cosmic influence of nature. It endeavours to hold forth the relations of nature to time and space, and, also, to find an expression for the divine qualities of the spirit, to which the visible bodies of heaven are the most adapted, as the physical things and elements of the earth are to the natural man. This the most ancient historians knew and have declared. Strabo says, that the ancients concealed their views of nature in enigmas, and wrapped their scientific observations in concerted myths. Herodotus ascribes the further extension of the Grecian myth to Homer, on the basis of an ancient foundation laid in Egypt. In Homer numerous physical tendencies are indicated; and in the Grecian times there were admirers of Homer who pointed out those tendencies. Iamblichus names expressly a school of prophets, originating in Moschus, whom he calls "the physiologist," and which Pythagoras availed himself of. The ancient historian Sanchoniathon points out the oldest character of the myths to be that of natural philosophy, where he says of the Phœnician Cabiri doctrines, that "the first hierophant, in times incalculably remote, Thabion's son taught them with a mixture of physical tendencies, and delivered them over to the prophets who celebrated the orgies and mysteries."

All the more profound modern inquirers into mythology say the same, either directly or, as it were, involuntarily,—that the ancient myths had a physical foundation. Thus Heyne takes it for granted that the fables originating in the ancient cosmogony and theogony were constructed to embody physical doctrines; and Herder says, that a program of Heyne, on the physical origin of the ancient myths, had especially satisfied him. Creuzer's "Symbolism and Mythology" proceeds chiefly on the supposition of the physical foundation of symbolism, and gives to the myths a priestly physical antecedent. Schweigger has handled this

subject to exhaustion, and has maintained historically, and at the same time experimentally, the source of the myths in natural philosophy, the personification of ideas, and the ensoulment of nature: to whose Introduction into Mythology I again refer the reader.

If, now, the symbolic language of signs in the mysteries has its foundation in natural philosophy, what are the mythical signs which betray magical relations and secret workings of nature? In answering these questions in the region of mythology, I confess to a certain reluctance which has long held me back. But shall not an attempt be permitted to pluck some flowers in that wide, airy field, where so many undertakings find material, often for the pursuit of the most extraordinary adventures? Shall it not be permitted to pursue the once-discovered clue of Ariadne, and carefully to draw things into that region of the circle of magic operations, to which they appear to belong, according to analogy and agreement with the phenomena of magnetism? No longer groping in the dark, but with a certain confidence, we follow that clue into the labyrinth. Yet I again repeatedly assert that I here follow exclusively the traces of the poetical and philosophical, without, at the same time, totally abjuring the theological point of view, or being disposed to assert that the heathen had not a deeper religious sense, that they only sported with their myths, or that they directly worshipped the symbols of nature as gods, of which we have already spoken.

Let us first, however, look round us at the symbols which have in general a physical signification, and then at those in particular which denote a purely magical relation.

We have already seen that the ancient philosophers treated theology as a part of physical science, and that it is openly declared that the primeval doctrine of the gods was founded on natural philosophy, and this with constant reference to an acknowledged anterior period. We have the propagation and the connection of the secret knowledge from Egypt and the East, descending from the traditional period through the Greek and Roman mysteries; and Schweigger has shown (a. a. O. S. 124) "that the ancient forms of the gods could not have arisen from certain ideas, as that of Minerva for wisdom, of Hercules for strength,

etc.; but that they are grounded in nature, and that to understand them we must pass from the poet to the natural philosopher." He has also shown that the most ancient and most influential mythic circle, namely, that descending from Phœnicia and Samothrace, certainly reposes on a basis of natural philosophy, and that it was regarded by the Cabiri and Dioscuri as a hieroglyphic record of electricity and magnetism.

The next circumstances of symbolical embodiment are the general elements of nature,—chaos and night; the regular and the suddenly outbursting forces of nature; the elements of fire, of air, and water; the mutual attraction of the earth and the heavenly bodies, etc.;—whose images are recognised by all authors in mythologic personification.

The eternal foundation-matter of all things was Chaos, which Night produced from herself, and through herself fructified Æther—the all-embracing world-air. According to Hesiod, however, Night is a daughter of Chaos, and by Erebus gave birth to Æther and the Day. The Heaven, Uranus; and the Earth, Titæa, Gæa, produced Time,—Saturn, and the subordinate powers of nature, terrible and unconstrained in the primeval ages. The Titans,—whose heaven-invading violence had, however, no long-continuance, for they already had been thrust down by Uranus into Tartarus, and there, by the continually-clearing upper air of heaven by Jupiter, and by the increasing thickness of the crust of the earth, were for ever shut down into the under-world. Jupiter, who launched his electrical lightnings through wide space, purified the air in the conflict of the elements, and by the falling rain—Jupiter pluvius—peace and harmony arose between heaven and earth. Yet the repressed powers exerted themselves in their negative character. They were hidden by Rhea the wife of Saturn, and they occasionally broke forth again, and made war on Saturn, till Jupiter, a child of Rhea, finally arrived at the appointed sovereignty, and now only periodically, to promote or to proclaim, kindled his gathered lightnings and sent them through the air. All-devouring time must give place to a regular course of life. Rhea, who was delivered of Jupiter, wrapped a stone in a goat's-skin for her husband to swallow; and her priests, the Curetes, the Corybantes, held, meantime, a

weapon-dance, and made such a din with their shields and spears, that Saturn could not bear the cries of the new-born child;—by which, most probably, the production of meteors is intended; for the Idaic Dactyls were, according to the united testimony of mythologists, regarded as having a certain relation to iron, which the Curetes are said first to have discovered.

The air has its positive and negative, its male and female states. It takes up into itself all earthly elements; developes in eternal changes all powers in itself, and begets innumerable children in undiminished youth and beauty. Juno is the sister and spouse of Jupiter. Amongst the natural philosophers, Juno means the lower atmosphere, in which the clouds float and the rainbow appears. "She had countless rivals, who changed themselves into all sorts of shapes," etc. (K. M. Ramler's Succinct Mythology.) "She is the eldest daughter of Kronos, and sister of Zeus" (Il. xvi. 432.) Oceanos and Tethys brought her up, when the all-powerful Zeus thrust Kronos under the earth; that is, the vapour ascending from the sea and the waters mix themselves in the lower atmosphere. According to Ovid (Fast. vi. 285), Hera was swallowed up by her father with the rest of his children, and again vomited forth. The eagle soaring to the sun is the bird of Jupiter; while the earthly, colour-reflecting peacock is the attendant of Juno.

In the interior of the earth, the hidden power of fire works incessantly as the opposing and expanding force of the subterranean air.

Vulcan, a son of Jupiter, received the lordship of the subterrane. Like fire, which at first appears as a feeble spark, was Vulcan at his birth. He was weak, ugly, ailing, slow and limping; but when grown up, and requiring his strength, possessed of a sinewy neck and strong chest. He built a house for himself, which was imperishable, and therein he had his workshop, with his anvil and his bellows, which without hands worked at his command (Il. xviii. 370, lxxii. 470, etc.) The Cyclops, the remnant of the original powers of nature, children of Uranus and Gæa, forged for Zeus lightnings and thunderbolts, dwelling in the volcanic caves. Vulcan appears amongst the Pelasgic gods, the Samothracian Cabiri, as the symbol of electric power, as we shall see, and out of the

common workshop of Hephæstos and Athene is Prometheus said to have taken the life-giving power. For the rest, Hephæstos appears amongst those dark Samothracian divinities, amongst the Cabiri and Axieros. The first Samothracian Cabir is Vulcan. Amongst also the Etruscans he is the lightning-darting god; he stood in connection with Vesta, and had many temples. He was called the renowned in art, the knowing one, the fire-lord, and thence the Lemnian, on account of the volcanic island, and the oracle there.

Like the earth, the air, and fire, water is an original element: according to Hesiod, Oceanos, the eldest of the Titans, the husband of Thetis, by whom he was the father of 3000 streams and as many small seas. According to Homer, Oceanos is the Great, the earth-encompassing world-stream. He is the original fountain of all that is, the origin even of the gods—θεῶν γένεσις (Il. xiv. 201), of those who confer all birth and production. Out of his waters ascend the rising stars, Eos and Helios, and he has his sunshine in the east; and in the west, his departure.

Neptune, the god of the sea, especially of the Mediterranean, and of the islands, bears the tridental sceptre, and in the war with the Titans stood firm by Jupiter; he plunged the hundred-armed Briareus into the sea. The relationship of the water with the air; the mutual working through each other in the tempest of war, as in the production of living plants and beasts out of the earth, is symbolised in it. He has his dwelling in the depths of the sea; that is, his slumbering and characteristic strength. There stand his horses; but, as the monarch of the sea, he travels with the swift-footed. He sends storms that make the earth tremble; he gives also favourable winds and auspicious voyages, or holds all fast as the power of the earth (Homer, Il. and Odyss.) The symbols of the electrical powers of the air, the twisted thunderbolt and the sheaf of lightnings, are given to Jupiter, and to Neptune the trident, which is also the symbol of the sovereignty of the electrical powers of the water. Individual rivers, as the Nile (Isis), the seas, the lakes, brooks and fountains, are especially designated by Nereids, Nymphs, Naiads, Dryads, Hamadryads, etc.

Finally, light, the sun, Helios, the sun-god "who lights

the immortal gods and mortal men on the food-producing earth" (Odyss. xii. 285.) Amongst the Egyptians we have already become acquainted with Serapis as the physical image of the sun; with the Greeks, later, it was Apollo. Helios is the all-seeing god (πανδερκης), the beaming, the discoverer, who beholds all things (Il. iii. 277). Especially did he take cognizance of wickedness and crime: "he beholds gods and mortals." The quickening power of changes through the sun, in nature, in bodies and spirit, is symbolised in the many children which Helios had by different mothers. Asclepias, Circe, Phantusa and Lampetia, Phæton, the Heliades, etc., are the children of the sun. According to Servius (see Virgil), Helios is the only Titan who remained in heaven, and has not become hostile to the gods. White wethers, white horses, and the cock, were sacrificed to him. He is always represented as young, with a diadem of rays on his head; and the arrows of Apollo originally signified the sunbeams.

It would conduct me too wide from my object if I were to give fresh extracts in addition to those already given from the various authors in proof of the original symbolic language of this mythology of natural philosophy. I can only refer to Jacobi's "Hand-Dictionary of the Greek and Roman Mythology;" "Solger's Remains," published by Tieck and Raumer, second vol.; and "G. J. Vossii de Theologia gentili et Physiologia christiana, Amsterdam, 1668." Nor can we here further carry out the comparison with the mythologies of other peoples, which lead to the same results. The reader may, however, allow me to enumerate the allegoric figures which, at least to some extent, continue to be used down to our own time, both in art and in ordinary life. To these belong the symbols of the years, months, and days, in the shapes of stars, planets, and animals. Of the seasons particularly—Flora, Ceres, Proserpina. The physical images of certain beasts; as of agriculture, the ox; of the soul, the butterfly; of watchfulness, the cock; of sagacity, the owl, etc.

Beyond these I only advert to the farther natural philosophy, figure-language, as it relates to the imponderable elementary forces of electricity and magnetism.

Schweigger shows (Introduction into Mythology, pp.

132, 228), that the Phœnician Cabiri, and the Greek Dioscuri, the Curetes, Corybantes, Telchini, were originally of the same nature, and are only different in trifling particulars. All these symbols represent electrical and magnetic phenomena, and that under the ancient name of twin-fires, hermaphrodite fire. The Dioscuri is a phrase equivalent to the Sons of Heaven,—if, as Herodotus asserts, "Zeus originally represented the whole circle of heaven." That the Sons of Heaven, or the Dioscuri, constantly die and return to life together, while yet it is as imperatively necessary that one should die that the other may live, appears an impossibility. But according to Schulz, one can as little comprehend a vision as we can expect to behold an idea. A physical view of a thing is not to be confounded with a logical one; and thus is indicated the polarity of electricity and magnetism in the most striking manner. We may comprehend electricity under the image of two inseparable individuals: and as the north pole of a magnet only by its attraction to the south pole of another magnet, is discoverable—a fact which may be considered in reference to the whole globe we live on, and just so the one electricity only with reference to its opposite—so here, in the strictest sense, is the case of two such brothers, who live and die together, while yet it is absolutely necessary that one must die that the other may live; and what people have regarded merely as a myth is the simplest, cleverest, and at the same time most profound expression of a strictly scientifically defined truth of nature.

Schweigger continues farther the verbal explanation of the electricity by friction, and the light which produced it, as it was known in ancient times—(see Amber, Elektron, in Theophrastus and Pliny)—and of the pleasantly illuminating but not burning fire connected with it; which wonderful fire had already been noticed by Seneca as allied to the Hermes fire. Farther, in this category may be added the original meaning of the panic fear, and the electrical standing up of the hair, of which the written evidence is only wanting, because it was a law of the Mysteries that nothing should be written. Yet perfectly clear and definite is the old hieroglyphic expression, "for the twin-fires from the electrical spark are sketched in a very natural manner in the representations of the Dioscuri on ancient coins."

Quite as striking are the modern electro-chemistry and electro-magnetism in the pictures of the Dioscuri, according to the ancient opinion of Heraclitus, that the contest of opposing forces is the origin of new bodies, and that the reconcilement of these contending principles is called combustion. This is, according to Montfauçon, sketched in the minutest detail in the engravings of the ancient Phœnician Cabiri, so that even in the antique gems the sheaf of beams represents the positive electricity above; and, on the other hand, the light of negative electricity represented round the head, with the motion downwards, as is the course of lightning, is described with perfect correctness by the position of the figures; one figure standing on the right foot turning itself to the right; the other on the left foot turning to the left, by which the physical intention is clearly demonstrated, that the two inseparable poles, Castor and Pollux, turn to the south pole,—to the left, that is, from the west, southward to the east; the other, the south pole, to the right, from east, southward to the west, etc. Schweigger shows that the known attempts to understand the pictures by the aid of electrical streams, that is, by the phenomena of electro-magnetism, not only fully satisfy the experienced, but that the lovers of physics may, without many words, by aid of that old hieroglyphic language, at once make themselves perfectly acquainted with the principles of those very wonderful agitations (p. 280).

When we have once discovered the word of the physical enigma, all difficulties immediately disappear. And we can now see that these Dioscuri, these same sons of heaven, have their swiftness mythically represented by their golden-hued pinions, by their white horses, their power over the enraged sea; yes, more than this, by their sudden and astonishing apparition, high above the topmost, and the hissing sound in the air by the rushing of their wings; while at once the mountainous waves are stilled, and the already despairing mariners find themselves rescued in immediate proximity of the vision (p. 121).

Antiquity speaks also clearly of magnetic attraction and repulsion. In the sixth book of Lucretius on the nature of things, the marvellous phenomena of the loadstone are thus described:—

"Men see the stone with wonder as it forms
A chain of separate rings by its own strength.
Five, and oft more, are hanging in a row,
A play to the light winds, one waves beneath another,
Borrowing their binding strength from the strange stone,
Such power streams out from it, pervading all.
But sometimes it doth happen that the iron
Turns from the stone, flies it, and is pursued.
I saw the Samothracian iron rings
Leap, and steel-filings boil in a brass dish
So soon as underneath it there was placed
The magnet-stone: and with wild terror seemed
The iron to flee from it in stern hate."

The poet speaks of the Samothracian ring, and of the magnetic experiments in the most ancient mysteries. I shall yet speak further of these magnetic rings of the old mysteries, and here only add Schweigger's remarks, that the editions of Lucretius, Lambertin, and Faber, ascribe to these Samothracian rings a secret power of averting anything injurious, which power was communicated to them through conservation in the mysteries. It is worthy of observation, also, that the priests of Jupiter wore similar rings.

The armature of the magnet also, and its wonderful strength, are described by the ancient writers; and through these the myth of Hercules is made very significant. The Herculean stone in Pliny is clearly a synonym. This writer seeks by rhetorical arts to prove why the magnetic stone in antiquity was called the Herculean stone. "As the rock echoing," he says, "as it were, acquires speech, so the sluggish hardness of the stone has received from nature feeling, and, as it were, a heart in the magnet. What less compulsory than hard iron? But here it gives way; assumes manners; allows itself to be drawn by the magnet; and while it conquers everything else, it runs after I know not what non-entity, and as soon as it is come near, it stands still, and permits itself to be held and hung up, as it were, in bonds. Therefore some persons still designate the magnetic stone by the alias of the Herculean stone." Thus the name of the magnet is not derived from a city dedicated to Hercules, but because magnetic and Herculean mean the same thing. "Had Pliny known," says Schweigger, p. 236, "that magnetism is an absolutely unconfinable, invi-

sibly-penetrating power, by which the naming of Hercules as the invincible is justified; had he known that the same power might become so universally useful to seamen through astrologic signs, since it shows especially the place of the pole-star, the guide of the ancient mariners; and that therefore Hercules was justly named the Astrologer, the Soothsayer, and the Index—nay, that he was with justice looked upon as the teacher of navigation, which magnetism really is. The Phœnicians, who made greater voyages than any other ancient nation, ascribed them to Hercules, who for their accomplishment used a cup or goblet received from Helios in the remotest western regions, in which must have laid a northerly-directed influence, for 'there Helios sunk in the western sea:' that this turned constantly to the north while, in fact, magnetism in a wonderful manner daily turns towards Helios his arrow, which is exactly the character of the western variation of the magnetic needle, and which is at the present day honoured by the Chinese with religious observances, which remind one of the Samothracian mysteries; had Pliny known that this magnetic power is in daily conflict, even with itself, which is the chief feature of the myth of Hercules, who makes wounds and heals them; punishes crimes and is continually falling into them himself, ever in need of expiation; who contended with monsters, and then again as a servant performed female offices, on which account in the mysteries of Hercules at Lydia, as he himself expresses it, that extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of a change of costume, the priests putting on women's clothes, because Hercules exchanged clothes with Omphale, thus expressing the magnetic polarity attached to the same individual; had Pliny known that this slavish Herculean strength bound to the stone can come forth as winged, and that then Hercules awakens from his sleep, like the Idaic Dactyl, or the Phœnician Cabir, as a dwarf, becomes a giant, with mad fury destroys the ships entrusted to his care, while during this natural phenomenon lightnings break forth from the columns that arise out of the sea; had Pliny known that the question here is of a cosmic power, having its home in the depths of subterranean night, but at the same time also in the glittering sun, which in the northern lights through self-com-

bustion ascends from earth to heaven, there had been no rhetorical subtleties necessary to him, in order to establish the highest antiquity of the synonymity of the words Herculean and magnetic, or of magnetism and Hercules."

The reader may find still more proofs of the identity of magnetism and Hercules in the work of Bart, "The Cabiri in Germany." According to Pausanias, Hercules was represented under the image of a rough stone at Hyettos, where the sick came to be healed in a temple. The image of Hercules was not artistically formed, but was a rude stone, according to ancient custom, a ferruginous batilien stone, a thunder-stone. And afterwards in the worship of Hercules, the rude stone, as a proper characteristic, was not wholly neglected. "There is yet," says Schweigger, "a Hermes statue of Hercules wrought out of a touch-stone; while Pliny observes the Lydian stone, or touch-stone, was confounded with the Herculean stone."

Claudian, in his Idyls on the Magnet, speaks in the highest terms of the dark, invisible stone, which first acquires power from iron. He notices cosmic agitations as in connection with it, and believes the tails of comets to consist of its essential principle. In storm and lightning its power, according to him, seems to rule. Claudian closes this introduction with the representation of a temple-service, in which a magnetic image of Venus held suspended in the air an iron one of Mars; while Lucian speaks of a very ancient statue of Apollo of the Dædalian age, that it was lifted aloft by the priests, and there before his eyes stood suspended in the air, unsupported by the hands of the priests, the atmosphere serving to sustain it in a living embrace."

The conquest of Mars by Hercules, sung by Hesiod, who represents him as a subterranean power with his helm on his feet, characteristic of the earth-magnetism, says the same thing. Pliny also relates of a statue of Hercules standing at Thebes, that it was made of iron. "Precisely in the same manner," says Schweigger (p. 239), "as in China, one form of religious worship is still based on magnetism, was there a religious service of a temple in Egypt connected with magic, as we learn expressly from the Idyls of Claudian." Schweigger shows yet more completely how Hercules was

considered by ancient writers to be magnetism; how he as a double divinity belonged at once to the upper and the lower world; and how this also, according to Servius, was indicated by a garland of silver poplar; how he, as an Idaic Dactyl, scarcely two feet high, was placed next to the fifteen feet high Demeter in the Samothracian Mysteries. He shows how Hercules was related to Mercury; how he as a creature of light, the hyperborean Apollo (north-polarity) might as Musagetes be substituted for him (pp. 245, 246); how the two pillars of Hercules indicate the double character of magnetism, and originally were called the Pillars of Briareus, as the magnetical, gigantic, primeval power, etc.

The Idaic Dactyls and the Batyli belong to the mythic circle of Dioscuri. As these, according to Strabo, stood in relation to iron, while the Batyli were considered to be connected with the magnetic and meteoric stones, these myths had obvious reference to the polarity of magnetism, and speak of right male and left female Dactyls. Pliny calls them iron-coloured stones in the shape of a thumb. According to their number, they must have varied considerably in appearance. According to Helancius, the right dissolved magic spells which the left knit up, as this happens with the electric forces, where positive and negative, male and female, the right and left polarity, exist as opposite powers. "All this tells with great force for the electro-magnetic powers; of which we may say with perfect truth, that the right dissolves charms, which the left knits up, and *vice versâ*. And as the Cabiri were represented as pygmies, and as a name—Dactyls—derived from a finger instead of from the fist, denoted still more diminutive form, the name, therefore, Dactyl, in an electro-magnetic respect, appears descriptive. For it is this which excites so much astonishment in electro-magnetism, that by it a group of a hundred active iron pygmies, infinitely small magnets, are made, in a manner inexplicable to us, to stand near to each other, without interfering with each other; some turning round to the right, and others to the left. Now, as the Curetes, according to the Orphic hymn which describes the power ruling in a storm, are represented symbolically and mythically as sons of the Dactyls, an original dependence of power on magnetism is indicated thereby. But these Curetes again beget fresh Idaic Dactyls, and thus in this myth the

dependence of electrical power on the magnetic, and then again fresh magnetic phenomena from the electric, are expressed" (Schweigger, p. 199).

The Batyli were also employed in soothsaying, for, according to Thales, they were worshipped in the remotest antiquity in Egypt and Samothrace, as magnetic stones containing souls which had fallen from heaven. All the priests of Cybele wore a small Batylus on their bodies; yet probably not exactly a meteoric stone, but a magnet, whose polar action on the meteoric stone might be so much more easily observed, as it is of a similar colour to the magnetic stone. On the meteor-worship of the ancients, Von Dahlberg has brought together much curious matter in a small volume. The worship of rough stones, and the acquaintance of the ancients with the magnet, especially in Egypt, according to Claudian, shows plainly that not a blind superstition, an adoration of the stone, was meant, but a secret truth of nature, from which it is nearly certain that the ancients have been acquainted with her even to her minutest details, and which knowledge was lost sight of again for ages, till in the present time the physical discoveries have thrown light on electro-magnetism, and from that on the ancient mysteries. Nor is the stone-worship to be regarded merely as a figurative mode of speaking by the poets; for this worship was very general, as Claudian the poet of Egyptian origin declares, not only of Egypt, but also says of Eros in his idyls, that he conquered all things, and even awoke a mutual passion in stones. According to Pausanias, Eros was worshipped at Thespia also under the form of a rough stone, whence it is clear that they were thinking of the stones ensouled by Eros; and this so much the more, as the myth of the inexhaustible productive power of Hercules had reference to Thespia, namely, to the fifty daughters of the king. If, then, we venture to take into connection with this, the myth related by Diodorus of Sicily, that Hephæstos gave the club and armour to Hercules, we have reason to think of a metal club, especially as Hesiod speaks of an iron weapon which Hercules laid on his shoulder, while his shield was crossed with blue stripes. The prevalence in meteoric stones of a pyramidal or wedge-formed shape offers a point of resemblance to the knotty club of Hercules. It is also to be seen, from the weakly Harpocrates being always represented

as a child, with the club of Hercules, that these are not merely rude masses but a mystic symbol, analogous to those Batyli which the priests of Cybele wore, and which, according to the supposition of Münter, were probably not seldom magnets instead of meteoric stones, and sometimes might be iron-coloured stones,—*i. e.* Idaic Dactyls. But Hercules is not merely connected with the Idaic Dactyls, which name he bears in common with that stone, and through allocation with the Dioscuri, and other ancient Cabiric beings; but also, in the Cabiric mythic circle, is invoked as a saviour, and was expressly numbered among the greatest gods.

After these more detailed representations of the ancient natural-philosophical doctrine of the elementary powers, and of the original duplicature of the action of electricity and magnetism in particular, other kindred mythological circumstances are more easily intelligible. To these belong the different symbols of the magical fire, and the manifold attributes of the same amongst the other gods,—as the Vestal fire, which burned inextinguishably on the altar, and which Numa, the founder of the Vestal mysteries, introduced into Rome, according to the ancient art of fetching the fire from heaven, as it was taught by the Samothracian and Cabiric mysteries. Schweigger shows incontrovertibly that this fire was an electrical one, and that Vesta belonged to the Samothracian circle (pp. 139—169); that the fire-worship was practised also amongst other gods; as towards Hermes,—the Hermes-fire, the Elmes-fire of the ancient Germans; the lightning of Cybele; the torch of Apollo; the fire of Pan's altar, which originally belonged to him not as the wood-god but as the illuminating Pan with his hair on end; the fire-flame of Pluto's helm; the inextinguishable fire in the temple of Athene on the Acropolis, which, according to Homer, kindled the miraculous fire in the head of Diomed. Wholly of this kind was the fire represented as burning on the hats of the Dioscuri, &c., as well as the fire on the helm of Pallas, on the Gorgon head, on the staff of Mercury, etc.

Now, if the electrical fire was preserved so sacred in the mysteries, it may next be inquired to what purpose it was thus kept.

If the immediate object were a religious one, the worship of the divinity, then so strict an exclusion of the uninitiated

would not have been necessary: but taking natural philosophy as its object, and the practical use of the same, we have the ground of this strictly mysterious worship; and Schweigger treats it, I think, with insufficient depth. If we observe the completely philosophical connection of the symbols of electricity and magnetism in those mysteries, can we doubt that the ancients had more than a physical object, or that a practically medicinal use was attached to them? If the ancients were well acquainted with the physical laws and operations of these forces, is it likely that their curative nature was unknown to them? Everywhere, in all the temples, the priestly service was pre-eminently a therapeutic one; a secret service of healing the sick, and of soothsaying, which we have already shown to exist among all people. May not electricity and magnetism, together with magnetic manipulation, have been employed as divine and miraculous means? We can the less doubt of such a use of the electro-magnetic power, when we notice the universality of those symbols in the temples of all countries,—in the Vestal, the Eleusinian, the Samothracian, and Egyptian mysteries; and when we cast a glance on many other circumstances in connection with them which have become known.

The mysteries may have been practised, and preserved from the knowledge of the people in their transmission downwards as great natural truths, especially in later and historical times, without, perhaps, their foundation being clearly understood. For if a refusal of free experiment be persisted in, from a dogged adhesion to antiquity, and a repetition of the same thing on all sides, no distinct insight into the causality of the laws of nature can exist. A mechanical adherence to ancient practices may, therefore, have been wholly the fact, without any clear consciousness of the meaning of those practices; as, for instance, is the case in the repetition of astronomical maxims at the present day amongst the Indian Brahmins, and in so many ceremonies of the church.

But the practice was established, and the formula transmitted to the initiated. Thus we see that the miraculous fire so carefully concealed from the uninitiated was most assiduously maintained in the Vestal and Cabiric mysteries; and they who did not know how to manage it ac-

cording to its nature were destroyed by it, and were punished by the gods. Pliny relates (Histor. nat. xxviii. 2) that Tullus Hostilius had sought from the books of Numa, "Jovem devocare a cœlo;" but, as he did not correctly follow the rules of Numa, he was struck by the lightning. Plutarch writes in the life of Camillus that Numa, the founder of the Vestal mysteries, in intercourse with the Muse, had given over to the Vestal virgins the sacred fire, to be guarded as the quickening and ensouling principle in the Samothracian sanctuary, and adds, that "those who profess to be better informed on this subject than others, speak of two not very large casks,—one open and empty, the other full and sealed up." The electrical fire thus concealed might by a mechanical contrivance be quickly kindled in the electrical apparatus without a visible bearing of it to the altar; and thus provided with a point, fire received upon a ball, or in a sieve of brass, is easily to be understood.

The iron Samothracian wings, which we have mentioned from Lucretius, and which "he saw leap," were undoubtedly preserved in the temple not without an object. The secret, evil-averting power which was ascribed to them, is an evidence that their healing quality was already known. The priest of Jupiter also wore, according to Creech's interpretation of that passage in Lucretius, similar iron wings on his body, apparently in order to strengthen his magical influence, as the magnetisers now by the bearing of a magnet assert that they strengthen their effect on the patient. At all events, incubation was practised in those temples where the magnetical rings were found. But those wings constituted regular chains of magnets, strengthening and conducting the power to each other, and were a kind of magnetic battery, as Lucretius says in those remarkable verses (B. 1041—46):—

"How much may not be said of things like these?
But to what end? Thou need'st no farther go,
And me it fits not to engage in them.
Yet will I here in little much compress.
And thus what here is hollow, there fill out,
That so the exchange endurance give and strength.
Some things there may, as 'twere with rings and hooks,
If worn together, be as chains regarded;
As here it seems the fact with stone and iron."

It has already been observed, that the old natural historians, who appear to have been initiated into the temple mysteries, carefully passed over the philosophical secrets; yes, were compelled to be silent on what, for instance, was unanimously testified by the Samothracian mysteries. In the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Athens, in the front of which was the statue of the sower of seed, Triptolemus, the mysteries were celebrated, which, in later times, Pausanias did not dare to unveil, and who was warned by a dream not to do it (Attic. i. 14). People would, therefore, have pressed too close upon the sanctuary of the priests had they allowed the real nature of the magnet and the wonderful action of the iron to become known. At the same time it was not forbidden to make known everything; some things were explained to the uninitiated; but it came to pass that in the course of time many facts made their way to the public. For instance, the uninitiated were made acquainted with amber, and with its property when rubbed; and those iron wings were not withdrawn from the eyes of all. If some things thus lay open, and if the public arrived at the knowledge of the aims and effects of the mysterious mythic circles in another manner; if similar physical science was gained by their own experience, in such a combination things before unknown assumed a high importance, and the mysteries thus more and more were made clear to the general eye. Now this was the fact with the Samothracian wings, which already in the time of Pliny were worn by the Lacedemonians, who adhered fast and perseveringly to the Samothracian traditions, and were in a high degree worshippers of the Dioscuri; so that Callimachus even called the Dioscuri, Lacedemonian stones. It is very remarkable, too, that in Pliny's time the betrothal ring at Rome must be one of iron; as earlier in Athens, the newly married, under the name of Anakes, brought offerings to the Dioscuri, in symbol of the reconcilement of opposing forces, and with reference to the hope of offspring.

Now, as Lucretius expressly, in the passages quoted, speaks of hooks and rings hanging together,—that is, of chains, but afterwards of Samothracian articles made of iron for magnetic purposes, to which, for instance, the experiment with the iron-filings belongs, the acquaintance of the Romans with

physical science is very clear; and Schweigger traces the electro-magnetism into everything, rendering only still more apparent their medical knowledge.

Plato compares, in Ione, the penetrating power of poetry with the marvellous strength of the Samothracian rings; thus showing their effect even on the mind as an auxiliary influence in the vaticinations in the temples. That the magnet played a great part in the temples is certain. I have already spoken of that magnetic stone in the form of Venus, which, by a living embrace, held fast a statue of Mars, which was raised into the air. Pausanias also speaks of a splendid seat or throne of iron, which stood near the consecrated sacrificial hearth of Apollo at Delphi. Plutarch, on Isis and Osiris, has a remarkable passage wherein it is said,—according to the books which are ascribed to Hermes, —the power which affects the circulation of the sun is called Horus, and by the Grecians Apollo; and soon afterwards, that the Egyptians often call Isis by the name of Athene; and, indeed, with an expression which means, "I came through myself,"—which clearly denotes an original power of acting. Typhon also is called Seth, and Smy, and Beban,—which expressions indicate binding and opposing power. The magnet they call the bone of Horus, iron that of Typhon, as Manetho says: "for like as iron drawn by a stone often follows it, but often also is turned and driven away in the opposite direction, so also is the wholesome, good, and regular motion of the world: it turns round and recedes, softens and appeases that rough Typhonic power, till it returns into itself, and sinks down in dissatisfaction."

In this place a mystic language is used, which contains more than a simple physical action. There is in it concealed the fundamental idea of a universal and magnificent activity of magnetism, even in a cosmic aspect. The newer philosophy speaks not merely of an earth magnetism; it has discovered that a universal cosmic magnetism, a force active in the amber, pervades the universe.

"Such matters gladly we proclaim,
How amber, first in childish wonder rubbed,
Teaches us next to turn magnetic globes,
Till joyfully we view the course of stars,
And the wild shapes of comets double-tailed."

The experiences of animal magnetism afford evidence that the cosmic powers may be momentarily employed; not merely those of the sun and moon, whether quickening or destroying, but also the power of stars may be so mightily concentrated, that healing and destruction may become dependent upon it. As the god of physical light, Apollo was also pre-eminently the seer with the spiritual eye, the soothsayer and source of oracles; and in the Zendavesta it is said "that fire gives knowledge of the future, science, and amiable speech." Apollo is also the avenger, armed with bow and arrows (Il. i. 42, etc.) He is called the sender of fatal missiles as well as the creative, life-exciting god, and the god who at once cripples the strength of men, as I have repeatedly found confirmed to the letter in the influence of the sun on magnetic experiments: in that antithesis, probably, more is contained than is meant in mythologic language by the beneficent influence of the spring sun, and the pestilence-bringing summer heat. It is that universe-pervading magnetic power which in little produces health and disease through alternating action, and in the great unites the stars into one general causation of life and death.

We find, too, traces of the use of the magnet amongst the ancient Egyptians. Pliny relates that the temple of Arsinoe was to have been vaulted with magnetic stone, in order to receive a hovering statue of Arsinoe made of iron, according to the arrangement of Ptolemaus Philadelphus, but who, as well as the architect, died before the completion of the temple. According to Cedrenus and Augustine there were anciently temples so constructed. Cedrenus, indeed, says that an ancient image in the Serapium at Alexandria was suspended by magnetic force. Augustine, who, however, names no particular temple, expresses himself as if the question was of a soaring in the air,—a legend, says Schweigger, which the Mahometans also relate of their prophet's coffin. It is not impossible, however, what Cassiodorus says, that in a temple of Diana hung an iron Cupid without being held by any band. It might be directly borne up by a magnet fixed in the roof. Such were cases already referred to where great weights were suspended by magnets.

In connection with these passages deserves to be mentioned what is related by Plutarch of the festivals which were celebrated every nine years by the so-called Daphephorians in honour of Horus and Apollo at Thebes, where an iron ball was carried about, from which several smaller ones were suspended. Also in Thebes, in Bœotia, there was, according to Pausanias, an altar consisting of a stone, which was brought there by Hercules in his sleep. This was dedicated to Apollo, and was sought as favourable to the foretelling of future events. It has already been said that the first name of the magnet was the Herculean stone; and the Batilene, the meteoric and soothsaying stone of the priests of Cybele, we have spoken of; and in China the magnet yet belongs to the religious sanctities, and receives divine honours. "An astonishing number of offerings," says the missionary Gutzlaff, "are brought to the magnet: a piece of red cloth is thrown over it, incense is kindled before it, and gold paper in the form of a Chinese ship is burnt."

It is not irrelevant in this place to refer to what is said in one of Wolfart's Year-books on the magnetism of life (book ii. part 1), and of the vision of a clairvoyant, in which those iron Samothracian rings were described by an individual who certainly had before known nothing of them. "In respect to the seeress, says the relater, I observe, that this vision has by no means arisen through outward communication,—through hearing or reading. Though the patient has a good natural understanding, she could scarcely, from her former education and knowledge of life, have had opportunity to hear or see anything on these subjects."

Dr. Martius asked the seeress, whether magnetism was practised in the most ancient times before the birth of Christ, and that by the Egyptians? After a short pause she gave me the following reply, which she repeated for several days,— "In a great sandy plain, where there is a very pure and healthy air, at some distance from a great city, I see a temple in which physicians or priests heal the sick. They are Egyptians." She then described the temple, the style of building, the eastern aspect, its internal rooms and halls. At first, she seemed to enter a splendid hall, on the ceiling of which were painted the half-moon and many stars. Then

a door conducted her to a great saloon, which was of an oval shape, like the building. Round the hall, at about a foot from the walls, stood eighteen beds or couches for the sick, or rather for the sleeping ones whom she saw on them. The mattresses on which they lay, and the pillows, were stuffed with herbs. Between each two beds, which were placed about three feet from each other, and in such a manner that two and two stood together, at such a distance that a person could go round the beds, there were placed, where the heads of the sleepers came together, according to the shape of the room, nine shining, polished, hollow iron pillars of about three inches in diameter and three feet high. These pillars were fixed firmly on triangular pedestals, which were filled with herbs; but the pillars were filled with quicksilver, and closed at the top with a round knob. (Another magnetic seeress of Bendo Bendsen, in Kieser's Archives, states quicksilver to be the most powerful auxiliary support of magnetic power.) These pillars were united to each other by chains of polished iron, so formed as to project, and the links were of a triangular form, for isolating or uniting, according as might be required. The space included within these pillars was thus fenced out by them. A chain, the links of which were of the form just described, only stronger, was then drawn round the whole space formed by the pillars. At this chain now sate the sick on each side, with the pillars at their backs, holding the chain with one hand, and in the other, by a short handle, a ball, on the top of which was a cross. This was also three inches in diameter, was hollow and filled with herbs. Besides this the physicians had hollow tubes of polished iron, also filled with herbs, with which they touched the affected part of the sufferers. The Egyptian statues of the servants of the temple have almost always rich staves in their hands. With balls only they touched the forehead of the sick, and especially of the sleepers. Thus they did not apply the positive electric points to the brain, exciting it, but the ball's negative electricity,—soothing or drawing from it. The sick who suffered from cramps, and lay in the beds in the hall, had these attacks removed especially by touching and rubbing; as we find, by our own experience, is most effectual.

The invalids thus sitting along the chain, the priests so proceeded from each end of it, that, holding the right or left hand of each person one after the other, they thus met in the middle. With the ball they touched the chain, and shook it to increase and to speed on the magnetic effect. She saw the sleepers wrapped only in white linen dresses, and holding in their hand such balls. She saw the priests in white dresses with a girdle. She saw this treatment as a religious transaction, conducted only in the evenings, and with sleepers, and principally in the moonlight. The priests were unmarried, and chose the eldest amongst them as their chief or king, who was adorned with a crown, and provided with a staff and ball, whence, said she, probably originated the sceptre of the present day.

Two other halls adjoined the one described, in which the sick were more particularly treated. Two entrances conducted to these halls.

The number nine of the pillars had a particular signification, and had particular reference to a constellation. The clairvoyant made the excellent remark concerning this vision, that such an establishment organised by government at the national cost, for magnetic treatment on a large scale, would be a great public advantage, in which we fully agree. Thousands thereby would be saved, and the most severe ailments would often be wholly cured with the greatest ease by magnetism. She also added the remark, that in the Vatican there are many documents upon the early practice of magnetism which might probably be found on search.

Schweigger has amply shown that the old poets have especially wrapped the knowledge of the magnet and the amber in fable, and that the knowledge of the magnet and of electricity was far more extended than is generally supposed. But we find other insulated historical facts of magic action indicated in mythology which obviously accord with animal magnetism. Exactly in proportion as we learn clearly to understand the mythic language of nature through newer discoveries, and, as it were, to imitate the phenomena there described, do we perceive the truth of the sentiment that natural appearances were the foundation of myths: "Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat"—Cicero.

A brief glance into mythology is sufficient to show that both the greater and the lesser gods constituted, as it were, a magic circle, and that either physical phenomena in general, or magical phenomena and effects in particular, are everywhere developed. I refer all who wish fundamentally and fully to see more on this subject, to the "Etymologic-symbolic and Mythological Real-Dictionary, by F. Nork," 1843; and "Mythological Enquiries and Collections, by Wolfgang Menzel," Stuttgart, 1842, vol. i.

In these the rainbow and the bee are particularly selected to serve as proofs that the objects of nature are comprehended in the reflex of the symbolic and mythologic. Bart, in his Cabiri in Germany, has handled in a masterly manner the comparison of the northern and southern myths with a solution of the Samothracian mysteries of nature; and still more so has Jacob Grimm, in his "German Mythology," published at Göttingen, 1835, and in "The North-German People: their Mythology based originally on natural appearances."

As the universal powers of nature determine all the phenomena of life, they therefore determine the health and sickness, the life and death of men. The more general natural symbols applied to the greater gods; and therefore everywhere indicate conditions of the healing or the destruction of men. We have already seen the general symbols of Jupiter and Hera, of Vulcan and Neptune, of Mars and Apollo, etc. The Greek legends have described in the combats of the Titans the subjection of the wild elementary powers of nature; in the battle of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs the Neptunic and Plutonic powers of nature. Just so, too, is it only the combat of the elements which Homer sung. (See Nork's Real-Dictionary, articles Agamemnon, Achilles, etc.) The ideas of primeval being, of night, of chaos, and of time, are expressed in correspondent symbols, as the production of all things is represented through the beneficent formation and mutation of light—Eros and mother Earth—Rhea.

Only beneficent light creates life, therefore Eros is the creative love—protogenos. But life shapes the many-sided phenomena, therefore Eros is called protogenos in the hymn of Orpheus to Rhea, and *πολυμόρφον*, and in so far he appears to have a synonymous meaning with the

enigmatical Proteus, the assumer of many forms, the keeper of the keys of the sea, as he was styled, and of heaven and earth also. Thence is derived the representation of Eros winged like a bird, proceeding from the egg of the world, which Kronos, Time, produced from night,—empty space, reminding us of the comparison of the earth and the heavens to the two halves of an egg, which is to be found amongst nearly all people, and especially amongst the Indians. In India the creative god, Brahma, proceeds from an egg, as the sun, the principle of light. "The idea of the eternal, primeval, and universe-pervading love, was, by degrees, contracted by the sensual Greeks. The God of love, more and more divested of his high dignity as the first-born amongst the gods, sunk down to the genius of sexual passion; but what the Greeks deprived him of in dignity, they richly restored to him in grace and amenity" (W. Menzel.)

Apollo, the god of light and day, had the double universal attributes of producing, and also, through too great heat, of destroying. As the spring sun, diffusing fertility, he is the guardian of herds; "feeds even the herds of Admetus and of Laomedon; rears excellent mares;" heals wounds which the death of physical organizations occasions by new births, and is thence styled the healer, παῖαν, the averter of evil, ἀλεξίκακος. As the friend of harmony in nature, he built the walls of Troy, and produced, surrounded by the Muses,—the nine months, the original or moon-year consisting of nine or ten months,—the harmony of the spheres, playing on the seven-stringed planetary lyre. Thence he was also called the god of song, and of music on stringed instruments; and whom Homer represents as playing to the gods during their banquets (Il. vii. 602), for they no longer understood the peculiar signification of his musical character. As the god of light, he was also the seer, the discoverer with the spiritual eye, the soothsayer, and utterer of oracles" (Nork.)

Ottfried Müller has already represented the Apollo-idea as a dualistic one, in so far that in his person two opposite sides meet, which present themselves wholly as the two sides of nature, the creative and the dissolving. Apollo afterwards received, through the constructive genius of the

Greeks, such a metamorphosis, that the merely natural side withdrawing, he came forth the most beautiful of all the gods of Greece in form, the divine representative of order and law, art and science. Nork sketches further the original double character of Apollo, according to his chief qualities as quickener and destroyer, which divides itself into as many portions as there are months; for the months assume in each sign of the zodiac a new character, which is constantly represented by a particular feature of cultivation. In Caria, a country of sheep, he was, for instance, an augmenter of flocks, and since the goat and the ram have a zodiacal sign in common, Apollo at this season of the year overcomes the goat-shaped Marsyas (the Dionysian Satyr), and appropriates to himself his skin, while Bacchus and he became one being, the new representative of the equinoctial year, and expeller of the old. As the god of divination, he is the healing physician, ἐπικούριος,—the ἰατρόμαντις, and therefore in times of pestilence they sent to Delphi (Pausan. viii. 41.) He proclaimed the will of Zeus, and is called the prophet of the father Zeus at Dodona. He also taught those arts to Hermes; on that account he is the father of the divine physician, Asclepios. Divination was practised at various places, as we have seen, by the priestess Pythia sitting on the tripod, and inspired by the ascending vapour; or by the rustling of trees, as at Delos; or by inspiring fountains, as at Klaros, etc.

Æsculapius also bears, in common with his father Apollo, the title of physician, healer. Others give Mercury as the father of Æsculapius (Cicero de nat. deor. c. 22.)

Of just as much importance to us is the god Mercury, —Hermes. He is a son of Jupiter and the nymph Maia; of heaven and earth, originally, he belongs to the blessing-diffusing gods, as an ancient Pelasgic Arcadian divinity, but merged early in the Hellenic mythology into the nature of the herald, and in this character receded more and more from his former rank. Born early in the morning, he played at noon on the guitar, and in the evening stole the cattle of the far-shooting Apollo. He bound tamarisks and boughs of myrtle-like plants to the tails and the feet of the

cattle in order to obliterate all traces of their steps (Homer. hymn. Merc. lxxv. v. 17, etc.) According to Homer, it was in the sacred herds of the gods that he pastured; according to Ovid and Apollodorus, the herds appertained to Apollo. Besides this, according to Lucian, Hermes stole the trident from Poseidon, the sword from Ares, the bow and arrow from Apollo, the girdle from Aphrodite, the sceptre from Zeus, and the tongs from Pluto. This cunning and address in the most endless varieties caused him to be styled the many-placed, *πολίτροπος*; the crafty, *δόλιος*, the deceiver; the god and captain of thieves. When Hermes, after many stratagems and much resistance, was compelled to return the cattle to Apollo, he then herded them for him, invented the syrinx, and presented it to Apollo. In return for this, Apollo gave him the golden staff, which he had himself received as a herdsman, and with which the art of public speaking and of vaticination is conferred.

Now what did this staff really indicate? As the other attributes of Hermes are connected with this fact, we will endeavour to present the true answer.

On account of his address and eloquence, Hermes was made herald and proclaimer of the gods, *Ἑρμῆς, λόγως, λόγου προφητής*. The heralds were public orators in embassies, in commissions, and in assemblies of the people (Il. i. 333 ff.) Hermes was, therefore, the messenger of gods and men. He is the one endowed with a penetrating spirit; and the inventor of various things, as the lyre, letters, numbers, astronomy, the sacrifice, measures and weights, gymnastics, etc. He imparts a portion of endowments to men, as he taught Ulysses to resist the sorceries of Circe; and all such are under his protection. To Pandora he gave, at the command of Zeus, the gifts of lies and of subtle thought. On account of these qualities he was called the looker into the night, *κλυτόβουλος*. As herald he carried to men the commands and the counsels of the gods, and was to them the health-bringing genius. As the speaker in council, and the god of eloquence, the tongues of rein-deer were offered to him; and with this circumstance probably is connected the Greek adage—*Ἑρμῆς ἐπεισῆλθη*, Hermes has interest, that is, when any one in company began to speak

earnestly. He was called also the giver of good-humour *χαριδώτης*, which also may mean benefactor and diffuser of blessings (Hom. hymn. xxiv. 12.)

Already, in the qualities we have passed in review, we perceive in Hercules the all-transpiercing electrical power, in Hermes the intellectual, and as the former has more body, the latter has the winged spirit. In the history of Hermes, also, the whole of the peculiar phenomena of magnetic somnambulism are personified, which will become more striking in what follows.

As herald of the gods, and especially of Zeus, Hermes is sent out, in order to arrange all sorts of magnetical things, *ἄγγελος, τρόχις τοῦ διώς.* Thus he conducts Priam to Achilles, in order to solicit the body of Hector, so that no one perceived him (Il. xxiv. 336.) He bound Ixion on the wheel; welded the chains of Prometheus on Caucasus, a deed ascribed by others to Hephæstos; carried off Chione; sold Heracles; was called upon by Zeus to steal Io, who had been changed into a cow which was guarded by Argos; he lulled the hundred-eyed Argos into sleep with the newly-invented flute. In combat with the giants, armed with the helmet of Ais, which rendered him invisible, he killed Hippolytus.

As herald, he was also the charioteer and seneschal of the gods, and the director of dreams as messengers to men, *ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων*; he who gives to me sleep and takes it, and bears the staff, wherewith he closes the eyes of mortals, as he will, and again awakes the slumberer (Iliad. xxiv. 345, 445.) In this character he is called the sender of dreams, *ὀνειροπομπός*; the giver of sleep, *ὕπνου προστάτης*; a genius who scatters a horn-ful of dreams, and the shapes of things. "Men, therefore, before retiring to rest, poured out to him drink-offerings (Odyss. vii. 138; Plut. Symp. vii. 9), and the libation itself, by which we sought to procure good dreams from God, was called Hermes" (Philostrat. Her. x. 8.) On account of all these properties, Hermes is the associate of those heroes who go on dangerous adventures under the protection of Zeus. Thus he conducted Priam into the Hellenic camp (Il. xxiv. 461); Perseus, when he went to fetch the head of Gorgon (Apollod. ii. 4, 2); Heracles in the kingdom of Ais (Odyss. ii. 625). As the messenger of Zeus, he conducted the shades of the dead to

the nether world, but himself returned to Olympus. He conducted also Persephone back from the nether world, and on that account was termed significantly the conductor of souls, *ψυχοπομπός*, *ψυχαγώγος*, *ταμίας τῶν ψυχῶν*.

In connection with these Hermes was also the establisher of peace, the god of roads, of traffic, and of travellers. Figures of him were found on the doors of houses and temples, on tombs, and in the streets in great numbers, and thence *στροφαίος*, the door-keeper, the Latin index, the German touch-stone (Hermes had turned the treacherous Battus into a black stone.) The Hermes-stones on the roads were, for the most part, without hands or feet.

Trade and commerce bring gain, and, therefore, Hermes is the conferrer of gain and affluence, *πλουτοδότης*. An unexpected piece of good fortune, or a find, was *ἑρμαίον*, and hence he was also the god of play. As the god-herdsman and the protector of herds, the defender of rural cattle, of horses, and laborious mules, he comes into comparison with Pan and the nymphs.

From the shade-conducting Hermes, the later mythologists made an earthly and a subterranean one, and Cicero mentions even five gods of that name. But these are obviously only the physical, electro-magnetical powers of nature, which are active in, under, and above the earth. Hermes is the conductor even through the kingdom of Ais, arising from his visionary nature, as the conductor of dreams, in which character he comes into connection with the penetrating and wisdom-giving goddess (*ὀφθαλμίτις*), Minerva,—as when he is sent with her in order to absolve the Danaides from the guilt of the murder of their husbands (Soph. Phil. 133.) The winged shoes, the pocket, and the helmet, make his different qualities clear, yet are in part a later addition, for Homer represents him in a more agreeable and somewhat younger form, a blooming stripling, whose cheek was embrowned in the sweetest charm of youth (Il. xxiv. 347.) The light, turned-up hat, afterwards furnished with wings, or instead of it wings in the locks of the god, is the attribute of the messenger of the gods; so also, the winged sandals, "beautiful, ambrosial, and golden, which bore him away over the sea into the infinite lands, as borne on a breathing wind" (Il. xxiv. 340.) Many of the

myths having reference to physical powers, as those of Helios, Apollo, Hercules, Pan, etc., and are now become comprehensible; for example, the planet next the sun is called Mercury.

As the god of eloquence, Hermes is represented with a chlamys and his right arm elevated; as the god of trade, with a purse; as the augmenter of flocks, with a ram; and as the herald of sacrifice, with the sacrificial cup; as the inventor of the lyre, with the tortoise. Here we have given the most ancient symbols of the Samothracian mysteries. But what of that golden staff which was finally given him?

If the complete metamorphoses of somnambulic phenomena were not deducible from the preceding history of Hermes, there yet remains, from what it shows, no doubt whatever of the peculiarities attributed to the staff.

Magic-staff, wonder-staff, winged-staff, the serpent-staff, —all these various names display its signification; but the ancients themselves deliver the most definite statement concerning it. In the fifth book of the Odyssey, Jupiter, in the council of the gods, commands his daughter Minerva to conduct Telemachus with wisdom; and to his son he says:—

> "Hermes, who art of my ordinances ever the bearer, etc.
> Him promptly obeyed the active destroyer of Argus, * *
> Forth sped he, and under his feet he bound his ambrosial sandals,
> Then taking his staff, with which he the eyelids of mortals
> Closes at will, and the sleeper, at will, re-awakens."

Ῥάβδος originally means a rod, stick, or staff; by the staff of Hermes was understood pre-eminently the magic-staff, by which men were thrown into sleep, or again awakened (Il. xxiv. 343; Odyss. v. 47; Hymn. Merc. ccx. 526.) The magic-staff of Circe (Odyssey, x. 238; xiii. 429.) In the Odyssey, again, it is called the magic-staff (Odyss. xii. 251.) I do not know how the magnetic staff which Mesmer, Wolfart, and their disciples, used in magnetising, could be more clearly described; but these generally had an iron or steel staff, as the so-called conductor, in order, in certain cases, to strengthen and modify the magnetic power, to throw people into sleep or to awaken them. In ancient times, it appears to have been originally a wooden staff, but certainly not exclusively, for it is also called the golden, or at least the gilt staff. Even so the experienced magnetiser

uses, in different conditions of the sick, different staves; and of the wooden ones, the best, according to the observations of clairvoyants, are of hazel, laurel, or olive. He also uses zinc or glass staves.

The staff in ancient times had various significations. At one time it is the herdsman's staff, then the herald's, such as the heralds of the present time carry; then it became the symbol of power—the *σκήπτρον*, sceptre of the ruler, and the magic staff of the necromancer; and we yet find it amongst the Egyptian officers of the temple. Whence Hermes derived his staff is not stated; nor is there any mention in Homer of his serpent staff, which seemed to be the peculiar attribute of Æsculapius. It is styled in the Homeric hymns, "the splendid, three-leaved, infallible staff, which Hermes received from Apollo" (v. 559). According to Apollodorus, it is the golden staff which Apollo himself received as the reward of his services as a herdsman. That the magic staff was also of metal is shown by a passage in Lucian (Dial. D. 7, 5). Hermes received this staff, which other gods also bore—as Hades, Isis, Athene, and Circe—a staff of wonderful power, with which he cited souls, and conducted shades into Hades, from Hephæstos. In Virgil it is said:—

"The staff which pale shadows from Orcus
Calls up, or down into sorrowful Tartarus sends them,
Sleep gives and awakens the sleeper, and seals up the eyes of the dying."
Virgil, Æn. iv. 242.

The herald's staff was of olive-wood, adorned with golden bosses or wholly gilt, and was called, in the hands of Hermes or Athene, on that account, the golden. This staff, *κηρύκειον*, the Caduceus, when it was to express a peaceful intention, was wound round with leaves and white ribbons (*στέμματα*), and was then the wand of peace. Later times converted these, *στέμμασιν*, into snakes, which encircle the staff in friendly union, and hissed at each other above. The pair of wings on the staff is also a later addition, and symbolises the messenger. Hermes bearing such a staff was the herald of concord. There never have been wanting various meanings attached to these snakes. They are, namely, the symbols of wisdom, of healing, of

life, and of regeneration. Schweigger combines the snake-encircled Hermes-staff with the mythic circle of the Dioscuri, and shows, from ancient gems, an accurate representation of one of the most beautiful electro-magnetic phenomena of modern times; namely, the whirling of snakes of iron wire rapidly round the magnet, in a circle of revolving and illuminating sparks. The Hermes-staff is thus winged with small glittering flashes of lightning; and the wings of lightning are, therefore, according to nature, connected with it. But that whilst we are thinking of the Hermes-staff we are reminded of the Herculean force, the magnetic, is justified by the fact that the Hermes-staff was anciently represented in connection with the club of Hercules.

These combinations may have their reality; but still more just in every sense is the comparison of the sleep-bringing magic wand of Hermes with our magnetic staff, with which we are in a condition fully to imitate the ancient descriptions of the magical appearances of the Grecian gods.

Not the less remarkable, and, therefore, perfectly relevant to our subject, is the original German meaning of the magic wand; concerning which Grimm, in his German Mythology, p. 545, says:—"An ancient glossary derives the name from the Wishing-rod, according to the notion of the magic power of the rod of Mercury. But the Caduceus was neither derived from wishes nor wishing. The winged rod—*virga volatilis*—was early represented as a magic rod; it is the wand through the possession of which a man becomes the master of all healing. The gift of this healing proceeds from the all-powerful Woutan." He says, amongst other things in his introduction to prove the identity of the northern and German mythologies,—"The name of Wish stands in connection with Wishing-woman. Wishing-women were employed precisely as Swan-maidens; and Woutan appeared in the Wishing-cap."

In the Samothracian mysteries all the so-called greater gods stood in alliance with each other. Not only those already mentioned, but Athene, Cybele, Demeter, Ceres, Proserpine, and Pan; and in the sense of the original duality were also Hephæstos with the father of the Cabiri, and Poseidon with Hercules and Jupiter, united under the name of the greater gods. Thus we have seen that these

symbolical divinities were originally but representations of natural appearances. Diodorus of Sicily relates that the Samothracian mysteries were founded in the dark times prior to history, and were derived from an antecedent world destroyed by the great flood; but that they were remodelled by Jupiter, and first made known to his son Jasion, whom he had by Electra, in order to confer divine dignity upon him.

Corybas, the son of Jasion by the mother of the gods, from whom the Corybantes received their name, taught the mysteries of the mother of the gods to Phrygia, on which occasion the lute given by Hermes was taken thither. Through the whole series of images there was a leading type, which artistic imagination adorned with new combinations, or gave prominence to individual characteristics, or added historical events to them. I will here only refer to such of these matters as have reference to magic. In general, two Dioscuri indicate the primeval principles of electro-magnetism; but there frequently comes a triad, and sometimes a quadruple representation—the male, the female, the right, the left, the positive and the negative. The triad, Helios or Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, represent the three points of the electrical fire, the trident of Neptune. As for the upper world two male, so for the nether world two female Cabiric beings, Demeter and Persephone, were found, as may be frequently seen in the representation of the mysteries. Demeter was called the Cabiric Saviour, as we have seen Hercules in the same character. Herodotus also says that Isis means the same as the Greek Demeter (while Plutarch frequently uses the term Isis-Athena); and that not merely at Sais, but in all places in Egypt, thousands of lamps burnt to indicate that sole, divine, and universally active fire. Homer also frequently represents his Athena as Isis-Athena—as the ruler of the sea; and that, indeed, in two poems: now with terrific storms and swollen waves pursuing criminals; now, again, stopping the course of the winds, and commanding all around her to lay itself to rest. Not seldom in Homer is Athena mentioned as of the nature of health-bringing fire, and as the fire-ball falling from heaven, as in the case of the victory-announcing star on the head of Diomed. He speaks of an unwearied,

self-supporting, immortal and ethereal fire. Like Athene, Isis also was regarded as ruler of the sea, as is represented on very ancient coins. On one of the Maffei gems, Athene holds a rudder in the right hand; and near the rudder the rest-giving staff of Hermes, which is held between poppies; which poppies, like the cornucopia, have reference to the Kabiric Demeter. Here the electro-magnetic forces, as well as the magnetic sleep, are pointed out with sufficient distinctness. The miraculous helmet of Pluto is, moreover, sometimes worn significantly by Athene—the helmet which belongs to the nine divinities, armed with lightning, "with which she passes through the heavens large enough to cover the foot soldiers from a hundred towns;" thus showing herself a superhuman, gigantic being, and as a heavenly apparition, speedily withdrawing herself again from sight. Minerva is by her nature essentially prophetic. Her mother, Metis—Wisdom—a daughter of Oceanos and Tethys, was the first wife of Zeus. After Metis had withdrawn herself from Zeus by passing through a variety of forms, she announced to him that she should give birth to a son and daughter who would assume the sovereignty. Upon this he swallowed her, as she was pregnant with Athene, and thus produced her himself (Apollod. i. 3, 6; Hesiod. Theog. 886). According to Hesiod, Zeus swallowed Metis, by the advice of Uranos and Gæa, who communicated to him the important announcement of the future; and hidden in the interior of Zeus she prophesied to him good and bad.

Homer mentions no mother. According to him, Minerva sprang at once from the head of Zeus, and thence was called τριτογήνεια, the chief-born; which word is, however, variously explained, as for instance, that it means born on the third of the month. According to Democritus, because she conferred three cardinal virtues,—profound counsel, sound judgment, and justice in action. According to others, she is called a daughter of Hephæstos; and accordingly the people's festivals, Χαλκεῖα, and Ἀθηναῖα, and Πάνδημος, were held unitedly at Athens in honour of Minerva and Hephæstos, as the divinities who presided over the arts. From the same cause, Athena comes much into connection with Prometheus, as she who counselled him to steal the fire from heaven.

According to Orphic hymns, Athene is the personified productive principle, and as such is synonymous with Phanes. Pre-eminently is Athene as the daughter of the omnipotent Zeus and Metis, or Wisdom, that being amongst the Olympic divinities in whom power and intelligence were united; on which account she was denominated the protector of states, the goddess of wisdom and the arts,—especially the useful arts. At the same time she is the protecting goddess of war, under the name of Pallas; but she does not delight in the slaughter of men, like Ares, but rather held back men from mutual carnage, where wisdom counselled it. We find her in Homer bearing no weapons but such as she borrowed from Zeus (Il. v. 735). In Athens she was the general protecting power, the helper, Σωτέρια, and goddess of healing, Υγιεία παιωνία, to whom the serpent, as the regenerating strength, was sacred. It is remarkable that Athene was also amongst the Etruscans one of the divinities of lightning. Thus she stands on a coin of Severus waiting upon Vulcan, who is forging thunderbolts for her; and the owl of Minerva on coins is represented as the bearer of lightnings. Thus she is made to say in Æsculus that she alone of all the gods knows where the lightnings lie concealed. Tzetzes of Lycophron gives the legend that Athene had been a queen, called Belanica, a daughter of Brontes, who had been married to Hephæstos, and was the mother of Erichthonius.

Besides the well-known names which she received from the various places where she was worshipped, she was called the singer—Ἀηδών, the patriotic, the counseller, the helpful, the stiller of the wind. According to a Spartan popular legend, her worship was brought out of Colchis by the Dioscuri (Pausan. iii. 24-5). She had in Sparta a fine temple adorned with brass, and a brazen statue. As Pallas, she was called the warrior maid—Πάλαξ; Πανία, who gives health and plenty; Σκίρας, Sciras, after the prophet of Dodona; and thence the feasts, the Scirophoria, in which a white canopy was carried down from the palace to the temple of Athene Sciras by the priestess. She was called σκίρον, after the Telchines, who came out of Cyprus and Beotia, and built a sanctuary to the goddess on the mountain Teremessos; and she had also the cogno-

men of the slayer of giants and the Gorgon. The olive-branch, the serpent, the owl, and the cock, were sacred to her.

It has always been observed that the magnetic meteoric stone, the Batylus, was worn as a divining stone by the priests of Cybele. Livy relates that a meteoric stone was brought with great solemnity from Pessinus to Rome, as a symbol of the mother of the gods, and that it was received by the Vestals, and was borne from hand to hand to the Temple of Victory. He states that the touching of it cleared the dubious character of a Vestal, and that she then was esteemed as more sacred than ever. From this we perceive the connection of the service of the Vestals with the Samothracian mysteries, as well as the secret use of the power of the magnet in the temples. Traditions on this head are, it is true, so rare, owing to the secresy used, and to the strictness of the prohibition of publication, as well as to the withdrawal of the Palladii, as images of the the gods held sacred, from all physical inquiry. Thence it happens that Vesta is frequently confounded with Cybele. Vesta was also frequently depicted with lightnings in her hand. With this accords a remarkable picture in the work of Raoul Rochette—Monumens d'Antiquité figurée, tab. 58—which is unmistakeably a representation of an initiation into the mysteries of the mother of the gods, or of the Eleusinian Demeter. Like the erect-haired one, as Pan was called, all the figures here have their hair streaming out on all sides, with the exception of the mysterious or Cabiric Demeter, from whom the idea is that the power issues, and a person who kneels, and who, as it seems, is about to be initiated into the mysteries. There are twelve heads with such erect hair. Schweigger traces farther the connection of Vesta with Apollo and Hermes; and in Creuzer's Symbolic, in the fifth table and third figure, we see Vesta, with her staff in her left hand, appear, and extending her right hand towards Hermes, as though she would seize the magic wand with which, according to Virgil, he chases the winds, while Hermes holds this in his left hand towards her. We have already noticed that the priests of Cybele frequently used the Idaic Dactyls instead of the small magnetic stone; whence these dactyls are so frequently found in the

mysteries. This much is, therefore, clear, that the myth of Cybele, with which that of Demeter and Ceres is so frequently confounded, is identical with the Cabiric worship, and that the agricultural religion, which taught the all-nurturing power of mother nature in all the different seasons of the year, arose originally from an observance of electrical phenomena. "Their demons are the Cabiri," says Lucian (Dea Syria, xv. 97)—"and therefore are the Cabiri worshipped by the sacrifice of dogs in the Zerynthian cave, where, in the depths of the subterranean world, Persephone and the fire-god Vulcan, are believed, to prepare the warmth of life for the coming season of the year, necessary for the production of flowers and fruit. Hence the connection of the name of the great Idaic-mother, the beast-producer, the fruit-bringer, with Ceres. According to Schelling, Cybele is the counterpart of the outstretched heavens; according to him the mother of the gods represents the beginning of organic nature,—as Kronos, Typhon, Moloch, do that of the inorganic. Amongst the Egyptians ruled gods of the stars; the first principle, the gods, was predominant with them; while amongst the Greeks it was the sacred principle, that of creative ideality and of spiritual illumination, and thence the glorious powers which they produced. The Greek gods are not of flesh and blood, yet they are beings resembling men.

Cybele is so called from κυβή, a cave, in which her priests, Cureti, dwelt, nine in number, and there held their religious ceremonies and weapon dance, striking with their swords on their shields; a practice which some derive from Phrygia, because in Phrygia especially the cultivation of the Curetidance and orgiestic music are to be sought. Thus, according to Strabo, the Curetes were originally priests, advanced later to demons and gods, to whom men erected temples, and by whose names they swore. He lays down two opinions: either the Cureti, Corybantes, Idaic Dactyls, and Telchines, are identical, or they are kindred beings, and only differ in some minor particulars; and he thence comes to the conclusion that they are of enthusiastic and Bacchic character,—that is, belong to an orgiestic nature-worship, and that the Curetes have much resemblance to the Satyrs.

It was on the sacred mountain of Rhea that the weapon-

dance was held, and ore was brought out to the day; by which we perceive that connection with the Dactyls, that is, with the demons of strength and the arts; for they forged weapons from the ore delivered in by the attendants; "and it is thus natural," says Strabo, "that the Idaic Dactyls should be confounded with the Samothracian Cabiri, whom in Rhodes the Telchines represented. In this," he continues, "all agree, that the Idaic Dactyls first forged iron on Mount Ida; that they were the servants of the mother of the gods, who dwelt in Phrygia near Ida. By Phrygia is meant the district of Troy; for the Phrygians appropriated the lands of Troy, after that city was destroyed by the Grecians. It is supposed also that the Curetes and Corybantes were descended from the Dactyls, for there were at first a hundred Cretans who bore the name of the Idaic Dactyls. From these hundred men arose nine others, who were the Curetes; and every one of these produced two children, and these were then called Idaic Dactyls, like their grandfathers. Others suppose three original Corybantes, as there were three original Curetes, and three divine Bacchuses. The priests of the goddess ran about with wild cries, and with a terrific din of kettle-drums and cymbals, of horns and pipes, dancing their armed quire through woods and mountains, or practised the orgiestic dance, in which in a religious phrensy they wounded each other" (Lucian. de Sallust. 8).

The goddess herself cured madness (Pynd. Pyth. iii.; Diod. iii. 57). "Her priests were physicians—Cybelæ cultores pathici. Onione, the wife of Alexandros—Paris—learned from her the Mantic doctrines (Apollod. iii.) Æsculapius was also brought into connection with the Cybele-worship and the Cabiri. According to Damascius, Æsculapius is not a Greek but a Phœnician; for Sadyc had seven sons, who were declared to be Cabiri or Dioscuri, but the eighth was Æsculapius—Esmun. He was very beautiful, and was beloved of Astarte, the mother of the god. In order to avoid her passion, he mutilated himself, and the sorrowing people placed him amongst the gods, and called him Pœan."

We cannot dwell longer on the worship of Ceres; to which belongs the myth of Triopas and his son Erysichthon (Kornbrand), whom the goddess punished with terrible

hunger; nor can we pursue further the mysteries of the subterranean Persephone; but of the sorcery of Circe we must yet take some notice, after I have given the explanation of the Cybele myth by P. Franc. Pomey, in his "Pantheum mythicum seu fabulosa deorum historia," Leipsic, 1759; Karl Bart has treated at length of the Cureti, the Corybantes, Telchines, and the Dactyls, as well as of the Samothracian Cabiri in Germany.

Cybele, according to Pomey, p. 138, is the goddess of all that is earthly; nay, she is the earth itself. She bears a tower on her head, a key in her hand; because she bears and cherishes the towered cities, and because she locks up her treasures in winter, and then again unlocks them. She travels in a lofty car, because she is round, and floats in the air by the equipoise of her own weight. She is drawn by lions, to show that there is nothing so wild and untamed which may not be subdued by diligence and humanity, and made serviceable. Her dress is adorned with flowers of all colours, and with the forms of the most varied animals,—a circumstance that requires no explanation.

Her name, with various bye-names, springs from various causes. Originally, a daughter of heaven and the wife of time—Saturn—she has her name, according to Strabo and Suidas, from a mountain in Phrygia, where a sanctuary was first erected to her (or ἀπο τοῦ κνβισᾶν) because her priests with streaming hair, and with horrible action and dances, foretold future events. She was called Ops—help—because she brought help to all things; Rhea, from ῥέω, to flow, because she flows round all things with blessings; Dydymene, from a Phrygian mountain; the mother of the gods, and by the Greeks Pasithea, that is, πᾶσι θεόις μητῆρ,—the mother of all the gods. She was called the good goddess; also Fauna, the wood-goddess, etc. The place of her temple was Opertum; and thence Lucian sings:—

"Nosse domus stygias, arcanaque ditis operti."

Although in all temples a certain degree of silence prevailed, yet this was most strictly observed in the worship of Cybele; for man honours God by silence, and especially that divinity from whom proceeds the beginning of all things. "Therefore," says Plutarch, "we honour man by

speaking—the gods by silence." Idæa she was called, from Mount Ida in Phrygia, where she was pre-eminently worshipped; Pessinuntia—the fallen from heaven, from a field in Phrygia, where her image was found, and whence the Phrygians first raised a temple to her. It was the custom in this temple, as in that of Bacchus, to celebrate their worship with obstreporous noise of many instruments, and amid many wild cries, whereby, strangely enough, the temple was not opened by hands but by prayer. Amongst the trees, the box and the pine were dedicated to her, because out of the first the pipes were cut, and the pine, on account of the boy Atys, whom Cybele loved, and whom she made the superintendent of her sanctuary on condition of perpetual chastity, but which he violated, and being enraged by the angry goddess, he mutilated himself, and would have committed suicide, to prevent which she changed him into a pine-tree."

The priests of Cybele were also called Galli, from a river in Phrygia of that name, the water of which, when drunk, drove people mad; and therefore the officiating priests cut themselves, and were called gallants. They had also other names,—as Cabiri, Corybantes, etc. etc., which we have frequently quoted. The Corybantes were so called, according to Strabo, from the shaking of their heads in the dance. The Telchines were said to be from Crete, and thence to have gone to Rhodes, and to have been celebrated sorcerers; or, if you will believe others, men, who, on account of their discoveries and proficiency in art, deserved well of the community: being said to be the first who made images of the gods.

There was in Greece originally no district of sorcery, in which a power opposed to nature and the gods could exhibit itself. But it was different in fabulous foreign countries, which richly furnished Greece with marvels and the power of working them. As far as concerned his own land, the youthful imagination of the Greek shaped the gods forth only in dark outlines. But foreign lands had their own marvellous creations of a wonder-believing power of imagination, to which belongs what Homer relates of sorcery and the might of sorcerers, and yet in which it is still obvious that the poet had an historical foundation for his fictions. Such are the Sirens, dwellers in unknown seas;

creatures of an extraordinary magic power, which does not arise from secret arts, but lies especially in the sweetness of their singing, with which the attractive and brain-bewildering power of the sea co-operated. Their action is, therefore, to be compared with that of Amphion and of Orpheus. Miraculous creatures, too, are the Cyclops and the Læstrygones, with whose original meaning we are acquainted: the Giants and Titans are only miraculous because they are now no longer to be found, and they are therefore placed in that unknown land, or in heaven.

Amongst these wonderful beings Circe holds a preeminent place, on account of her magic power and of her native country,—high Asia. "Prometheus did penance in the Caucasus, and to that neighbourhood belongs the notorious magic family, of which there is in Homer and afterwards so much mention,—especially of Pasiphae, Ætes, Circe, and Medea. In Homer nothing is more striking than the wholly un-Grecian nature of the representation of human sorcery. The whole family is derived from Helios by a syncretism apparent from the earliest times in Greece, in order to bring them nearer to the sphere of the gods, and to deduce their arts from them. Circe, herself a goddess, is the sister of Ætes; both are children of Helios and Perse, or Perseis, the daughter of Oceanos. She is brought by Helios into the west. In Colchis there is yet a piece of land called from her Κιρκαιῶν" (Wachsmuth, in the Athenæum, B. ii. p. 218).

The magic power of Circe is thus compared with that of the other gods, but continues so far foreign, that in order to effect her metamorphoses she mixes beforehand magic materials, φάρμακα λυγρὰ πανφάρμακος, and must touch her countrymen with a magic rod:—

> "On thrones around with downy coverings graced,
> With semblance fair the unhappy men she placed.
> Milk newly pressed, the sacred flour of wheat,
> And honey fresh, and Pramnian wines the treat.
> But venomed was the bread, and mixed the bowl
> With drugs of force to darken all the soul:
> Soon in the luscious feast themselves they lost,
> And drank oblivion to their native coast.
> Instant her circling wand the goddess waves,
> To hogs transforms them, and the sty receives."
>
> ODYSSEY, Book x.

The important magical expression θελγειν, which occurs so frequently afterwards, does not occur so early as this; and the later magic formulæ to prevent sorcery and to detect it, so celebrated in subsequent ages, the Homeric Circe was not yet acquainted with.

But what, however, does present itself in Circe, is of the more accomplished form of sorcery. Thus, according to Apollodorus, she is a strange and terrible, yet at the same time divine being; and she, as such, absolved the Argonauts from the crime of murdering Absyrtus. Virgil gives her, besides the *potentibus herbis*, also *carmina;* that is, besides magic herbs also magic songs, and she now took rank as one of the prime sorceresses of antiquity.

Medea, the niece of Circe, is not mentioned by Homer, who speaks only of her father Ætes. Strange and terrible as is her aid in the combat between Jason and the Hydra, she was not in the older times by any means the terrible and necromantic child murderess, (Wachsmuth, a. a. O.) According to later legends, Medea took her abode in Greece, and knew the means of inflicting curses. She rose into a monster first under the hands of the tragic poets; the legends were continually collecting fresh incidents, and thus Medea became worse from age to age—*fama crescit eundo;* and she is, for example, in the Argonautic expedition, the arch-sorceress, with all her mixing of poisons, her power of changing men into beasts, and her magic ointments.

Pasiphae, also, the sister of Ætes and of Circe, was acquainted with the agency of magic, and by her the legends of the Idaic Dactyls are to be reconciled. In the same manner as the Greek came out of the distant Colchis, came the magic art from mysterious Egypt; yet without acquiring much influence. Hecate did not yet belong to the magic class in the days of Hesiod, and is a different person at this time to Selene. She derived her power only from Zeus, who honoured her so highly that he shared with her the power over the earth, the sun, and the heaven. She gives riches to mortals, and appears as the dispenser of order in war and in the assemblies of the people. That fabulous nocturnal darkness of hers, in which were the infernal dogs, the serpents, etc., is found only in connection with her in later times.

The connection, therefore, of Circe and the Phrygian mysteries is clear, and the explanation is after this too far-fetched when we derive the name, according to Hermann, from "*navigatio in orbem facta*" (De myth. Græc. antiq.)

According to the researches and sagacious combinations of Bart, the Curetes were originally people who dwelt in thick mountain woods and caves, and were very skilful in rearing of cattle, in gathering honey, and shooting with arrows; and who being very warlike, sought their fortunes in war, and therefore introduced the sword, the shield, and the weapon-dance. They lived, according to Homer's Iliad, in Ætolia, and, being expelled thence, afterwards in Acamania. In a religious point of view, the Curetes were, as we have seen, the ministers of the mother of the gods in the orgiestic festivals. They then constituted a sacerdotal caste, became demons, who educated the new-born Zeus, and were also in the service of other gods, from which cause Uranus, Demeter, etc., were called Curetes. Samothrace, as we have said, is the country of the Curetes, where they are called Anaken, and exercised proper electric powers. Bart enters fully into these views, and adds, that the Curetes were the guardians of the young Dionysius and Zeus. As Bacchus also belongs to this circle of the gods, it is necessary that we should notice his myth in reference to its primeval signification.

The ancient mythographers name three Dionysii. 1st. The Indian; the eldest, who gave wine and fruit. 2nd. The son of Dios and Persephone, or, according to others, of Demeter, who taught men to plough with oxen, and thence is represented with horses. 3rd. The son of Dios and Semele. The Lybians, moreover, had three Dionysii. In Egypt Osiris was synonymous with Dionysos. According to the character of the doctrine or the conception, Bart accepts two Dionysi. In the first appears the eldest one as Zagreus, the son of Jupiter and Persephone, and was torn asunder by the Titans. Apollo again put together his limbs, and preserved his heart, out of which arose the second Dionysos, born of Semele. Him also Hera persecuted, on which account Hermes brought him to Cybele, who suckled him and educated him with maternal care. He was either brought up on the sacred Mount Ida, or in Dodona, by the Hyades,

who were Nyssæic and Dodonæic nymphs. Silenus the Curete was his teacher and nourisher, and Hermes bore him as a child into heaven. According to others, Jupiter caused him to be brought to Nissa in the form of a he-goat, and educated by the nymphs, who were then placed in heavens, and as the Hyades brought rain.

Hera perseveringly pursuing him, he became mad, and went to Dodona to be cured; he rode on an ass that could speak, and finally came to the hill of Cybela in Phrygia, whence Rhea carried him off, and consecrated him.

In reality the three Dionysii were one being. A symbolic feast was celebrated in honour of him who was torn to pieces by the Titans, and the history of the old one was transferred to the new. In Zagreus, his tortures and death appear to be his peculiar characteristic,—the mystery of faith. On the other hand, he is the hunter of life, to whom all living are a prey; and according to Snidos, Zagreus was the subterranean Dionysos. He improved the ancient orgies, and founded new; and thus arose the type of the Dionysos-figures. In the bearded god was recognised the Indian; and on the other hand, the son of Semele was effeminate, and inclined to pleasure. The panther-skin denoted the warrior, and the god of peace was distinguished by a flowing, luxurious robe, and the mitre, afterwards a diadem.

The worship of Bacchus spread itself through the whole world; he and Demeter were the benefactors of all, and by all were honoured. His worship in India, Egypt, and farther Asia, is well known; in Arabia, Dionysos and Urania were alone worshipped by all the gods. In Persia, a festival was celebrated in honour of Bacchus, as the producer of verdure, the founder, the re-awakener and genius of spring. In Scythia and Bactria, women celebrated the Bacchanalia with Indian and Thracian customs. From Thracia the worship spread itself towards the north as far as the Ister and to the ocean. The diffusion of his worship was represented under the form of a warlike expedition, and the legends of distant people corroborate this account. It arrived in Greece long before the Theban Cadmus. But commonly Dionysos does not appear as a warrior; he did not compel the people by force, but through enthusiastic practices. He led women in his train, loved music and

jollity, and, therefore, the muses and the satyrs accompanied him. Everywhere he diffused his benefits; taught the cultivation of the vine, the brewing of barley, the culture of grain; and instead of the old, simple worship, a public one, with solemn processions, with bands of musicians and dances. Everywhere he promoted sociality amongst men, and appeared as the establisher of peace, but only amongst the pious and the upright, through which the character of the reformer is apparent.

According to the Indian doctrine, Bacchus was born on Mount Meros, in a cave. Meros, in the Indian, means a thigh; and thence the legend that Bacchus was hidden in the thigh of Zeus. On Meros, Bacchus arrayed his forces for the Indian expedition, and there was the rock on which Zeus destroyed the Typhon.

Passing over the many different names given him by different nations, as Lysius, Lyæos, the conductor of souls from and to heaven; Kolonotas, the lord of graves; Demetrius, of the dead; Licritus, the arisen; Amphietes, the returner; Hyes, the lord of moist nature, etc., which are full of meaning, we shall here only cursorily notice the life and original signification of Dionysos or Bacchus.

Bacchus was most intimately united with Demeter, "the demon and co-ruler in the bosom of the Eleusinian god" (Bart, p. 123.) That was Isis, the daughter of Prometheus, of the ancient Cabiri; thus the same as the Egyptian Cabiri. His being, says Diodorus, is manifold. The Orpheists style him the material soul of the world, which, having proceeded from one source, communicates soul to every part of the world, as the human soul does to the human body. He is the father of Asterion, of the giant, of the Asar, of the Curetes, and who commanded the Corybantish Hyle. Hyle is the wild tumult which stupifies the souls descending from the godhead. She forms, through her impregnation, all bodies; she is that divine drink, the Nectar, awaking the physical life. The spirit in that life is Dionysos; the only, the unchangeable God, who, according to his will, subjects himself to mutability, and appears in air and water, in earth and the stars, in plants and animals, Zagreus in the form of dismemberment. In the myth of the many forms, the doctrine of death and the resurrection are concealed. Thus he

is the creator of the individual as he proceeds from the general, the re-awakener, and form-giver in an eternal circle.

According to the Orphean doctrine (Macrob. Saturnalia, i. 18), he was represented as the Demiurgus, with attributes which the four elements represent, for he ruled in all. Earth and heaven were his body, which is subjected to mutability, but the spirit is eternal. The body is only changed, not destroyed; and at a future day will arise from the grave and appear glorified. For the buried Dionysos himself arose in splendour, descended into the regions of the dead amongst the demons of Demeter, and therefore his intimate connection with Persephone. The Phallus is the pledge of return; the symbol of everlasting production, and of the resurrection of the flesh.

The theory of Dionysos unites itself, after a severe conflict, with that of Apollo. According to Creuzer, in his "Symbolism," p. 156, the worship of Apollo is older than that of Dionysos; and the myth of Lycurgos was a conflict for the ancient faith of light, as unity, against the encroaching pressure of the dominance of the physical world,—against the more easily comprehensible, but as easily misunderstood worship of the deity, till finally one being was recognised in both. Dionysos had his tomb and his resurrection in Delphi; Apollo had buried him in Parnassus, which was consecrated to both. In the cave of Bacchus there was a Delphic oracle; there were two Bacchanalia celebrated every two years, and some regarded the deities as mixed beings, others affirmed that there was but one being. (See Macrobius, Arnobius, Lucan, and Suidas.) Dionysos is, like Apollo, a prophet; and in Thrace he had an important oracle, on the summit of Pangæus, where, as at Delphi, a priestess announced to the father of Augustus the brilliant fortunes of his son. Dionysos, like Apollo, was the head of the Muses, the teacher and patron of song and of poets. Apollo inspired the seers, Bacchus the enthusiasts. Dionysos conducted the souls back again to the primeval fountain, and Apollo rewards his pious worshippers by taking them away from the earth. Dionysos is nourished by Night, Nyssa; he is called Nyssæus, Nyctelius, the hidden of Night. Apollo is the son of Latona, whom Buto cherishes on the Island of

Night. In Egypt, Horus was a son of Osiris, as Attica acknowledged an Apollo given by Dionysos. But the brother of Osiris was also Horus, he who was Zagreus dismembered, and again re-arisen. Apollo betokens unity; Delphos is called the One, who only reveals bimself in manifold forms when he advances into the visible world. Light is the symbol of spiritual unity; when it advances into time and space, then it is Horus, the son of the father Osiris. An obscure Delphic doctrine says—Apollo is fulness; Dionysos, privation, want; therefore the former was worshipped for nine months of the year, and the latter during the three winter months. Then he appears as Aides, Nyctelius, compared to the natural, descending sun, who conducts the souls into the nether world, until they have undergone the purification by fire, and arise out of the house of disease and trouble into the fulness of heavenly light.

When Plutarch represents Bacchus and Apollo as prophetic divinities, we find the account very strikingly descriptive of the phenomena of magnetic somnambulism, in which the first ecstasy shows itself in two prominent forms: one clear, gentle, and like light in its perspicacity; a fine moral tone of mind in a tranquil body; the inner vision of a new, unfolded sense revealing itself through a free will in positive action; while the other form has something excited and demoniac, that alternates frivolity and sport, with waywardness and jest, nay, even with raving. These two forms appear well embodied in the myths of Apollo and Bacchus, and wrapped in enigma, which are intelligible to the initiated. There physical is linked to metaphysical, historical to religious, the divine reflected in nature. For all further particulars of the worship of Bacchus, I must refer to Bart's work, and to Schelling's Enquiry into the Samothracian Divinities.

Allied to the Curetes and Corybantes, says Bart, are the Telchines and the Dactyls, which are frequently held to be identical. They appear in these characters—1st. As tillers of land and servants of the gods of the primeval times. A race which emigrated from Crete to Cyprus, and thence to Rhodes. According to others, they were a primeval people in Peloponnesus 1070 years before the building of Rome. They were driven thence, and fled to an island full of serpents,

called from that cause Ophiusa, but after them Telchines, and afterwards Rhodes. They again quitted Rhodes, because they foresaw an inundation of the island, and thence dispersed themselves into different countries. Bart believes that their emigration from Crete stands in connection with that of Apis, who once ruled over the peninsula. He was a son of Telchin, or of Phoroneus, whom some state to be a son of Machus, and others a cotemporary of Ninus, and the father of Jo, or Isis. Apis was thus her brother; Osiris, the Bacchus of the Greeks, came to Egypt as Corybas came to the country of the Tyrrhenes. Even St. Augustine (de civit. Dei, xviii. 5) states that he went to Egypt. According to the legend of Rhodes, the Telchini were natives of that island. According to Diodorus, they were called the demons of the East, because, on account of an offence against Aphrodite, they were hidden in the earth. The giants inhabited the western part of the island.

2ndly. The Telchini were regarded as sorcerers and malicious demons. According to Strabo, πονηροὶ καὶ γοήτες; according to Suidas, πονηροὶ καὶ βάσκανοι δαίμονες. They were believed to be the sons of Thalassa, of the Sea or of Poseidon, and, therefore, Eustathios represents them in the shape of sea-nymphs, without feet, but with fins. They can send hail, rain, and snow, or prevent their falling; they can assume all forms (Diod. v. 55.) They mix Stygian water with sulphur, in order to destroy beasts and plants (Strabo, xiv.) Their glance, the evil eye, is fatal (Ovid. Metamorph.) Here we have already the whole nature of witches portrayed.

"The Telchini," says Bart, p. 10, "were to Poseidon what the Curetes were to Zeus. They were, like them, punished by their foster-child, and may be classified with the giants, as these with the Titans. They foretold a great flood, quitted the island, and scattered themselves through many countries, or they were driven out of the island by the sons of Helios, as the Heliades now increased, and wandered, as if seized by madness, to and fro on the sea, θέλγειν. They were called deluders, because they changed their forms, and understood arts; while, in fact, these evil reports were invented by their enemies out of envy of their

artistic skill, and they were denounced as sorcerers and demons, which is exactly the spirit in which every new doctrine is cried down into a heresy."

3rdly. The Telchini were described as most inventive artists, who established healthful customs, and executed images of the gods. They smelted, in the Idæic caves, brass and iron; forged the sickle of Cronos, with which he mutilated Uranos—(the universal power of Heaven predominates with a decided power over Time)—the trident of Neptune—(the threefold electrical lordship of the sea, as the equipoise between air and water, or as the three points of the electrical fire). They also constructed that pernicious necklace which Haphæstos gave to Hermione (Diod. iv. 65.) In the last character they may have given occasion to allocate them with the Idaic Dactyls, and their descent with that of the Curetes; for Strabo says, they who accompanied Rhea to Crete, and brought up Zeus, were called Curetes "from the nine Telchini of Rhodes." They are called the Telchini of the deep, the sons of Posiedon. They arise out of the deep, and fight in the host of Dionysos. The fleet Telchini follow him on sea-horses (Pausanias, ix. 19.) These were images of Apollo, of Hera, and of Athene, which were called Telchini, in which there probably lay a principle of magic; and thus there was a Telchinic Hera, as there was a Cabiric Demeter.

The Dactyls originated in Phrygia; we have already become acquainted with their number and kind as sorcerers, discoverers of arts, and scientific physicians. The name Mount Ida is by others derived from mother Ida and the father Dactylos; the number is as differently calculated. According to some they are equal to the fingers of the hands,—five male, and five female. Pherecydes gives twenty right, and two-and-thirty left; others a hundred, because a hundred men came from Crete; Orpheus the Argonant gives a whole throng; Pausanias five, namely, Hercules, Epimedes, Pæon, Jason, and Idas. Celmus, or the Telchinic Scelmus, is called by Hesychias a child, a kind of Cadmil, probably one who produced magical effects by words and songs. Telchin was also called Damanamenes, the powerful, the binder, especially he who binds the oxen to the yoke; Epimedes is called the reflector, the director of

counsel. The names Jason, Pæon, Idas-Akesidas, betoken professors of the healing art. Acmon is called the mountain-runner; he is in the host of Bacchuses, and whirls the Corybant lance, on which Zeus slept as an infant, while his birth was concealed by the din of shields struck together. An Idæic finger means an iron-finger. They were conjurors, magicians, exorcists of sickness, soothsayers. They occupied themselves with magic songs, consecrations, mysteries, and, while they remained in Samothrace, threw the inhabitants into great astonishment. As sorcerers they appeared in Italy, according to Plutarch. It was said the left bind spells, the right unloose them; and to catch a dactyl was a usual adage for a fruitless attempt. Their names already were magical, having power to repel terrible phenomena. To them belongs the use of the Ephesian runes, the discovery of which is attributed to them, as to Hercules that of the Phrygian letters. The discovery of the minerals was also ascribed to them, as well as the notes of music and the musical scale. They first brought musical instruments into Greece. In Crete they discovered fire; they were rapid runners and dancers, and the Dactylus was a peculiar kind of dance; the Dactylon a famous healing herb, etc. From them proceed the first wise men; Orpheus was their scholar, who brought the mysteries to Greece. They were already called the ministers of Cybele, and Schweigger has demonstrated them to be the magnetic powers and spirits, at the head of whom was Hercules.

"While," says Bart, "we treat of the close union of the Dactyls and magnetic force, we are not necessarily confined to the magnetic stone, and our views of nature, but take a glance at magnetism in its whole meaning. Then it is clear how the initiated, who called themselves Dactyls, created astonishment in the people through their magic arts, working, as they did, marvels of a healing nature. To this united themselves many other things which the priesthood of antiquity was wont to practise; the cultivation of the land and of morals, the advancement of art and science, mysteries and secret consecrations. All this was done by the priestly Cabiri, and wherefore not guided and supported by the secret spirits of nature? Thus was their knowledge linked

to the religious sense, and Hercules affords an example of the intermingling of these ideas."

Bart then goes into a closer observation of the myth of Hercules; shows how difficult it was for the oldest inquirers to personify him in every shape; rightly to explain his genealogy, of which eight different accounts are received, namely, the Indian, the Egyptian, the Idaic, the Phœnician, the Greek, the Tyrian, etc. He then shows the origin and meaning of the name,—originally Alcæos, Alcides, allied to Alcis. He relates his history and his expeditions, in which many see a conflict between the sun and the power of nature,—others, a veiled historical event. These expeditions are to Spain, to Celtiberia, and Germany, to the Alps and Italy, to the north-east and Scythia, and to the Hyperboreans to fetch the golden apples. Hercules spread cultivation and a mild religion, destroyed the doctrine of eternal punishment by dragging Cerberus from the nether world, ascended to heaven through the purification by fire, and endeavoured everywhere to put an end to human sacrifices. As a raw youth, before he liberated Prometheus, and had spoken with Atlas and Chiron, he was the opponent of oracles; but after he became older and more considerate, he was a great philosopher, and showed himself proficient in the Mantic and Dialectic. In the myth of the attempted theft of the Delphic tripod, we see the enemy of oracles, or rather the Hercules, become wise, and comprehending the feeling of the people. Schweigger sees in him the opposite magnetic pole of Apollo, whence he was called the Hyperborean Hercules. Through the release of Prometheus, and the erection of altars, we behold in him the mediator between the old and new faiths. He represents the introduction of the electric power to general usefulness, yet with that mysterious veiling of it in temples, of which there were many, in all countries, dedicated to Hercules. His voluntary immolation betokens the ethereal new-birth of men. Like Heracles, he exhibited himself as a religious hero, displaying his might and affinity to the primeval gods,—the primeval powers. He descended into the realm of Pluto as a familiar acquaintance; yet as a shade,—the slumbering magnetic force; he ascended as a spirit to his father Zeus in

Olympus, whither he is conducted by Athene and Hebe. The accomplishing, regulating, and eternally youthful power, receives him in the form of a child, and reconciles him to Hera.

Hercules, says Lucian, did not subject the nations to im by force, but by wisdom and persuasion. He was Alexis, Alexicacos, the turner back of the wicked; Soter, the saviour; Melos Eumelos, the good shepherd; the prophet Manticlos; Daphnephoros, the bearer of laurel, because the chewing of laurel leaves awoke the gift of prophesying. Being obliged to serve, he was the stronghold of servants, and his temple an asylum of slaves. On account of his indomitable strength, he is Adamarnos, the conqueror; he is the terrific and overpowering Titan; he is Astrochiton, the star-clothed, the Lord of Fire; Hippodetos, the tamer of horses, all of which has reference to electricity and magnetism, and by which the images of the Dioscuri are represented. The Sabines named him *dius fidius*, synonymous with Dioscure. Therefore, he and Mars were held to be the same being; he was, like Apollo, Musagetes; the brother of Persephone: the Chaldæans named the star Mars, Hercules. He was the refuge of mankind, who launched the lightning, more powerful than his father. He was the symbol of the powers of nature; the god of nature, by name Liber, Hercules, Mercury,—as the producer, the all-wise, the omnipotent.

It has been already shown that the mysteries of Samothrace busied themselves pre-eminently with the inquiries into nature. People knew the polarity of the magnet, the attractive and repellent power. The magnet was in Egypt the bone of Horus, and iron that of Typhon. The magnet, Claudian says, is the all-working power, which carries in itself the seed of all things; eclipses of the sun and moon, the phenomena of comets, the tempest of wind, earthquakes, thunder, the rainbow,—all come through its means. That is not the simple magnet, it is the law of nature, the living power, which, drawing and repelling, creates and keeps together the parts of the world through which the stars are propelled and whirled round in their courses, while the opposite poles seek each other. The magnet is the symbol of this power, and as it creates and turns the world it pro-

duces men. Hymen, the god of marriage, is its son. Production is the highest assertion of the power of magnetism, and this power is Hercules (Clemens Alex. Strom. viii. 704). In India he is Parabrahma Birma, and Vishnu, the centrifugal and centripetal force. Through the poetical elaboration of so many and different elements, of nature and history, of trade and religion, the myth of Hercules receives a many-sidedness, and offers points of particular observation at every stage of their interpretation.

That the ancients also understood magnetising by the hands, that is to say, produced the effects which follow touching, rubbing, and laying on of hands, is made manifest sometimes by clearly expressed words, and sometimes by pictures and signs. The Telchini, who were considered as sorcerers and enchanters, seem to have received their names from the word θέλγω,—to stroke, to touch softly, —and not from any place. For under θέλγω is also understood to stupefy, to put to sleep. This is confirmed by the account of Circe and other enchanters in Homer, and by images and hieroglyphics of antiquity to be seen in Montfaucon, Champollion, and Denon, as well as in the drawings of 750 ancient monuments, statues, engraved stones, coins, and pictures in Millin's Mythologic Gallery, all having reference to magnetic manipulation. In the Cabinet of Curiosities of Athan-Kircher there is, amongst others, a hand adorned with hieroglyphics, which, according to the statement of ancient writers, was carried about in *sacris Isidis*. In Müller's Monumens de l'art antique, i. livraison, ii. planche, No. 14, the goddess Artemis Leucophryne. Two winged genii hold over the head of the goddess a kind of fan, while the goddess holds two magnetic staves in her hands. Before her are lying two men, one of whom has a magnet in the right hand, and the other appears to have a magnetic ring in the left, with the right stretched towards the magnetic staff. Beneath is the inscription, μαγνητων.

There are also other similarities of the ancient myths to the actual phenomena of magnetism, as in the signification and the use of precious stones, the electrical power of which in the finest modifications of the most marvellous phenomena the latest scientific discoveries have only now disclosed. It is,

indeed, something more than a mere fantastic poem when Orpheus describes so minutely the effects of precious stones; when the many zealous inquirers into the hidden powers of nature,—no doubt often fanatical,—attribute so many healing virtues to them; and which Voss has so fully described in his "De theologia gentili," tom. ii. The Jewish highpriests themselves wore on their hearts the breast-plate set with the twelve precious stones, by which divinations were to be obtained. Amongst other instances of the effect of jewels on different persons in producing clairvoyance and the like I have already quoted the case of the seeress, widow Petersen von Bende Bendsen, who asserted the decided effects of brilliants and other substances, the diamond being the most powerful of them. The widow Petersen used even small, but powerfully operating *Baquete*, which she herself constructed; and I myself treated a patient with a like affection in the same way; and on this occasion quicksilver and borax had a particularly striking effect. The same clairvoyant spoke of the powerful effect of juniper and of laurel in promoting clear spiritual vision, as we have noticed in the case of the Delphian oracle.

Haüy was the first to discover and demonstrate the electricity of crystals, and to show that these electric crystals not unfrequently presented exceptions to the otherwise invariable laws of symmetry in crystallization; whence it follows that the electric power must be an active power, especially as regards the formation of crystals, since they as active laws appear to have the same influence. Haüy speaks with enthusiasm of the small crystals of borax which represent an eight-fold electricity. One may ask, he says, in the conclusion of the first part of his Physics, whether the effects produced by the admirable construction of our scientific machines can present anything more astonishing to the eye, or more capable of exciting the interest of professors of physics, than these small electrical instruments produced through crystallization, these unions of the most opposed influences, compressed into a crystal of scarcely two *millimetres* in thickness,—not a single Parisian line. And here again the often repeated observation presents itself, that those productions of nature which seem as

if they would withdraw themselves from our notice, are not unfrequently exactly those which are the most worthy of it.

That astrology always constituted a leading feature in the mysteries of the ancients is well known; that the places and motions of the heavenly bodies were considered to exercise a decided influence on all the chief events of life, even on our birth, is a well-known historical fact. Was it likely then that the influences of the stars on human ailments would be unknown to the Mystagogues who were so well acquainted with the silently operating forces of nature? The history of the most ancient philosophy proves that they knew these things well; and if the magnetic clairvoyants perfectly agree with the ancients not only as to the influence of the sun and moon, but even of particular stars and constellations, as was the case with the widow Petersen, we have thus a clear agreement between antiquity and modern science, over which the very knowing and highly learned may laugh, but which will excite astonishment in industrious natural philosophers and true observers at their perverse ignorance and admiration of the order-producing omnipotence of the great Creator.

In conclusion, I must not forget that illumination and those appearances of light which our somnambules assert that they often see, now surrounding their genii and guardian angels which appear to them, and now round their magnetisers. Does not this recall to every one the luminous horns of Moses, and that ancient expression, "the horns of healing," with which the horns of Jupiter Ammon agree?—whence it appears that the ancient expounders of that wonderful magic light in the mysteries, which, as Pliny says, surrounds the heads of men in prophetic announcement, regarded it as an unusual, exalted, and, to the uninitiated, a blinding fire; while others have considered it to be electrical. They were accustomed to represent the light which surrounded the head of Athena, and mingled and interwove itself with her locks, as luminous horns, as in the moon. The healing double fires of the Dioscuri were represented as lunar horns, and paintings of them were represented with stars above their heads. With this accords the Hermes or Elmes fire, and the luminous staff of Mercury and its wings; and the lunar

horns with wings also point to remarkable symbols. Those luminous appearances round the head, which we have already become acquainted with amongst the ecstatic Brahmins, are not merely found amongst the gods of Greece, to whom we have here referred, but are applied to the hero of the Odyssey:—

> "Scornful of age, to taunt the virtuous man,
> Thoughtless and gay, Erymachus began:—
> Hear me, he cries, confederates and friends!
> Some god, no doubt, this stranger kindly sends;
> The shining baldness of his head survey,
> It aids our torch-light, and reflects the day."
>
> Book xviii.

I have spoken more fully of these illuminations in a historical and scientific point of view in my work on "Magnetism in relation to Nature and Religion." More than two hundred years ago, Bartholin delivered an interesting account of the illuminations of men and animals. We shall, as we proceed, hear frequently of similar appearances, and must confess that we are convinced that these lights, if not actual electrical lights, are and remain always subjective phenomena of an ecstatic condition, and are one in principle, though shaped according to the popular ideas of the time: so that to the oracle-pronouncing Greek appears the winged Hermes, the luminous Apollo, or Minerva, "the heavenly goddess of splendour who scatters the darkness," as the genius; while to the modern somnambule it appears as an angel, a saint, or the holy mother.

The conditions of human nature remain the same, but circumstances are different, and vary with time and place. The conditions conceal themselves, but the circumstances come forth to the light, which occasion a difference in the illumination, and in the significance of it, which can be only properly interpreted when we go down to the cause of the subject state.

We think now that by our comparison of the ancient facts of divination, sorcery, and the circumstances attending the delivery of the oracles, with the facts of modern science and observation, we have solved many ancient riddles. We believe that we have adduced sufficient evidence that magic was contained in the ancient mythologies; that mythology in many respects only receives its

true interpretation from the point of view afforded by the natural philosophers, because there were not only historical and religious, but also philosophical enigmas, involved in these systems. We have quoted the assurance of Strabo, that "the ancients concealed their physical views of things in enigmas, and their scientific observations in myths." As a concluding justification of our attempts in this respect, we may quote the words of a distinguished natural philosopher, as it regards mythology:—

"It is very striking, that in all ages all people have clothed the ideas of their dreams in the same imagery. It may, therefore, be asked, whether that language which now occupies so low a place in the estimation of men, be not the actually waking language of the higher regions, while we, awake as we fancy ourselves, may not be sunk in a sleep of many thousand years, or at least in the echo of their dreams, and only intelligibly catch a few dim words of that language of God, as sleepers do scattered expressions from the loud conversation of those around them."—Schubert's Symbolism of Dreams.

"If we do not understand the pictorial style of the ancients, it is clear that we are become estranged to the region in which that pictorial language was formed. Since it constitutes the entire mode of expression of the most ancient times, and arose simultaneously with those peoples, so are all myths poetic-symbolic-metaphoric inspirations of a transcendent material power of nature, or the physical incarnation of an infinite spirit."—Steinbeck, The Poet as Seer.

"It is possible that the idea of unconsciousness in the formation of myths may appear to many dark, or even magical, for no other reason than that the mythic creative power has no analogy in our present modes of thought; but will not history recognise the extraordinary, where free inquiry leads unquestionably to it?"—Ottfr. Müller's Prolegomena.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE MAGIC OF THE GERMANS.

As we now arrive at the third and last period of the history of magic, I recall the recollection of the reader to that part of the work in which I endeavoured to show how in the three chief periods, the Oriental, the Greco-Roman, and the German, magic shaped itself characteristically according to the natural spirit of the people; how the transit and the diffusion of it gradually took place, and the spiritual life of the German people struck its roots into the Greco-Roman element, and by its peculiar and powerful individual strength elaborated the manifold collected materials in lasting fermentation into a new and living impulse. It was shown how the German people in the infancy of its arising and of its first development in the newly-conquered lands, received so many-sided an excitement, and through the gradual decline of the Roman ascendancy not only appropriated its intellectual acquisitions, but succeeded to the educational element of the Arabs; to which advantages the Alexandrine school also added a particularly important influence both on the philosophical direction of mind and on the new religious doctrines; so that it becomes very intelligible how magic in Germany became as multifarious in its growth and progress, as it had shown itself in all forms of the Oriental and Greco-Roman times, and yet in a pre-eminently religious and Christian dress. As Christianity acquired root and growth in the Germanic race earlier than in all others, and as Christianity became a very important turning point for the modification

of magic, the history of magic at this period is inseparable from the development of Christianity.

The mythologic process closed with the Grecian period, as Schelling has beautifully shown, and Christianity then became the central point of history. Nor has Christianity yet reached its full accomplishment; it is in the process of its growth and the diffusion of its light, which proceeded from Christ, the focus of all history, into which all individual rays, and all that the wise have sought out, collect themselves as a principle, that now the mystery may be unfolded to babes and sucklings, and the word of truth may be preached. From Christ emanated the light of the eternal word, which, encompassing the whole world, shall spread itself over all people, as the one happiness-producing idea, for the salvation of the whole race, and in which every nation and every individual must educate themselves, and come to a clear and perfect consciousness. The mystic hovering in a darkling feeling shall become purified and comprehensible, and faith be understood. Christ himself says, "Nothing is hidden that shall not be revealed; what I say unto you in the darkness shall be proclaimed in the light and on the house-tops."

Universal history not only demonstrates an advance of the human race in civilisation, but still more in the development of different intellectual powers in all directions, in which the primeval ideas of truth and goodness, of beauty and of truth, come forth from the subjective ground into the objective revelation. The mightiest nations are always those who in a general development most purely and perfectly manifest a peculiar spirit, or the substance of some particular idea. People who have not impressed upon them these primeval ideas in a permanent form, are destitute of history, and disappear like shadows on the arena of the world. Thus we have only three historical ancestors from whom we draw our history of magic—the Oriental, the Greco-Roman, and the German. These people have raised themselves above all others by their intellectual stamina, and with a characteristic strength, and have planted on a certain elevation of development the focus of an advanced knowledge, which can never more vanish from history, but must for ever pass on to a fresh posterity, and be again

brought forward by it, but only in a new form, and more varied and entwined with the roots of its peculiar strength of life. "With firm pace, like a procession of the dynasties of a kingdom, history now marches forward along a chain of nations, each of which seizes on the dominion of the world in an ever-ascending power, and retains it for a longer duration, placing itself in the van of the intellectual world till it is pushed aside by another; thus extending from the Assyrians to the Germans, the people of the present world-period, in whom the unity again appears to divaricate in a multitude of states, amongst whom now these now those preponderate, but who altogether constitute a closely-woven system, and gravitate towards an invisible point, and are governed by the laws of universal development." —C. F. Haug's General History.

It is a fact in the history of the world, that with the advent of Christ the Germans first appeared on the arena of the world—a circumstance of such deep moment, that we do not perfectly understand Germanity if we do not include a knowledge of this coincidence. For the complete establishment of the divine idea in the development of humanity, it is necessary to presuppose at once Christianity and Germanity. Germanity, in fact, has an organisation more capable of the reception of Christianity than any other people. Truly, the good seed might have fallen into rough and uncultivated ground, where after a long slumber it might have put forth wretched and uncertain foliage,—the frivolously-ideal Greek, and the able-bodied, strong-limbed Roman, having outlived their periods, without being able rightly to comprehend the deep, the whole man-pervading doctrine of Christ. For this the German people was destined, which now possesses the post of ruling the world. Our present subject stands in close connection with this, as will soon be made apparent.

In the preceding mythological observations we have arrived at the result, that a natural philosophy excluding all secret practice and teaching was first made possible by the Christian religion with its universality of love for man, and its conflict against any contempt of our fellow-creatures. For that purpose, the great book written for all, the totality of nature, was thrown open, and

Christianity was made the religion of the world, not merely for the perfect development of all the primeval ideas of the soul, but also for the opening up of nature, and for the right use of her powers. The glory of genuine Christianity consists in this, that, considered in relation to other religions, it does not suffer itself to be separated from culture and science, from the accomplishment of the intellect and from natural philosophy. On that account the first apostles addressed themselves only to such people as possessed the necessary degree of cultivation for the comprehension of the higher truths; to whom they might say, not in vain: "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Christ himself, as we have seen above, appeared in a particular time, and amongst a particular people, in order to reveal the word of the Father—the bringing back of a sinful race. As an earlier appearance of Christ would have failed of its grand object—to awaken the universal love of mankind,—a later appearance would have been a delay, since the darkening and perversion of the human spirit had reached its highest point, and nature, instead of a dwelling-place and an instrument of the spirit, was become to men a dungeon, as to the beasts without understanding; and, as St. Paul says, "Howbeit, then, when ye knew not God, all did service to them which by nature are no gods" (Galatians, iv. 8).

When the human spirit possessed no higher wisdom than the earthly and the human, than that which reason and the light of nature gave it, nature was to it a sealed book—a Babel. Man had wholly fallen from his empire; his sense and language were confused; no consciousness of the real object of life remained to him, nor of the true use of means. Man was blind, and deaf, and lame, as it regarded the kingdom of nature. He would climb, by the tower of sorcery, up to heaven, and the eye met only a delusive light; out of all objects glared demoniac visages; the lute of nature gave forth voices of condemnation, filling the heart with fear and terror, despair and madness, instead of peace, rest, and truth; and where the enterprising hand seized on the elements to compel the powers of nature to service, the attempt was defeated in the conflict, or totally repelled.

"But the soul of the old Adam had lusted after the lord-

ship of outer rule, and his will was sundered from the unity of God, and carried away in the dominion of this world; so that this was converted into a monstrosity. The true spirit withered; the light of God was extinguished; and the divine idea became benumbed and dead in him. To this spirit now came Jesus; and as he assumed human nature to restore it, he brought back again the light into the darkness. In this light stands the soul again in original fatherland, as in her first days, when the spirit of God wrought in her. She stands there in vision, and may inquire into all things; and she understands the language of nature, and works with her strength. In delusion—that of Adam—there is no perfection; the spirit of God in His Son must be the guide, otherwise he stands in an outward mystery, as in the outward heaven of the stars, but not in the divine magic school, which consists only in a simple, child-like spirit. The outward guide—theoretic reason—works only in a glass; but the inner sense, directed of God, shines into the soul; and, therefore, the choice stands with God: he who comprehends the heavenly school will become a Magus—a creator out of self-knowledge—without wearisome running; and even if he must greatly exert himself, yet is he penetrated by God, and will be impelled by the Holy Spirit."—Jacob Böhme.

To all nations before Christ the world was enchanted. Through Christianity will she become disenchanted, and the true magic be restored. Religion amongst the ancients had degenerated into a worship of the stars, and the cosmic powers were idolised. Even amongst the Jews revelation took place through symbols and through the elements of nature. The true reconciliation of deeply-fallen humanity with God; the release of the spirit from the bonds of nature; the separation of the sensual from the intellectual, the animal from the divine, appearance from reality; the ideas of truth and goodness, of right and virtue, of motive, freedom, and immortality, were first made possible through the pure doctrine of Christianity. But although by obedience to, and true faith in, the words of Christ, any one may enter with him "to-day" into Paradise; yet the substance of the faith can only become the possession of entire

humanity, by being expanded to its full extent in the course of time. Now, as Germanity seems especially designed to realise and to carry out Christianity to that full extent, it is easy to perceive that in the footsteps of the Greco-Roman cultivation the first beginnings everywhere must imperfectly succeed; and that thus magic amongst the ancient Germans was of such a kind, that you might say with Pliny, not only of the pagan Germans, but of the Christian ones,—"Magiam attonite celebrant tantis cæremoniis, et eam dedisse Persis videre possit." The belief in sorcery amongst the northern nations was, moreover, universal; and the scientific endeavour to make intelligible the ancient gods and the demon-life; to separate the operations of the powers of nature from those of the spirit; to divide the inner existence of religion from hypocrisy and mere ceremonies, could only succeed slowly and partially. The idea of angels and devils being given by the Christian religion, and the nature of ecstasy and the psychological fundamental activity of the soul being as little understood as the mysterious operation of the powers of nature, especially in pathological circumstances; supernatural action of the soul, therefore, in all unusual phenomena, was considered as something settled, or as if, on the other hand, nature was entirely dead, and only used as the material and instrument of superhuman powers. It must have been very difficult for the few more profound inquirers and material observers to operate on the universal prejudice, and to enlighten ignorance, which was only possible by slow degrees, and by this means, that with the critical examination of the Scriptures as to religion and spiritual philosophy, the inquiries into, and the fathoming of nature and her powers was at the same time undertaken, and, spite of all opposing influences, carried through,—a process to which Christianity itself had given the occasion. For one of the most wayward fixed ideas of pagan sorcery was through Christianity already set aside; the belief, namely, that the power of the gods might be restrained by nature and by forces independent of themselves; a feature which is characteristic of the Greeks and Romans, as in the cases of Medea, Circe, Erectho, Canidia, mentioned by Horace,

all of whom exerted a command over the might of the gods, over the stars and the fates of men, and who were fully believed in by the people, and celebrated by the poets.

The propensity to search the nature of things to the very bottom is in no people so decided as in the German. The German seizes on the smallest as on the greatest things—the natural or the spiritual—with equal zeal, and pursues it with indefatigable industry. He follows the trace of appearances; and where not the smallest reward is to be expected, he still pursues the way which leads to discovery. With Christianity, descends to the German race also the echo and the character of the cultivation of the two historical directions of mind,—the elder Oriental idealism, and the later Greco-Roman realism, which we embrace in our conception of the world. These two fundamental views were now transferred especially to the region of German faith in sorcery. What a field for labour lay before them! to reconcile the opposing principles; to separate the heathen and the Christian elements; to comprehend the natural and the divine; to separate faith from mere knowledge; and, finally, to discriminate the phenomena of genuine magic from the spectres of the imagination.

The Christian religion is based on the principle of the unity of God. God is the one eternally moral Lord of the spirits, as the Creator of physical nature. The faith in sorcery must, therefore, assume a wholly new and different form, however similar the radical idea and the tendency might remain to the heathen. The idea of Satan as the principle of evil,—as one of the angels originally good, but now fallen from the allegiance of the Creator,—Christianity had received from Judaism. This being, endowed with free-will, this prince of darkness, persisting in his error and self-rule, and everywhere establishing evil, and who also in the oriental Parseeism was one of the two original principles, had, according to the Christian idea, lost his dominion after the appearance of Christ; since the Messiah was he who was, in fact, to crush the head of the subtle serpent. It is, therefore, the triumph of the Messiah that he destroyed the kingdom of the devil, overcame the powers of darkness, and entirely annihilated the influence of the Wicked One over the new-born spirit. "For this end is the Son of God

come into the world, that he may destroy the works of the devil" (I. John, iii. 8). The works of the flesh and of darkness are the sins and departures from the law, because they were done by the heathen and the children of darkness. "Who is a wise man and endowed with knowledge amongst you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom" (James, iii. 13). "So let us put off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these,—adultery," etc. (Galatians, v. 19). "And you, that were sometimes alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he reconciled" (Colossians, i. 21). "Put off the old man and his works. By nature are we all incapable of good; by his natural strength can no man do good works, but they are the fruit of faith, and this is a gift of the Holy Ghost; and he who has not the faith is dead; but true faith becomes active through love" (Ephes. ii. 11), etc.

As the idea of Satan thus passed over into Christianity, the deeply-rooted belief in sorcery was possible, and hence was not thoroughly expelled, though Christ had trodden on the head of the serpent. For as the tenacity and, as it were, the indestructibility of the serpent ever returns again, and as the spirit of evil is immortal and maliciously disposed to all the arts of seduction; thus the faith in sorcery could not be driven out of religion even by the New Testament, though it was unfavourable to it. The conquered but not annihilated god of hell retained at least listeners. The attractions of sensual pleasures and of base deeds, juggling delusions, and injurious acts; inexplicable phenomena beyond the ordinary course of nature; mysterious diseases, plagues, etc., were attributed, if not to the devil, at least to the influence of demoniac spirits; and the devil himself came pre-eminently into the ascendancy again through the first ascetics and anchorites; and his kingdom so increased in the opinion of the Christian believers in the course of time, that, in the middle ages, strengthened by a chain of learned maxims and dogmatic sophistries, it was spread through both the high and the low ranks of society; and by the end of the fifteenth century witchcraft and the black art had attained an

elevation such as they never before possessed in history; and a terrible power was ascribed to the devil, while Christianity, with all the weapons of its extended armoury, and with fire and sword, took the field, and no longer felt itself in security, but seemed almost to wander surrounded by a regular demon host.

Before we pass on to the especial observation of magic and of the philosophical views of it amongst the Germans, we must notice the changes in religious faith produced by Christianity, as these showed themselves in the early ages, shaped according to the operation of natural causes. The phenomena of ecstasy are those particularly which passed with the ideas of the new-Platonism on the divinatory nature of man over into the early Christian philosophy; and, besides, the pagan elements could not be so easily abandoned, that the reign of demonism should at once and entirely cease. The German Year-Books of Science and Art, by Ruge, 1842, contain a critical treatise on the influence of the heathen religion of nature on the early Christian theology, which has besides for us a considerable interest in respect to magic.

Amongst other things it is said,—In the Phrygian religion of nature there were ecstatics, so that some have supposed that we may attribute the origin of Montanism to these; but this is by no means necessary. Both forms of religion have an enthusiastic character, but the principles in the two are totally different: yes, that of Montanism was essentially rooted in Christianity, and the relationship was only in outward appearance, and in the modulating circumstances of place, nationality, &c. The ancient Phrygian religion expresses itself, as we have seen, in the ascetic and orgiestic manner amongst the people of Asia Minor: a wrestling and striving in the press of wild forces could not lift them out of sensuality and debauch; hence their lawless and dissipated festivals. On the other hand, they were by their strict religious doctrines directed to penance for the subjugation of their passions. In the fanatic proceedings of the Montanists we see, indeed, something of the same character,—the same striving of the religious life after physical forms of representation; but no one need seek satisfaction in an attempted mastery over the dark powers

of immediate nature through the ferment of the senses, and in dreams of the impending end of all things, and of the joys of the new Jerusalem, of whose gates the ascetics professed to be the keepers. The circumstances of fanaticism, the conceptions of it, were different to the Phrygian worship of Cybele; Montanism had overcome the worship of nature, although there was yet no violent opposition of heathenism and Christianity: for heathenism retired at all points, and the scene of action was modelled anew, as, for instance, those of the Orphic hymns, and the Delphic oracles. Heathenism especially expresses itself in the dual system of philosophy, which keeps asunder the contending forms of the phenomena of spirit, but whose dynamic interwoven powers, not anatomically separated, must be regarded as modest opponents. In Montanism there are Jewish and Christian elements, but no longer heathen ones, although the Oriental, Egyptian, and Greek influences are everywhere visible. The mixing, and the thence arising fermentation of the popular spirit, determine the characteristic visions, and the interpretation of others resembling them. The ecstasies of the Montanists, however highly pitched, were the lower magnetic somnambulic appearances, for they were entirely, like the pagan oracles, united with the unconsciousness of the subject; and the divination of their women, of whom they carried two about with them, was of a very dubious kind, as they prophesied the end of things; and Maximilla even asserted that no other prophetess would come after her.

The interpretation of the Apostolical writings, especially those of Paul, through their philosophical reasoning, bore with the fathers of the church the impression of the Platonic philosophy and of the new-Platonism. The ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ποιήτου τῆς διάνοιας of Plato (Ion), and the interpretation of the ecstatic speech of the Manticer, Timæus, remind us entirely of the tongue-orator in the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. The divination of Plotinus, Philostratus, &c., in the new-Platonism, who in sleep had intercourse with the divine, is of the same kind, so that the Greek influence is everywhere visible in the Christian theories, and, which is the most striking, in the Montanist doctrines. Between the pagan and Christian forms of phenomena the therapeutics of Plato, to a certain degree, place themselves.

In the first two centuries, in the Paulist period firstly, and in the Montanist period secondly, people continually referred to the internal gifts of prophecy as demonstrated in the modes of revelation of which two parties were the prevailing ones,—those of Paulism and Patrism, or of the Judaic Christianity. The first supported themselves on the immediateness of their revelations and visions; the others sought their support in their immediate union with Christ. These views were not without their opponents. Already the Clementines declared the visionary circumstances and the Pauline ὑπτασιαι and ἀποκαλυψεις as demoniacal effects. According to them knowledge flows from the prophet outwards, and the immediate visions afforded to Peter (Matth. xvi. 16) are the types of all genuine announcements of the truth, which are, it is true, the result of supernatural influence, but that Peter only owed his to the ἐνεργεῖν,—power of God. The demoniacal revelations are ἐνεργουμενοι.

The means of producing ecstasies were, for the rest, perfectly natural; as the smoke of sacrifice, and mysterious ceremonies and preparations, as previously in the oracles, by which in part the natural causes, as in the ascertainment of diseases, were discovered, as among the Clementines, for instance, fanatic phrensy; and in part they were described as the immediate operations of God, as in the Pauline vision of the Montanists.

During the decline of the Roman empire, visions increased amazingly, although men thereby acquired a greater terror of pagan idol-worship, because they believed that the idols were inhabited by demons. Thence arose that fearful and general doctrine of the devil, to which partly the belief that the heathen worked their magic effects by the help of the fiends, and to which the ascetics partly gave occasion, who, through their eremitic seclusion and their horror of pollution through the ordinary intercourse with society, maintained internal conflicts with temptations and tormenting devils. The gnostics generally saw in their transports spirits and souls; their visions personified themselves in living shapes, and stepped forth on the scene in correct colour and dress, as afterwards in the middle ages, and even at the latest period, has occurred again. Also at that time visions frequently appeared while people were awake,

and by a disturbed state of consciousness which all the more assumed an appearance of the wonderful, and called to mind supernatural influence, as they were accompanied by terrible and cramp-like convulsions.

It has often been asserted that the oracles ceased at the advent of Christ; while, on the other hand, the fathers of the church adduced the testimonies of the oracles and sibyls to prove the divinity of the religion of Christ. Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Lactantius, Jerome, Ambrosius, Augustine, St. Clemens of Alexandria, etc. all speak of those prophecies. Irenæus had divining women, whom he commanded to prophesy. Montan and his disciples reckoned prophesying as spiritual gifts, and boasted openly of their prophetic visions. Irenæus did not contradict them, and Tertullian honoured them. He describes (De anima, c. ix.) such a prophetess in the following words:—"There is with us a sister who possesses the gift of prophecy; she falls usually during divine service on Sunday into ecstasy, in which she has communication with angels and spirits,—yes, sometimes with the Lord himself. She penetrates then into the secrets of some hearts, and heals others by medicines. The reading of the sacred Scriptures, the singing of hymns, and prayer, give material for her visions, in which she once also described the shape of the human soul." One of the most zealous defenders of divination was Constantine the Great, who is said to have delivered a long speech on the truth of the sibyls, which was read in the assembly of the church at Nice. (R. P. Crasset, Dissertation sur les oracles des Sibylles, Paris, 1678.)

FIRST DIVISION.

THE MAGIC OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS AND OF THE NORTHERN NATIONS.

THE ancient Gauls and Cymri were classed among the Celts. The Celts, according to Grimm, were driven by the Germans and the northern races from the much wider regions which they originally occupied in Europe, to the western end of it. We shall under that title understand all the north-western nations, since they afterwards either spread themselves all over those countries, or became amalgamated with their inhabitants. All these peoples, as the Gauls, the Spaniards in part, the Britons and Belgians, with the ancient Germans, we will take together, since we speak of no particular mythology, and of no individual history, and see whether we find any magic amongst them.

In the first place we must remark that it is not believed that any of these people derived their magic from the Romans. On the contrary, they had their own religious and magic customs long before the invasion of their countries by the Romans; they never mingled their customs with those of the Romans; on which subject I refer to Grimm's German Mythology, which gives the most striking evidence of the authenticity of the northern doctrines, and their original relationship to the Germans. The grand accordance of all the northern nations in poetry, religion, and speech, shows that their mythology is genuine; and Grimm, moreover, proves in a double manner that the northern mythology being genuine, consequently that of the German is so too; that the German mythology is old,—consequently, also, the northern.

Pliny and Tacitus both lived in these countries before the

invasion of the Romans; and although they described the magic of these people after the Romans came in, this is certain, that these nations in so short a time had not received the manners and customs of the Romans; that they burned with furious hate against them; that they resisted them for centuries, would not learn their language, were forsworn enemies of the Romans, and were never, especially the Germans, subjected to their yoke by them. We find here, indeed, customs which, from the simplicity of these people, must naturally have descended from them, as we find them everywhere; but Roman and Greek temples of Æsculapius and Apollo we find nowhere; and the names of the gods which Tacitus names amongst the ancient Germans are not German, but are merely according to Roman ideas grafted on German gods, which they worshipped in their groves. But the Germans themselves gave them no Greco-Roman but German names, as Grimm proves,—and who, moreover, corroborates our fundamental doctrines respecting mythology, namely, that the foundation of all Saga is myth: that is, the faith in the gods as it descends from people to people in an infinite declination. Saga and history at their boundaries run into each other, but the universal substratum of all Saga is myth. "While history is produced from the actions of men, Saga floats above them as a light, which glances at intervals, like an odour that emanates from an object. Saga is incessantly reborn; history repeats itself never. The winged Saga now lifts itself aloft, now falls; its enduring settlement is a favour which it does not confer on every nation. Where distant events would have perished in the darkness of time, Saga unites itself to them, and cherishes a portion of them. But when myth and history meet together and become merged, then the epos erects a platform and spins its thread" (Grimm, a. a. O. Introduction).

The chiefs or leaders of the Celts were called Druids, and amongst the Gauls also Semothees. They were judges, priests, physicians, lawgivers, and soothsayers. Pomponius ascribes a higher science—yes, wisdom itself—to the Druids. "These," he says, "profess to understand the size and shape of the earth and the universe, the movements of the heavens and the stars, and all that the gods intend. They

teach the highest class of the people secretly in caves and in remote places. One of their chief doctrines, and which is also known to the common people, is the immortality of the soul."

In later times they appear to have been held in still greater estimation in Britain, and far more so than in Gaul itself. They divided, however, their general office, as nature had taught it them later, into several classes; so that the proper Druids concerned themselves chiefly with the formation of laws, others with inquiries into the knowledge of nature and medicine, and the bards occupied themselves with the art of poetry.

You recognise amongst the Druids the conditions of all primeval people, as they are found in the East amongst the Egyptians, the Israelites, etc. They had combined completely in themselves the whole conduct and rule of the people, as the priest-physicians, and even their customs accorded fully with those of the East; for the Druids communicated their fundamental doctrines and customs only to the initiated, whom they taught in sacred groves and remote places (Cæsar, lib iii. c. 14). In the exercise of the sacred services, the Druids, like the Egyptians and the Pythagoreans, were clad in a white robe (Pliny, xxx.) They healed sickness and diseases by magical practices; and while they professed to have intercourse with the gods, they proclaimed future events; and their wives, the so-called Alruns, Alrauns, were highly celebrated for their vaticinations and enchantments, for their healing of wounded warriors, and assistance of women in travail. In what respect these prophetic women stood, is shown by the fact that even the Emperor Aurelian consulted them (Vopiscus Aurelian. c. 44). They were also acquainted with the means of producing ecstasy; and as one of the most excellent magical means—as one adapted to nearly all possible cases—they used the mistletoe of the oak, which they gathered at certain times and with certain ceremonies. Whilst they dwelt under the oaks, and there performed their public worship, they believed that a plant which grew on their sacred branches must be an especial gift of heaven, —yes, that the mistletoe was the sign of the tree which the gods themselves had selected. On this account, according

to Pliny, they never performed their sacerdotal offices without such a branch of the mistletoe (Plin. lib. xvi. c. 44). "Nihil habent Druidæ (ita suos appellant magos) visco et arbore, in qua gignatur (si modo sit robur) sacratius. Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt." Holy waters and groves present themselves continually amongst the Germans, as the Bodensee, or Wodansee, the Odenwald, or Odinswald; and they perform their sacred sacrifices under sacred trees; and there their inspired bards prophesied. To these trees a magical power was not unjustly attributed, as many kinds (laurel, elder, etc.) possess the peculiar virtue of producing sleep and promoting prophetic dreams; and these woods had their strength increased by being magnetised by them.

They ascribed also a most pre-eminent activity to the moon. The conspicuous changes of the moon, and the evident increasing and decreasing moods of activity in plants and animals, and which was very striking to them in men, had taught them, as it had all other people of nature, many things. It may be asked whether the many cures by sympathy, yet common amongst the people of various classes in Germany, have not descended from the Druids? For the rest, it is remarkable that in France the practice of medicine continued the longest in connection with the priesthood; and various hospitals were under the management of the priests, who were at the same time physicians. This is still the case in some instances.

I find a very remarkable relation in Pomponius (De situ orbis, lib. iii. c. 6) concerning the priestesses of the island of Sark in the British sea. "This island," he says, "was much celebrated on account of the oracle of the Gallic god. The conductors of it were nine Gallic priestesses, who had made the vow of chastity. They were considered to be endowed with peculiar powers; namely, that by their singing they could excite the wind and the sea, and change themselves into the forms of any beasts that they pleased; that they healed sicknesses which no others could cure; and that they knew and foretold the future. But they were only well-disposed to sea-faring people, and to them only so far as they were disposed to consult them." Of the Druids in England and Gaul, Pliny says (xxx. 1), that they vati-

cinated and cured diseases:—"Galleos utique possedit et quidem ad nostram memoriam. Nam Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicarumque. Britannia hodieque attonite eam celebrat tantis cæremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit."

What is here said of the Druids, applies also, more or less, to the ancient Germans. Truly many of the most striking circumstances connected with them are lost to us in oblivion, so that we are only made acquainted with a few of their phenomena which resemble magnetism, and are not informed of their particular practices and modes of proceeding. From the German gods, the Sun, the Moon, Wodan—Woutan—Donar, etc., the days of the week have received their names; and Grimm traces minutely the connection between the priesthood and the prophetic woman—Dis, Deis, Aurinia, Aliruna, etc. The priests were the guardians of the sacred grove, Godi; and, besides, the priesthood held at the same time the office of judges; and in martial expeditions the maintenance of discipline even belonged to them, and not to the generals. The chariot of the god was only touched by the priests; their approach was perceived by him. As to what concerns their secret ceremonies, these were probably so strictly guarded that they were witnessed by no stranger.

The prophetic women of the Germans stood in the same relation to them as the Sibyls to the Romans, whose counsels were followed as sacred, and their responses relied on as incapable of deceiving (Tacitus de morib. Germ. c. viii., editio Ernesti). "Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant; nec aut concilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt." Tacitus speaks especially of one of them called Veleda. They were known also under the names of Alrunes, Alurines, Alioruns, which is not to be considered as a proper name, but as a general one, appertaining to all the prophetic women. Alraun is a necromantic spirit; *raunen* means still to speak secretly,—"runian susurrare."

Of this Veleda of the Germans, Tacitus writes, that "she exercises a great authority; for women have been held here from the most ancient times to be prophetic, and, by excessive superstition, as divine. The fame of Veleda stood

on the very highest elevation, for she foretold to the Germans a prosperous issue, but to the legions their destruction. (Tacit. hist. iv. 61.) 'Ea virgo—Veleda—late imperitabat: vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicas, et, augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas. Veledæ auctoritas adolevit. Nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum prædixerat' (65). As the people of Cologne concluded an alliance with the Tenctari, they announced,—'Arbitrium habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pactum sancientur. Sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem et Veledam missi cum donis, cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere. Sed coram adire, alloquique Veledam negatum, arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset.' He relates further that the Romans themselves sent ambassadors with presents to Veleda. But she was not to be approached or spoken to; she was rarely visible, and thus her honour was increased. She herself lived upon a tower, from whence, like a message from the gods, her counsels and responses were brought down."

Grimm, in the twelfth chapter of the "German Mythology," treats of the wise, prophetic women. "The business and function of the demi-goddesses is in general that they serve the gods, and reveal their will to men. It is a striking feature of our heathenism, that women were selected for this office. The Jewish and Christian nations present a contrast to this,—prophets prophesy, angels and saints proclaim the commands of God. The Grecian gods avail themselves of male and female messengers. Amongst the Germans the sentences of fate in the mouth of women appear to acquire greater sanctity. Only as exceptions do prophetic men present themselves. Hence it may be, perhaps, that language allegorises crimes and virtues as women. The great function is that of bringing to mortal men the announcement of good or evil, conquest or death, not what the gods do amongst themselves. Their wisdom explores, nay, they turn and order events in fate, warn from dangers, counsel in doubt, and, therefore, they are styled knowing and wise women." The Dis, Alrunes, Nornor, Fays, Valkyrior, of these it is said that they pass through air and water; the gift of swimming and flying is peculiar

to them; they can assume the shape of a swan, and therefore the Swan-maiden, Bertha, was called the Swan-footed queen.

From these few particulars we draw some remarkable facts. In the first place, Veleda dwelt upon a tower, of the interior of which we, alas! know nothing; but it is important that she allowed no one to approach her, nor herself to be disturbed in her magical contemplations. In the second place, she was in high estimation on account of her oracular announcements, since they brought her such rich presents. This the Germans, who once sent to her on the Lippe a three-ruddered admiral ship, did not alone do (Tacit. histor. v. 22), but even the Romans as enemies; for Tacitus says expressly that the Romans sent to her presents by ambassadors; and Cerealis forwarded secret messengers, and implored Veleda and her associates to allow the Romans, who had suffered so many defeats, to enjoy a change of martial fortune. Also in the time of Vespasian Veleda was still honoured like a goddess (Tacitus de moribus Germanorum, c. 8). After Veleda, a virgin, called Ganna, was honoured as a prophetess.

The Cimbrians when they took the field were accompanied by aged prophetic women, who were clad in white, had bare feet, and wore an iron girdle. The blood of the slain was brought in a sacrificial kettle, from which they divined. The kettle reminds us of the later witch-kettle, when a he-goat was offered to the old German god of thunder, Donar. Before this goat the people bowed themselves,—whence the later adoration of the goat by witches, as the devil in that shape. The Prussians, indeed, retained the religion of the goat till the fifteenth century, and offered to Peron, the god of thunder, the sacrifice of goats. The god of the Sclaves, Triglau, is represented with two goat's heads. The Germans offered horses, like the Persians, and Odin had two wolves and two ravens as constant attendants. They were later the hell-wolf and the hell-raven, as Donar's goat became the hell-goat, in which we see, what is worthy of remark, the two-fold nature of the divination of the ancient Germans; the one of pure magic, as in the case of Veleda, and the other wild and impure, that of Cimbrian blood-offering priestesses.

They believed, too, that they could divine by lot: but this was a very simple proceeding. They cut a branch from a fruit-bearing tree into many small pieces, and scattered them marked with certain signs on a white cloth. According as the inquiry was a public or a private one, the priest or the father of the family took up the different pieces amid prayers and arranged them according to the different indications. They had, however, many other modes of divination, amongst which perhaps the most remarkable was, that by the rushing and the whirling of waters they fell into ecstasy and divined. By these modes the eyes, the ears, and the nerves were, in a mysterious manner, moved, agitated, and determined, so that one is reminded of the enchanted Nereids, Nymphs, and Nixes. These, were, perhaps, only a certain means of curing ailments of the nerves, and particularly to put people prone to sleep-waking into a better condition, a supposition which certain experiences actually corroborate.

The practice of magic spread itself later amongst the common people, who were, to some extent, also acquainted with Christianity. The heathen did not lay aside their ancient customs and opinions so easily as their clothes, and the religious zeal of the priests was not able to put down the prevailing practice of sorcery. "Heathenism and Christianity, after they came in conflict,—that is, after the conversion of pagans,—exercised a mutual influence on each other: Christianity while it sought to eradicate the ideas of paganism, and paganism while it sought to conceal itself under Christian forms. The conquering faith went forth to annihilate the conquered one; the conquered endeavoured, as it were, to secure its devastated possession in the midst of the enemy; here were pagan maxims planted in their purity; there they stole in, little shaken at heart, under Christian names. Certain Christian myths—those, at the same time, of the Old Testament—mingled themselves with the ecclesiastical legends of the middle ages, especially amongst the people. Thus elves and giants were converted into devils, and women of the night into witches. Woutan also degenerated into a terrible hunter; Halda and Bertha into bugbears for children. The ravens of Woutan belong to the devil, but the actions of giants are conferred on the saints" (Grimm).

At a later period political power stepped into the arena, and placed itself in direct hostility to all magic. The East and West Goths issued very severe laws, which are known by the name of the Salic. A woman suspected of magic was committed to the flames as a sorceress and witch. This first happened in the sixteenth century, in the reign of Childerich I., in which two women accused of witchcraft were burnt alive (Cantz, De cultibus magicis, i. c. 3). Thereupon quickly followed ordinances and commands of terror from councils and kings against witches and magicians, from which it appears that the women of that time were most addicted to magic arts.

A number of persons by no means inconsiderable, especially women, suffering from attacks of cramp, who were directly believed to be possessed by or influenced by the devil, with whom they were said to have made a pact, were very early made deplorable sacrifices to the blind zeal of religion. We shall have occasion to become more nearly acquainted with the subject of witchcraft; in the meantime it may be here remarked that the Salic laws speak of magic knots and bandages—ligatures, of which the Greeks, and still more the Latin poets, sang; and they mention also formulas of sorcery, and nocturnal assemblies, in which the accused are said to have celebrated their demoniac feasts. These severe prohibitions did not avail much; they only stimulated to secret leagues, from which, finally, actual and terrible mischiefs arose, so that it became absolutely necessary to put an end to them. But unfortunately very little discrimination was made between innocent sufferers from attacks of cramps, or convulsions, or affections of the mind, and between avowed witches and wizards. Accordingly, in the time of Charlemagne, in 914, a great number were burnt, and the practice continued for centuries.

In the eighth century the Spaniards were invaded by the Saracens, who brought with them Arabian learning to Europe, which cast a new light on this continent. There had prevailed amongst the Arabs for a long period the Pythagorean, Platonic, eclectic, and Aristotelian philosophers. There were professedly disciples rather of Aristotle than of Pythagoras and Plato; yet there really prevailed much more of the spirit of the latter. The mystical philosophy of

Thophail, of Avicenna, Avempan, Avicebran, etc., received additions from the literature of wonders, and these were openly taught at Salamanca and Toledo (Tiedemann, c. i. p. 98). This public display of magic, it is true, was resisted by some, and a cave was discovered in which the magical exhibitions were made. It appears to have been clearly the case that the Arabs were zealously addicted to magic; and they have defended it with great enthusiasm, and in an eclectic manner, in many of their writings. It would appear never to have been in evil repute amongst them, and there are no laws extant by which they ever sought to oppose it.

In the eleventh century the Arabic learning came into France, England, and Germany, and many persons travelled to Spain in order to make themselves acquainted with it. To this the reading of the books of the church greatly contributed, over the doctrines of which the spirit of critical inquiry began to throw some doubts which required a philosophy to solve. For this purpose they brought the most eminent Arabian books home with them, and thus magic acquired a higher reputation and received a philosophical dress, which, however, was now bedizened with all sorts of tawdry colours and finery There now arose philosophical writers who drew all eyes upon them. Philosophy lifted up its head, and was now openly taught by Raymond Lully, Alexander von Hales, and their disciples: Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others. All these men were well acquainted with the Arabic writings, and magic now received a host of defenders, who often understood how, with the noblest views, to separate the truth from fable, lies, and deceit. It would be easy for us to produce from the writings of these authors much that is beautiful and instructive, for they contemplated the subject with a true spirit of philosophical inquiry. Such are the writings of Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas, and others,—productions of eminent value. Albertus confesses openly that he had made magical experiments (Albert. Magn. Op. t. iii. de an. p. 23, Lugdun. 1651); and in his natural philosophy and descriptions of nature he frequently speaks of sympathy, antipathy, influence of stars, and other magic things. Pomponaz (De naturalium effect. admirandorum causis seu de incant. liber,

auctore P. Pomponace, Basel, 1517). "All wonders," he says, "that people ascribe to the devil, are either deceit or they are natural. There are men who through the power of their will can produce most marvellous phenomena and cures. But in order to effect these perfectly you must have faith and love, and a fervent desire to help the sick; and for this every one is not qualified. The sick, too, must have faith." He says that children are more susceptible of the magic influence than adults. In the meantime he counsels his reader to keep the matter secret.

At the same time came in practice the wearing of amulets and the names of saints, through which people believed themselves to be defended from the most grievous sickness, and made capable of healing them, by remedies which had been discovered in the books of the most ancient physicians and Arabs. On these people laid a Christian importance, which gave rise to the most confused and superstitious formulas, to which the most powerful philosophical thinkers were no longer able to set bounds. A couple of such healing formulas of the clearer and better sort are the following:—

"Caspar brings myrrh; Melchior incense; Balthasar gold. Whoever carries these three names about with him, will, through Christ, be free from the falling sickness" (Tiedemann, p. 102). Here is a second. The epileptic patient is taken by the hand, and the operator whispers softly in his ear:—"I abjure thee by the sun and the moon and the gospel of to-day, etc. that thou arisest and no more fallest to the ground; in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Issues of blood are to be stopped in the same manner. We see here a magical mode of operation; for that holding of the hand, and the gently speaking in the ear, by which the brain is breathed upon, are very powerful modes of manipulation. To this is added the spiritual effect of addressing the expectant and excited mind with such powerful and holy words.

The magic of that time may be divided into three parts. The first is based on sorcery, and makes a pact with the devil. The second practises with the stellar influences, with sympathy and antipathy. It depends much on the effect of different words, and on other magical customs. A third

kind has been classed with magic, but is rather to be regarded as a mystic magic, whose votaries have sought to annihilate sensuality by piety and purification of the heart in supernatural contemplations ; yea, have even sought to arrive at God by them. The first kind has nothing to do with the two latter. The third was, for the most part, united with the second, but they who belonged to the third generally despised the second.

What rank the magic of those times acquired may be conceived from the fact, that not merely secret doctors and the common people, but even kings and emperors, were addicted to it. The Emperor Frederick II., in the thirteenth century, is said to have used magic arts ; and Rudolph II. and Charles V. are said to have been much devoted to such studies. Maximilian I. and the Grand Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., had even Johannes Trithemius as teacher of astrology, who was the most zealous defender of magic (Cantz, De cult. mag. i. 4 ; Tiedemann, p. 110 ; Möhsen's History of Science, in the Brandenburg Mark.) In France, Catherine de Medici was extremely addicted to magic.

Passavant, in his Inquiries into the Magnetism of Life and of Clairvoyance, has collected many facts respecting the magic of the northern nations, of which we will here avail ourselves briefly. At page 305 of the second edition it is said :—

" The German and Sclave original races, like the primeval Saga of all peoples which are wrapped in the mists of time, speak of seers and seeresses, whose magical powers were at the command of the public. The prophecies in the Edda are similar to those of many eastern seers of the primeval ages. Odin himself travels to the ancient Vala, the prophetess of the farthermost north. Vala is the guardian spirit of the earth, the earliest of all prophetesses. The oldest portion of the Edda is called from her Voluspa,—the vision of Vala. Aroused by Odin's magic song from the long death-sleep, she prophesies, on the grave of the Huns, the destruction of the world. Before the end of time and the twilight of the gods, will Loke, the wicked one, be set free from his bonds, will go forth with the giants of fire to the conflict with the gods, and all the children of ancient Night will arise to destroy the kingdom of light.

But when the reign of the gods is over, then will Allfather in a new morning create gods and men anew out of the fulness of his glory."

After Passavant has noticed the second-sight of the Scotch, according to Boethius's History of Scotland, and the prophetic vision in Macbeth, which Shakspere has employed as a real fact of history, which became literally fulfilled, he continues:—"Amongst the Finns and Laplanders magic practices have mingled themselves strangely with a variety of heathenish superstitions; and long after their conversion to Christianity, contrary to the strictest prohibitions, magical dealings have been continued almost to the present time. The small number of clergymen, the confined extent of their influence in a wide and thinly-peopled country; the wild, desolate scenery, the frosty sky, the solitude, the hunter-life, the deep roots of ancient usage, all these things contribute to perpetuate those tenacious remains of heathenism. Sturleson, Saxo, J. Zeigler, Olaus Magnus, P. Claudi, Tornäus, Joh. Scheffer, professor in Upsala, all relate many things of this sorcery, accepting with easy credence much that is false; superstitiously misunderstanding other things; and, for the rest, giving us many well-attested and remarkable facts.

The knowledge of magic was formerly in the far north the subject of regular instruction, and the highest nobility sent their sons and daughters to the most celebrated professors of the art. Their wisdom is recorded in the Runes, the primeval northern Sanscrit. A more confined tradition springs up after the extinction of primal and more magnificent traditions handed down from father to children, and thence may have arisen the legends of house and family-spirits, like the Lares and Penates of Latium, which are inherited from age to age.

Some sought with zeal and arduous endeavour to acquire the prophetic faculty; others found it unsought and in their infancy. It is worthy of note, what Tornäus says, who regards the seer-faculty, which formerly was so much in esteem, as the work of the devil:—"Some possess the magic gift from nature, which is horrible. For those whom the devil perceives will be obedient servants and work-tools, he seizes on in childhood with sickness, presenting to them in a state of

unconsciousness many imaginations and visions, from which, according to the capacity of their age, they learn what belongs to black art. Those who a second time are attacked with this ailment see yet more numerous visions, from which they learn yet more. If they fall a third time into this condition, they are so violently affected by it, that they are in danger of death, but at the same time all the visions of the devil and his wonders are revealed to them, so that they attain to the perfect knowledge of the art of sorcery. And these are instructed in it to that degree, that they can see far distant things with the ordinary instruments of enchantment; nay, must probably see them, whether they will or no, so wholly are they possessed by the devil."

Immediately afterwards he relates that a Laplander whom he had often and severely reproved for his magic kettle-drum, gave it up freely of himself, confessing sorrowfully, that without the aid of that he saw everything that passed in distant places; adding, that he did not know what was come to his eyes; and hereupon he related everything which had happened to him (Tornäus) on his journey to Lapland.

Their most valuable instrument of enchantment is this sorcerers' kettle-drum, which they call Kannas or Quobdas. They cut it in one entire piece out of a thick tree stem, the fibres of which run upwards in the same direction as the course of the sun. The drum is covered with the skin of an animal; and in the bottom holes are cut by which it may be held. Upon the skin are many figures painted; often Christ and the Apostles, with the heathen gods, Thor, Noorjunkar, and others jumbled together; the picture of the sun, shapes of animals, lands and waters, cities and roads, in short, all kinds of drawings according to their various uses. Upon the drum there is placed an indicator, which they call Arpa, which consists of a bundle of metallic rings. The drumstick is, generally, a reindeer's horn. This drum they preserve with the most vigilant care, and guard it especially from the touch of a woman. When they will make known what is taking place at a distance,—as to how the chase shall succeed, how business will answer, what result a sickness will have, what is necessary for the cure of it, and the like, they kneel down, and the sorcerer beats the drum; at first with light strokes, but as he proceeds, with ever louder and

stronger ones, round the index, either till this has moved in a direction or to a figure which he regards as the answer which he has sought, or till he himself falls into ecstasy, when he generally lays the kettle-drum on his head. Then he sings with a loud voice a song which they call Jogke; and the men and women who stand round sing songs, which they call Daura, in which the name of the place whence they desire information frequently occurs. The sorcerer lies in the ecstatic state for some time,—frequently for many hours apparently dead, with rigid features; sometimes with perspiration bursting out upon him. In the meantime the bystanders continue their incantations, which have for their object that the sleeper shall not lose any part of his vision from memory; at the same time they guard him carefully that nothing living may touch him—not even a fly. When he again awakes to consciousness, he relates his vision, answers the questions put to him, and gives unmistakeable evidence of having seen distant and unknown things. The inquiry of the oracle does not always take place so solemnly and completely. In every-day matters, as regards the chase, etc., the Lapp consults his drum without falling into the somnambulic crisis. On the other hand, a more highly developed state of the prophetic vision may take place without this instrument, as has been already stated. Claudi relates, that at Bergen in Norway the clerk of a German merchant demanded of a Norwegian Finn-Laplander what his master was doing in Germany. The Finn promised to give him the intelligence. He began then to cry out like a drunken man, and to run round in a circle, till he fell, as one dead, to the earth. After a while he awoke again, and gave the answer, which time showed to have been perfectly correct. Finally, that many, while wholly awake, free from convulsions and a state of unconsciousness, are able to become clairvoyant, is placed beyond all doubt by the account of Tornäus.

The use which they make of their power of clairvoyance, and their magic arts, is, for the most part, good and innocent: that of curing sick men and animals; inquiring into far off and future things, which in the confined sphere of their existence is important to them. There are instances, however, in which the magic art is turned to the injury of

others; and the above-mentioned writers relate many instances of this kind, but which appear too fabulous to be noted here. Others reject these atrocities, and will not permit their divination to be affected with this misuse; an act of justice which is not reciprocated by the reporters of these facts, who ascribe all the wonders of magic, without exception, to the devil, as they do all modern instances to imagination.

This mode of consulting the oracle still prevails on the north-east coast of Russia amongst its pagan inhabitants, except that it is there a particular class of priests, called Schamans, who exercise the office of seers. These Schamans, who are consulted by the people concerning thefts, sicknesses, and the meaning of dreams, put on a particular official dress, beat the magic drum, invoke their demons, fall into the state of phrenzy, convulsion, and fainting, and then deliver the oracular message. The Schamans attain a high rank and influence throughout North-eastern Siberia; but they nowhere acquire such a power as amongst the Tschuktschen, where they enjoy a wholly unconditional and blind confidence, and employ this sometimes in a thoroughly fearful manner. There are found amongst them different forms of magic and trance, as in past time was common throughout heathendom; but that original power of prophetic vision is possessed by them only in its deepest form, resembling a madness, a wild inspiration, when called forth by intoxicating and stupifying means, and in connection with a bloody superstition, under the influence of which the excited Schamans demanded, not long ago, human sacrifices for the reconcilement of the gods.

These incantations may throw some light on those dark phenomena of witches and sorcery in the middle ages, which are to be regarded as the remains of heathen worship and heathen magic, and which have retained their hold longest in the northern nations, and of which the second-sight and the so-called Taigheirm are also fragments. We may give an idea of this from Horst's Deuteroscopy.

According to Grimm, the Edda contains a mysterious and profound myth of the three goddesses of fate. They are called Nornor collectively, but their individual names are Urdhr, Verdhandi, and Sculd; or, the Past, the Present,

and the Future.. These three maidens determine the length of every man's life. According to the Edda, there are good and bad fates; and besides those chief three there are many others. Some Nornor descend from the gods, others from the elves, and others from the dwarfs. "As the Nornor are related to Orlög, so is *parca* to *fatum*," says Grimm; "whence the Italian *fata*, the French *fée*, the German *fein*." These Fees were originally named from their announcement of fates, but were soon afterwards regarded as a kind of spirit-women. There are many legends of the fairies of romance which accord wholly with the popular belief of the Germans; whence the stories of the wise women.

The desire to learn the future, and to enter into communication with supernatural powers, is so deeply implanted in the human race, that Cicero might truly say:—"Gentem quidam nulla video, neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem, tamque barbaram, quæ non significari futura et a quibusdam intelligi prædicique posse censeat." But the passion is equally inherent in human nature, to burst all impediments to freedom, and to soar above the constraints of the present state; and even at all hazard, when it is not to be accomplished by mild means, to take the devils by assault. This passion, when it is once awakened, in rude nations and the ignorant people, is all the more reckless and impetuous, because neither the light of religion illumes it, nor has her gentle warmth modified its tone. The idea of securing a long life, wealth and honour, inflames the imagination, and rushes like a lawless element in wild Mantic excitement over sacrifices of men and animals, and through hell itself, towards heaven. It is known how heathendom, especially in certain transition periods, and during the decline of the hereditary natural spirit, brooding over chimeras in a rabid Manticism, as it were inverts nature itself, abuses the innocent animal world with horrible activity, and treads everything human under foot. He who who would see more particular proofs of this may consult many ancient authors on matters of witchcraft, and especially in Peucer's great work, "De Divinatione," and in Albertus Magnus.

Such practices of sorcery have been inherited from the northern heathen by the Icelanders, the Laplanders, and

the highlanders of Scotland, who endeavour to obtain from hell imaginary good by force; to possess themselves, by their own power and arbitrary will, of the gift of second-sight; and to this end they used means not only absurd and ridiculous, but frequently the most terrific species of infernal magic. For where men know not God, or have turned away from him into wickedness, they address themselves devoutly to the kingdom of demons, and call forth the powers of darkness, to enable them to enjoy the pleasures of unrestrained imagination, and of reckless enthusiasm, careless of the great future, and of the final destiny of the soul. Such was the state of things from the commencement of Christianity to the end of the middle ages—from the Scottish Taigheirm to the Witch-hammer,—the former of which we shall notice first.

The Taigheirm was an infernal magical sacrifice of cats, the origin of which lies in the remotest pagan times, and in rites dedicated to the subterranean gods, from whom men solicited, by nocturnal offerings, particular gifts and benefits. Through Christianity these sacrifices were modified; and instead of being made to the subterranean powers, they were now made to the infernal ones; or, as they were called in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, the Black-Cat Spirits. Whence these sacrifices came to the Western Isles is not known, but most probably it was from the farthest north, as the Western Isles were peopled from Iceland, Norway, and the Faroe Isles, and were dependent on and connected with those countries till the later Christian ages. In those remote northern lands, as in Greenland, according to the Danish and Swedish learned men and missionaries, as well as according to the Icelanders, there still prevails a faith in sorcerers, exorcists, and communers with spirits; wherein we easily perceive the alliance to the old heathen world, and to a system of demons and magic constituted wholly in their spirit. Horst, in his "Deuteroscopy," treats of the national manners, customs, and opinions of the Highlanders and Western Islanders, with some remarks on their history and climate, from which it appears that those countries in the ancient times, before the earth was enriched by culture, and nature made fruitful and agreeable, as it were, in her own despite,

were well adapted by their melancholy aspect, covered as they were by eternal fogs, exposed to savage and incessant storms, to oppress the minds of men, and by the absence of external amenities so to operate on the imagination, that the inner visions and conceptions retained a peculiarly gloomy and yet grotesque colouring. For, according to Howell, "there is to be seen in many places neither a bird in the air nor a beast on the earth, nor even a worm crawling on the ground; scarcely a green blade of grass, but merely a black, moss-covered surface; a raw, sharp, melancholy, and catarrh-producing atmosphere, and chains of rugged and wild mountains and precipices." Thus, those countries have been, as it were, the natural home of the second-sight from the most ancient times. Cæsar and Plutarch speak of these islands as desolate, melancholy solitudes, where visions and ghostly apparitions are things familiar to the unfortunate inhabitants, who passed their sombre days in constant terror and apprehension. Plutarch mentions in particular the British, or rather the islands lying beyond Britain. There lay that unknown region of fable and myth, that mysterious Thule, sung of by Goethe, which the ancients regarded as the extremest boundary of the earth towards the north. These lands were always regarded as notorious for their spectral visions. Eusebius, too (De Preparat. Evangel. lib. v. c. 9), says, that "beyond Britannia lie many islands, of which several are filled with demons and evil spirits, who occasioned thunder, storms, torrents of rain, etc., and puzzled both the inhabitants and visitors with such delusive scenes as to bring them into confusion and anguish, and to injure them both soul and body"

Many centuries afterwards, the Venerable Bede, in his History of the English Church, corroborated these and similar statements. He relates, for instance, that down to the eighth century the island of Lewis, one of the largest Western Isles, continued almost wholly destitute of men, fruits, trees, and herbs, and that it was the favourite rendezvous and place of assembly of evil spirits and malicious apparitions, who there practised their devilish ceremonies. It was not till the pious Cudbrecht landed upon the island, in order to drive thence the devil and his agents, and to cultivate the land, that the demons, after a severe conflict,

began gradually to withdraw. But though these islands were their favourite resort, yet they at the same time scattered themselves throughout the other islands in that quarter, and even took fair possession of the mainland. "Thus we see here," says Horst, "the whole of the British islands, yes, and also the Highlands of Scotland, overrun with demons, who were like the legions of base spirits whom Soloman inclosed in a kettle, and sunk at Babylon, but which, on the kettle being opened in quest of treasure, streamed up into the air, spread themselves over the whole heavens, and thence over all Asia."

According to the old theories of spirits, departed souls and condemned spirits were sent to those islands, where they continued to the seventeenth century. These were vexing and complaining ghosts, which appeared to men, sometimes in the human form, and sometimes in that of beasts, and in every horrid mask that can be imagined. The Faroe Isles, also, were haunted by such malevolent spirits, which are said to have carried off men. In later times they became gradually less dangerous; and the spirit-races of all kinds and colours,—fairies, trolls in Scandinavia, wraiths in England and Scotland, became, on the introduction of Christianity, by degrees more social, even on those remote and desolate islands, where, according to Isaiah (xiii. 21), "doleful creatures and owls dwell, and satyrs dance." This modification is agreeable to the doctrine of second-sight, which still is said to prevail there.

According to Horst's Deuteroscopy, black cats were indispensable to the incantation ceremony of the Taigheirm, and these were dedicated to the subterranean gods, or, later, to the demons of Christianity. The midnight hour, between Friday and Saturday, was the authentic time for these horrible practices and invocations; and the sacrifice was continued four whole days and nights, without the operator taking any nourishment. "After the cats were dedicated to all the devils, and put into a magico-sympathetic condition by the shameful things done to them, and the agony occasioned them, one of them was at once put upon the spit, and, amid terrific howlings, roasted before a slow fire. The moment that the howls of one tortured cat ceased in death, nother was put upon the spit, for a minute of interval

must not take place if they would control hell; and this continued for the four entire days and nights. If the exorcist could hold it out still longer, and even till his physical powers were absolutely exhausted, he must do so."

After a certain continuance of the sacrifice, infernal spirits appeared in the shape of black cats. There came continually more and more of these cats; and their howlings, mingled with those of the cats roasting on the spit, were terrific. Finally appeared a cat of a monstrous size, with dreadful menaces. When the Taigheirm was complete, the sacrificer demanded of the spirits the reward of his offering, which consisted of various things; as riches, children, food, and clothing. The gift of second-sight, which they had not had before, was, however, the usual recompense; and they retained it to the day of their death. The connection of these ceremonies with those of the Schamans of Northern Asia, and of the witch practices of the middle ages, is obvious.

One of the last Taigheirm, according to Horst, was held in the middle of the seventeenth century on the island of Mull. The inhabitants still show the place where Allan Maclean, at that time the incantation and sacrificial priest, stood with his assistant, Lachlain Maclean, both men of a determined and unbending character, of a powerful build of body, and both unmarried. Traces and monuments of heathen sacrifice, especially in England and Scotland, are discoverable within the Christian period. Thus, there were found, on the rebuilding of St. Paul's in London, the remains of many animals which had been offered to Diana in external sacrifices. Nay, there remained relics of such worship down to the period of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. Apollo also was worshipped during the earlier period of Christianity, at Thorney, near Westminster. That Diana was worshipped in Britain we know too from records of offerings to her of a most cruel nature, made during the persecutions of the people of London by Diocletian. (See Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.)

The offering of cats is remarkable, for it was also practised by the ancient Egyptians. Not only in Scotland, but throughout all Europe, cats were sacrificed to the subter-

ranean gods, as a peculiarly effective means of coming into communication with the powers of darkness.

Allan Maclean continued his sacrifice to the fourth day, when he was exhausted both in body and mind, and sunk in a swoon; but from this day he received the second-sight to the time of his death, like his assistant. In the people, the belief was unshaken that the second-sight was the natural consequence of celebrating the Taigheirm.

"The infernal spirits appeared, some in the early progress of the sacrifices, in the shape of black cats. The first who appeared during the sacrifice, after they had cast a furious glance at the sacrificer, said—Lachlain Oer, that is, "Injurer of Cats." Allan, the chief operator, warned Lachlain, whatever he might see or hear, not to waver, but to keep the spit incessantly turning. At length the cat of monstrous size appeared; and after it had set up a horrible howl, said to Lachlain Oer, that if he did not cease before their largest brother came he would never see the face of God. Lachlain answered that he would not cease till he had finished his work if all the devils in hell came. At the end of the fourth day, there sat on the end of the beam in the roof of the barn a black cat with fire-flaming eyes, and there was heard a terrific howl quite across the straits of Mull into Morven." Allan was wholly exhausted on the fourth day, from the horrible apparitions, and could only utter the word "Prosperity." But Lachlain, though the younger, was stronger of spirit, and perfectly self-possessed. He demanded posterity and wealth. And each of them received that which he had asked for. When Allan lay on his death-bed, and his Christian friends pressed around him, and bade him beware of the stratagems of the devil, he replied with great courage, that if Lachlain Oer, who was already dead, and he, had been able a little longer to have carried their weapons, they would have driven Satan himself from his throne, and, at all events, would have caught the best birds in his kingdom.

When the funeral of Allan reached the churchyard, the persons endowed with the second-sight saw at some distance Lachlain Oer, standing fully armed at the head of a host of black cats, and every one could perceive the smell of brim-

stone which streamed from those cats. Allan's effigy, in complete armour, is carved on his tomb, and his name is yet linked with the memory of the Taigheirm.

Shortly before that time also Cameron of Lochiel performed a Taigheirm, and received from the infernal spirits a small silver shoe, which was to be put on the left foot of each new-born son of his family, and from which he would receive courage and fortitude in the presence of his enemies; a custom which continued till 1746, when his house was consumed with fire. This shoe fitted all the boys of his family but one, who fled before the enemy at Sheriff Muir, he having inherited a larger foot from his mother, who was of another clan. This story is more fully related in the Abendzeitung of April 1824.

The word Taigheirm means an armoury, as well as the cry of cats, according as it is pronounced. It is also very probable that the Taigheirm is closely connected wth the ceremony of incantation of the old Norse and Teutonic, Troll and Elfin faith; while, as already observed, the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland were peopled from the north, where the invocations of the heathen demons, the belief in the pagan gods and sorcery, and the seeing of spirits, continued down to very recent times. Thus the Taigheirm was probably a sacrifice to the subterranean gods in heathenism, and under Christianity was changed into an invocation of infernal spirits. The belief in Trolls, who appeared allied to the imaginative creatures of the Taigheirm, and continue still to affect the minds of the common people, prevailed in Scandinavia before the Christian era. The fairy-faith of Scotland coincides, in many particulars, with that of the Scandinavian elves. The elves of the Scottish Highlands, according to Cromek, wore always small, ornamental silver shoes. They have a fair complexion, and long, yellow hair hanging down over their shoulders; a clear mark of their northern origin. They wear a green mantle embroidered with flowers, and breeches fastened with silken tassels. They have quivers of adder-skins; bows made from the rib of a man who has been buried where the lands of three proprietors meet. Their arrows are of the reed, pointed with flints, and dipped in the juice of hemlock. With these they shoot the

cattle of those who have spoken ill of them, the wounds being invisible to ordinary eyes, and which people of higher endowments only can perceive and heal. In their intercourse with men they are generally well disposed.

The Trolls of Scandinavia also make presents, to certain individuals, of silver shoes, such as they wear at their dances, to the possession of which some particular benefit is attached. In these coincidences the Scottish and Scandinavian Elves and Trolls remind us of the witch-histories of the middle ages, though with these prevailed a far wilder romance, more resembling the Taigheirm. There are wanting the fine silver shoes; and in the wholly detestable Witch-hammer, says Horst, from which Germany, both Protestant and Catholic, as well as all Europe, with the exception of England, was instructed in the mysteries of witch practices, there is not a single feature of the romance which these silver shoes recall to our recollection. There stand nakedly all the infernal gifts from a coarse mint, so many copper pieces or local florins, and if Satan has been very well pleased, and has given splendid honoraria, gold florins and ancient dollars, which within a short time turn into so much dirt, or, as St. Francis esthetically expressed himself in his time, into horse litter.

The northern mythology is the work of Scalds,—that is, of old northern poets. The religion of the heathen everywhere originated in poetry; so was it here, and here truly, cosmogony was the foundation of religion, the grotesque features of which, and the wild fantasy of the poetic constructors, showing whence it sprung. The physical allegories, also, here testify the genuine, original observation which preceded mythology. You see in the northern poetry of nature the arising of the world out of the chaotic region of mist—Niflhem, out of the deadness of winter—the giant Ymer, and advancing into the life of spring. There, too, as amongst the Greeks, are the powers of nature symbolized in gigantic shapes: the giants of darkness—Narsi, whose daughter, Night, black and gloomy, has a son, Andur, by the æther, Nagelfari—then the Earth, and with Dellingar—Twilight—the Day. Sun and Moon—Sool, later Odin, Maan—wind and water, are symbolized as giants, who encamp round the abyss of

Time, and are lords of the heaven, the earth, and the underworld.

O. L. Woff, in his Mythology of Fairies and Elves, treats at large of the classes, kinds, and countries of the northern elves from historical and literary sources. The gods of the north, by Geneday, the writings of Procopius, Jornandes, Stagnelius, Rahbek, Afzelius, Thiele, Nyerup, the Edda, etc. contain the rich materials of ancient Sagas, and the ideas of the people concerning the elves in the northern countries, where still, according to Arndt's assurance, in his "Travels through Sweden," the Alfar—Alfen—elves, live in the memory of the people of Sweden and Norway. In the Eddas the distinction between the white and the black elves is clearly marked, as may be seen in Nierup's Dictionary of the Scandinavian Mythology, and in Sander's Danish Handbook.

"Our heathen ancestors," says Thorlacius, in the Scandinavian Museum for 1803, "believed that the whole world was filled with spirits of different kinds. They ascribed to them in general the same qualities as the Greeks did to their demons and demi-gods. These beings were divided according to their places of abode—heavenly and earthly. The first were well disposed to men, and therefore were called white elves, or light elves; the latter, which were named after their haunts in thick woods, in caves, on mountains and rocks, in the air, or in the sea, etc., were regarded as a species of demons—black elves."

Against the humours of these spirits, which have much resemblance to the devils of the Middle-ages, the country people of the present day seek protection from the so-called Klokas, a sort of exorcists. It is also believed that the elves have kings and queens. The elf-dance is become a proverb. It is said in Olaus Magnus, that the people call the sport of the nocturnal spirits, elf, or elfin-dance, when such spirits dance, leap, and wildly sport, till their footsteps tread down into the earth so deeply and with such heat, that the sward is totally destroyed, and the grass will never more grow there."

The modern poets of Scandinavia have, on the contrary, very intellectually idealised this Elfin-people, or Huldra-

people, as they are called in Norway. Thus sings Stagnelius :—

> "Say, know'st the Elfin-people gay?
> They dwell on the river's strand;
> They spin from the moonbeams their festive garb,
> With their small and lily hand," etc.

Wolf divides the fairy-land of the poets into three kinds. 1st.—Avalon, in the ocean, where is the island of the blest. 2nd. Those countries which, like the palace of Pari-Banon in the Eastern and European poetry, are found under the earth. 3. Those which lie in like abodes of the genii, and the possessions of Oberon, in wildernesses, in thick woods, in valleys and the gorges of mountains, and at the bottom of deep and remote meadows, etc.

The Scandinavian elves, or Maids of Diana, whom Saxo, and yet more amply Olaus Magnus, has described, are very celebrated. They are of beautiful and majestic presence, have flowing hair, and show themselves most in thick woods. Their dwellings are splendid, but are adorned by magic, and, according to the wish of the inhabitants, are now visible and now invisible. They appear chiefly in threes in company; they know the future, and are frequently consulted by the people concerning life and death, and other circumstances. Saxo and Olaus Magnus relate examples of their having done essential services to Swedish kings and queens. Sometimes they present gifts to those who consult them, such as gold-lace, magic weapons, etc.; in that they perfectly remind you of the heathen goddesses sitting on their golden thrones at their residences, or of the Alrunen or the Parses of antiquity. The ideas concerning these fabulous fairies could in the course of time only slowly adapt themselves to the progress of knowledge; the old could not all at once be abandoned, nor the new become suddenly the objects of honour. Thence, therefore, so many traces of a multitude of recollections, one following fast upon another, and constituting the Scandinavian nations the mother of many heathenish traditions.

The dwarfs and Trolls play a great part in the northern popular belief, and, according to Arndt, still maintain their

hold on the minds of the common people. Not only the Scandinavian popular legends and ballads, but the Scotch also describe them as a kind of elementary spirits, and speak of their deeds; and Paracelsus calls them People of the Mines, Gnomens, and Pigmies, a waggish, but contented and not malicious sort of creatures, as Matthisson truly pourtrays them :—

> "From the deep mine rush wildly out
> The troop of Gnomes in hellish rout:
> Forth to the Witches-club they fly;
> The Griffins watch as they go by.
> The horn of Satan grimly sounds;
> On Blocksburg's flanks strange din resounds,
> And spectres crowd its summit high."

Sir Walter Scott believes that there is something historical at the bottom of the belief in these beings, and that they refer to the Finns, who were subjected by the Scandinavians on the arrival of Odin. Perhaps they were Laplanders, who were altogether of small stature, and were driven by those strangers towards the high north. The warrior-companions of Odin saw a people who understood how to work the mines better than they; whom they, therefore, connected in their imagination with subterranean spirits, who remained in the rocks and mines, and possessed incalculable riches. In these respects these Scandinavian pigmies accord entirely with the Idaic Dactyls, and they were probably of Oriental origin; which may explain why so many were affected by this belief in little men of the mines, pigmies, etc.

A third kind of spirits are the Nissen or Kobolds, whom Wolf classes with the Troll family, which may be the case in Scandinavia; but in Germany the Kobolds or Hobgoblin, the flaunting, terrifying, and noisy ghosts, form a particular class, and are of a particular kind, betraying an affinity to the infernal spectres. On the contrary, the Nisses or Necks of Scandinavia are of a thoroughly good disposition, as their names indicate,—that is, in Denmark, Nisse, good son, good youth; and in Sweden, Tomtegubbe, the old man of the house. In ancient days they sometimes served the office of treasurer or master church-builder, whence they

obtained the name of Kirkegrimm. The Scandinavian Necks are not to be confounded with the Scottish familiar spirit, the Brownie, which had the gift of prophesying, and to which, according to Sir Walter Scott, the production of a particular clan in the Highlands or Western Isles was ascribed. Each family also had its own house-spirit. In fact, the Scottish Highlands and Islands are, as it were, the classic ground of the supernatural; where from the primeval times a national and local spirit-world has prevailed; and where men seemed to stand in especial rapport with the supernatural world. Ossian describes his dogs as howling because they saw the spirits of the slain warriors pass by. Here opened up a world of magic and miracle, which has no parallel. National and family spirits took up their abode under well-known names on all hands, in mountains and solitudes, and exerted a decided influence on the inhabitants of the land. Besides those household spirits which Sir Walter Scott describes as belonging to each clan, there were others more magical, who came and disappeared, like the witches of Shakspeare, as bubbles of the earth. Other enigmatical beings awaken prophetic dreams, and lift the curtains of the future; play and sing in the expanse of heaven, so that their songs may be learned by rote. In fact, Scotland was, till the period of the Middle Ages, the land of the beings of fancy of all colours and countries—Scandinavian, Norse, Anglo-saxon, and Teutonic ghosts and spectres, mingled themselves with the Caledonial national spirits; fairies or fays, elves, kobolds, dwarfs, wraiths, reigned nowhere in such a motley crowd as in Scotland and in the Scottish Isles; and amongst no other people did they take such hold on actual life as in this classic spirit-ground, where, as we have seen, all circumstances were of a prominent character. Horst remarks, that amongst no people have pneumatologic representations had such a practical influence on active life as in Scotland. Thus the fairy and the elfin faith, of which the German Hexen-hammer knew nothing, and which, in all the witch-prosecutions throughout Europe, in Spain, Italy, and France, never, or very rarely indeed, were noticed, in Scotland were often linked with the witch-superstition, and, as part and parcel of it, were pursued with fire and sword, and made the subject of criminal inquiries, like sorcery. In the Scottish

witch-trials, the green and waggish fairies and elves often played, more or less, a part, which, according to the German Hexen-hammer, the black and repulsive paramours and demon-associates of the witches played in the rest of Europe."

In a pamphlet published by Dr. Fowler in 1696, it is stated that a certain Anna Jefferies took no nourishment for six months, which she did not receive from a small kind of spirits, called Fairies or Elves. Her intercourse with such elves was by no means uncommon. Anna Jefferies once sate, as she was nineteen years of age, in an arbour in the garden and knit, when six little elves clad in green came over the hedge to her, at which she was so terrified that she fell into convulsions, and was obliged to be carried to bed; whither the elves followed her, and after some time disappeared through a window. They generally appeared as green-clad young huntsmen, or as light musicians, and occasionally they came in warlike array. In the Orkney Isles, according to Brand, elves were frequently seen clad from top to toe in armour; they carried off men by secret powers, and accidents were attributed to them. One John Sinclair, in the preceding century, who was extremely sceptical in his ideas, though a clergyman, was one night going home when he was seized by an elf, and borne through the air many miles, "over ethereal fields and fleecy clouds," and finally set down at his own door; whereupon he astonished his congregation by a full account of his adventure from the pulpit.

We see from this the perfect agreement with the history of the witch trials; only here the convulsive paroxysms are by no means so violent, and the elfin spirits are of a softer and better nature, and less adventurous than those devils of the Middle Ages who actuated the possessed. For the rest, both races agree in their operations, and the Scotch witches of the sixteenth century wholly resemble, in the accounts given on the trials, the German ones of the seventeenth century. The very powers of the spirits, as elves, travelling children, etc., appear also amongst the Germans. A Scotch witch, Allison Pearson, was burnt in 1586, because she had had intercourse with the elves, or Good Neighbours, and with the elfin queen herself.

"When she was ill, a green man appeared to her, as she

herself stated before the tribunal, and promised her good if she were true to him; but she was frightened, and cried out aloud. As no one came, however, she said to him that it might be so. Another time he came as a jolly brother in the company of many men and women, who were all very merry together, with music and good eating and drinking. She had herself once accompanied the elves, and, as she had afterwards divulged something of what she saw, she received a smart blow from one of them, which had left a mole on her left side. A cousin of hers had been carried away by the elves into the mountains, who related all that had passed, and how the elves, or Good Neighbours, had melted their salve in a pan. Her elf was a young man, and would appear to her before the trial was over. He had commanded her to pray that she might not be carried away by the elves."

Of the German elves Grimm says — "Our manifold legends of dwarfs, elves, giants, etc., exceed those of the classical nations. They are more domestic, familiar, and *naive*. What has antiquity to compare with our charming myth of the Silent People? The legends for children—Kindermärchen—were unknown to them, while to us they make recompense for the want of other more intellectual fictions; and therefore we are disposed somewhat to over-value them. Wichte and Elves constitute a peculiar, independent, and isolated company. They have a superhuman power to injure or assist. They appeared as dwarfs or deformed, but had the power of making themselves invisible. Both the names betoken demons, something like genii. Waifh is a female spirit, With — spirit, demon. Elbe, Alp, Elfenfolk, resemble the devils of the Christian system, as pale, grey, hideous shapes."

The northern people had, as well as the southern, their water, field, and wood-spirits, their Nixes and Mermaids, with which they populated the country and nature on all sides. This kind of spirits also possess the gift of mantic and the act of prescience. Examples of these are to be found in Wolf's "Mythologies of the Faires and Elves;" Sir Walter Scott, on the Highlands; Horst, in his "Memorabilien," 2d Part, and the "Zauberbibliothek," etc.; and concerning the Faroe Isles, especially Debes, "Faeroa reserata," London, 1796; Hippert, "Andeutungen zur Philo-

sophie Geistererscheinungen," German, Weimar, 1825; Grimm's "German Mythology."

These spirits, which stood in a mysterious relationship of life to individual persons, and to whole families, were more frequent in the English islands, where, and especially on the Faroes, they carried off men,—an unusual circumstance in Norway and Sweden. In Germany there were Little Men of the Mines, Wild Women, Kobolds and Nixes, as may be learned from the legends of the brothers Grimm. The northern Necks resemble in many particulars the Naiads of the Greeks, as these are the protecting inhabitants of small inland lakes, and mix themselves often in the affairs of men, especially of enamoured youths and maidens, and therefore play a prominent part in the legends of the people, who usually give a waggish character to them, though legends say that they also draw men into the water and drown them. The Rokken or Necks belong to the evil portion of the elves of northern mythology, and, like the Valkyrior, fearfully beautiful beings, are daughters neither of heaven nor of hell. They are the beautiful maids of Odin, sitting with helm and cuirass on flying horses. The subterranean Necks, who carry off human beings, play a great part; and there are many relations of midwives, and even princely ladies, who have been carried off, to aid some one of the Necks in the time of childbirth, and then have been recompensed with costly presents, such as golden rings, necklaces with diamond clasps, etc., which, through their magical power, have brought to the whole family prosperity and blessings. The elves came into Germany under the name of travelling, flying, good children, the little gracious ones, etc. The affinity of the German and northern elves is clear, and in the bloody drama of the witch-trials throughout Europe, the fays and elves played the same part in England and Scotland, and in the criminal proceedings were placed in the same category as the witch-spirits and social-devils in Germany and France. The elves, like the alrunes of the Druids, practised works of mercy in woods, and a certain sympathetic affinity with trees became thus propagated in the popular faith. It is remarkable, also, that the German elves were accustomed to wander under the elder trees, as was the case still later in the witch-trials.

We have already made acquaintance with this tree and the laurel in association with the Grecian oracles. The witches were accustomed to bury their elves under elder trees, with certain ceremonies, which shows that they were regarded as dangerous. Whoever, during the period of the witch persecutions, found himself unexpectedly under an elder tree, was involuntarily seized with horror, and probably fell into ecstasy.

Palacky, in his "History of Bohemia," says that in ancient times the Sclaves did not differ essentially from the Germans in their faith. "The Sclaves were," he remarks, "never a conquering and martially nomadic people, like the Germans and Sarmatians, but lovers of peace and of a settled abode, and devoted to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, trade, and commerce. In the feeling of their common descent, they called themselves Serbs,—that is, allied people, and were always distinguished from their western neighbours by the name of Wends. The mode of life of these harmless people offered nothing which distinguished them essentially from the Germans, yet their *penchant* for music, song, and dance, very early became a natural tendency. They believed in one highest God—Boh—the creator of the world, the original fountain of light and of lightning. This god received, as it appears, from the different races different names; but the most prevailing one was Perun. Besides this, they worshipped many demons, called Diasi. Disor, in the northern mythology, are male and female, good and evil. The latter are called Biasi. Not only every natural phenomenon, but also human passions, were directed by the operation of such Diasi."

SECOND DIVISION.

THE MAGIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE SORCERY OF WITCHCRAFT; THE WITCH-TRIALS; POSSESSION; EPIDEMIC CRAMPS.

A PARALLEL of the heathen and Christian magic in their transition conducts us to the fundamental views of their consequent transformation to the magic of the middle ages, where they completed their degeneration into that adventurous power of the Black Art, which professed to rule over heaven and hell, over life and death. We have now, as the result, to contemplate the application of witch-magic, as it particularly regards its origin, its development, and its end, in order to obtain a just judgment on that remarkable time.

Mantic and the seer-faculty was to the heathen a certainty. It was the mighty influence of demoniac powers, which, as it were, had a direct, though it might be a secret, connection with life. Ever after, men believed these powers to be bound up with certain beings,—as, for instance, the fairies and elves,—they were persuaded that these must be the real possessors of the gift of prophecy, which they impart to men by a sympathetic means, when these, in some mysterious manner, come into closer proximity with them, either accidentally or purposely. In the heathen magic there was nothing miraculous: the proper reign of miracles commences with the Christian era. For, amongst the

heathens, the demons belonged, to a certain degree, to the sphere of the real world. The physical and supernatural were not so absolutely separated as Christianity separated the heaven from the earth, the eternal from the temporal, the spiritual from the natural. The ideas of truth and goodness, of beauty and virtue, of the reward and punishment of actions, and of immortality, advanced in all their clearness from the natural limits of time and space into the region of the supernatural. But, as everything ideal must have an image in representation, the human imagination, therefore, personified those ideas, according to their kind, in physical and natural shapes, such as the boldest fancy had never before arrived at. The spiritual being absorbed into the natural, was again transformed into the unnatural; and thus, as the darkened understanding separated the actual from the apparent, the natural from the spiritual powers, the inner from the outer, the imagination had free play, and the divine and the human, spirit and nature, supernatural and physical, were mixed together, and so interchanged that a motley world of wonder and secresy might well arise. Men got into that state that they could not discriminate whether an unusual occurrence were the result of foreign influence or of a physical law. In heathendom their gods and spirits were still natural beings, and in an immediate connection with man; they were, to a certain extent, of mortal descent, idealized out of the natural. But in Christianity the spirits were of an absolutely different substance, beings from another world exercising an influence upon this; but nevertheless of a mighty power, and so much the more terrible as they were from a strange world. The faith in sorcery and magic arts might be there as here general, and even have an influence on the proceedings of government; but the "Incantationes Magicæ" of the Romans were directly denounced by civil laws as mischievous arts: on the contrary, the witch-trials were made over amongst Christians to the Inquisition, as the highest spiritual court, that it might afford assistance in withstanding the sorcery of the devil and his host. The sorcerer was to be regarded not merely as one who used his freedom to injure men, or as a deceiver, but as one to be condemned, being himself bewitched by a

superhuman spirit, and possessed by it. In the former case human deceit was condemned as mischievous; here the man was punished with death as the vehicle or work-tool of the wicked one, or as identical with him. According to the pagan notion, the influence of spirits came from without; according to that of the Judaic-Christian system, the devil entered into the body of the man, and before the sorcerer could cease to practise his arts he must be expelled thence by spiritual force. Amongst the heathen, an idiot was supposed to be made so by the elves; the accused lunatic was said to be possessed. The elves stole the children of the heathen and left a changeling in its place: amongst the Christians, the devil entered the changeling. The devils, however, took possession of horses and cattle as well as of men, as Noisy Ghosts—Poltergeister. Amongst the heathen, at most, the little Grey Man took up his quiet abode there, not to mock, but to help,—not to terrify and injure.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans, where formerly Homeric, Virgilian, and Ovidian gods presented themselves, and sorcery consisted in beautiful paintings of the imagination, magic had a totally different character to that which it assumed in the Judaic-Christian faith, where the devil played the chief part. The magical arts were not, in old time, attributed to the influence of the powers of darkness, but to people who were in familiar intercourse with the gods and demons. The ancient German and northern elves approximated nearer to those of the Christian world; yea, they constitute, to a certain degree, the foundation and the underwork of the following witch-period. Here men understood by sorcery rather the operation of secret powers, which were ascribed to wicked men and fallen beings, and not to the gods who performed the higher miracles, and who merely worked for good. Among the ancient Germans only, a species of intermediate beings between God and men were considered as enchanted, deeply subtle giants and wicked giantesses, cunning elves and dwarfs, whose art was, in a manner, inborn. "The real sorcerer is the upward-striving man. By the side of his health-bringing practice a pernicious one developed itself. The original cause of all sorcery must have proceeded from the very bosom of the holiest, the united wisdom of all heathenism, operating on the worship

of the gods and the art of poetry. Sacrifices and singing passed over into representations of magic; priests and poets, men admitted to the confidence of the gods, and participants of divine inspiration, soon merged into the diviner and sorcerer" (Grimm, a. a. O. S. 579. The ancient Germans were acquainted with sorcery and the sorcerer, but in the former, not in the latter character, where sorcery and the devil were all one. Properly, sorcery only signified the miraculous in certain persons, and the old Saxon word Wikken meant to divine or prophesy; and still, says Grimm, Wikken, or Wicheln, means to divine; Wikker, a wizard, and Wichler, a witch or soothsayess.

There is no good in the world which has not its opposite, or which may not become mischievous through its abuse. The revelation of the Christian religion is the greatest gift of God to man, and which is intended to enlighten the understanding and to soften the heart. But reason is erratic, and the heart is a member of Belial; or does the heart follow the eye? and does the understanding prove the depth and the movements of the heart? Yes, there are people whose hearts, says the psalmist, will ever go astray, and the heart of a fool is like a vessel which will not hold water!

What confusions of the understanding have not arisen out of the teaching of the new religion! And what abuses of reason have not led to the most insensate actions! Instead of the true faith producing the noblest fruits of wisdom, power, and love, there arose the winter of a devouring superstition and of the most maniacal fanaticism! It is, in fact, wonderful how the doctrines of religion can lead the human mind so completely into error and inconsistency; it is scarcely credible that Christianity, during the early period of proselytism from heathendom, should have conducted so many professors of its name to delusion and madness. Plebeians and nobles, young and old, put more living faith in a supernatural world of spirits than in God and physical nature. Their imagination created a heaven and an earth, and peopled them with opposing spirits, to whom they gave up man and the world as the arena of their warfare. The pious and the reckless entered into social arrangements with spirits like themselves, nay even into marriage connections with them. Torturing pangs of conscience drove

unhappy individuals to the confessions of sins, and many accused themselves of crimes which it was impossible for them to commit, and which the wise ones of the time, —learned theologians, physicians, and jurists,—endeavoured to demonstrate as possible with the most heated zeal, the most sophistical acumen, and the most incontestible facts. The belief in sorcery, and in compacts with the devil, rose to such a pitch of madness and of universal confusion of the Christian world, that men attributed to the devil the violent possession of innocent as well as guilty men; and therefore took the field promiscuously against the defenceless, the unhappy, and the insane; sought and found upon them all the tokens of sorcery, and suspended over them all kinds of torments; and, finally, drove many hundred thousands of vainly resisting wretches to death by fire and sword. The Hexen-hammer contains extraordinary memorials of that time of wonder, and of the highest possible pitch of mental blindness and of horrible superstition which the human race ever arrived at on the earth. The whole of nature was converted into a world of sorcery; no one any longer believed his own senses; life was a sport of demons; no one thought any more of fixed laws of nature; all was miracle effected by supernatural spirit, but which had not the spirit of Christ,—love, as a result, but the terrors and the tyranny of hell.

Thus the idea of magic at that time was become totally different to its original one,—that of the art of inquiring into the secret powers of nature in order to use them to advantage. Now all extraordinary natural phenomena passed for the work of the devil, and were ascribed directly to certain spirits, or to men possessed by them: but, strictly speaking, all magic and sorcery, and all those marvellous appearances, were understood as the work of the devil.

If we inquire into the possible origin of so terrible a superstition, we may observe that we have the elements of it in the former heathenism on the one hand, and in the tone of mind introduced by Christianity on the other. Thereby the motives were given for carrying at once the mind from physical nature into the absolutely supernatural world, which had first been opened up by the idea of immortality and freedom of life after death.

In this manner we see how the belief in magic and miracle by degrees arose out of the root and grew into the full tree, with all the varied forms of the times and of national culture; and the history of the witch-prosecutions is no longer to be wondered at as an isolated fact, but to be studied as a singular and important judicial procedure.

The name of Hexe, Witch, comes originally, according to Keisler ("De Mulieribus fatidicis, antiq. septentrion. et celt.," 1720), from the word Haegse, a wise woman; and Haegse from Hygia, according to Olaus Worm, *in Lexico runico*, which means wisdom. This word, says Keisler, was changed into Hesee, witch, and then signified a wicked woman who had a spirit of sorcery and divination, which meaning, after the introduction of the Christian religion, was connected with a sort of spectres, in the same manner that the Alrunes—those prophetic priestesses—came to mean the same thing, only in a ludicrous point of view. The Celtic Alrune is the oldest and general name of a soothsaying and sacred woman amongst the Germans, as we read in Cæsar and Tacitus. Wholly of the signification, according to Horst, is Alrune stil, in the Islandic, that is, witch in a good or bad meaning,—a knowing woman,—Fiol Kuni; and a wizard, a much-knowing man,—Fiol Kuningar. Alrune means, literally, all or much-knowing,—from all, much, and runen, to know, inquire. This word had, therefore, no other signification than Magus, diviner, Mantic, soothsayer, prophet amongst other people. So said Cicero—"Sagæ a sagiendo dictæ, quia multa scire volunt. Sagire enim sentire acute est" (De Divinatione, lib. i.) Grimm derives Hexe, a witch, from Hegtese, old Saxon, and Hegese, English, Hag, and from *hagr*, artistic. Hexe is a subtle crafty woman; Hexen, *fascinare*, Heig Heiang, seem to express sorcery. But, down to the seventeenth century, the word Fiend was preferred to these unusual terms, which means diabolism. Drut, Druid, was synonymous with witch, and meant a plaguing and oppressive nightmare. *Strix*, *Striga*, Old French, *estrie*, Italian, *strega*, *stregora*,—sorcerer. Originally, strix was a bird of sorcery. "Striges ab avibus ejusdem nominis, quia maleficæ mulieres volaticæ dicuntur" (Testus).

Christianity has altered the heathenish idea of witch-

craft in many ways; yet there is an obvious agreement in it with the sacrifices, assemblies of the people, and the spirit-world of the ancient Germans. The Salic laws speak of such assemblings, of the cookery of the witches, and of witch kettles; for more of which see Grimm.

These soothsaying women, at the period of the diffusion of Christianity, were very numerous in Germany and the north of Europe; and, as they were equally frequent amongst the ancient votaries of the gods, and as those gods came to to be regarded as demons and evil spirits, thus, consequently, the strange doings of these women came to be regarded as produced by the help of demons, and the women themselves as witches, and the accomplices of devils. It is certain that, in the early ages of the Church, the Fathers did not regard divination in this evil point of view. Clemens of Alexandria says (Stromat., lib. i. p. 97)—"There are amongst the Germans so called prophetic women, who, according to the running of the river, and the form of the waves, etc., divine, and foretell future events." Later, when the dreams of spirits, and a superstitious belief in the devil and spectres so increased, that in the middle ages all the elements were full of spirits, undines, kobolds, and salamanders; when an especial power was acknowledged in the formulæ of sorcery, to exorcise and banish spectres; when every phenomenon of nature, and even the severest sicknesses, were attributed to the influence of the devil; when people, by a proneness to subjective groping, and to a rabid fanaticism, without any attention to an objective knowledge of nature and to genuine religious revelation, confused the sign with the thing, interposed the vision of the thing for the thing itself; when the people came in the excitement of this madness to confess impossibilities, and the educated world of judges and clergymen accepted the maniacal confessions of weak and sickly persons as perfectly valid "Species facti," and judged accordingly;—then had the Black Arts, in fact, their highest bloom, and the devil reached the summit of his power, and the name of witch was a word of terror for young and old, for small and great. And now was the time which, alas! stands in history as a horrible evidence of the total confusion and utter degeneracy of the human mind, when witches were no longer prophetic women,

but malicious, fortune-telling sorceresses: "Quæ nunc pessimam incantatricem et sagam notat," says Keisler, "olim a radice Haegse, mulier sapiens erat, prudens ac ratione valens."

The whole Christian world, from the sixteenth and seventeenth to the eighteenth century, was so sunk in the idea of witchcraft, that all ranks and classes may be regarded as actually bewitched; for whoever did not so deem himself was accused and denounced as being so; and every natural occurrence was the work of witches,—as lightning and hail, milk turning sour, the loss of swine, all sorts of diseases in men and cattle,—as cramps, lamenesses, swellings, impotence, etc. One especial kind of witchcraft was the appearance of all kinds of things in different parts of the body,—as thread and laces, worsted and yarn, potsherds, needles, and nails; nay, even living things,—as lizards, toads and mice, worms and frogs, that were conjured into the stomach. The witches cooked their own broth, and prepared their own butter and salve, with which they made themselves invisible. They made the witch-butter,—*cooperante diabolo*,—from the aurora-coloured matter exuded from the bodies of children which they had stolen and carried off to the Blocksberg. The witches and wizards had among themselves a widely-spread secret confederation; they had a peculiar worship in solemn expeditions through the air, with lusty dances and merrymakings in remote places,—particularly in deserts and on lofty mountains. The Blocksberg was in Germany the great place of assembly where the whole tribe congregated out of all Christendom, under the guidance of Beelzebub, with whom they made a pact, which they confirmed by writing their names in a book with their own blood, and then sealing it, and had even carnal intercourse with him. They had especial festival days, as Friday—the witches' Sabbath. They made their flight on sticks, broomsticks, or on he-goats, through wind and storm. As they foresaw the future, they knew all the secrets of rich men and of princes, and no one any longer doubted the truth when a reputed witch or wizard accused the most innocent person of sorcery, for they were supposed to have learned all in their nocturnal visions. Neither by the revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, nor through the Reforma-

tion, were these deeply-rooted opinions regarding witchcraft and the influence of evil spirits on nature and men extirpated; they continued in all countries rather amongst the Protestants than amongst Catholics; and at Clarus in Switzerland a witch was executed in 1780. The most enlightened scholars and natural philosophers were of no avail in disseminating the light, and in subduing the general madness; they could only prepare the way for gradually undermining the power which the belief in sorcery had attained, and for making it innoxious. There was, in fact, no longer, even amongst the learned and accomplished, any doubt of the influence of the devil.

> "Man's highest strength, his noblest parts,
> His learning, science, and his arts,
> Now give themselves to sorceries,
> And to the Father of all lies."

The professors of laws now collected assiduously all tales of sorcery, and the *Collegium logicum* became a Will-of-the wisp, and the philosopher stepped in and demonstrated that it must be so. In the year 1484 the witch-persecution was formally introduced into Germany by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII.; and in the year 1489 appeared a publication under public authority, under the title, "MALLEUS MALEFICARUM,"—the Witch-hammer,—which became the code of action in the witch-prosecutions. There was, alas! no question as to the right which is born with us; reason became nonsense, benefaction a pestilence. The spirit of medicine is easy of comprehension; men studied the great and the little world through and through, in order to attain to an end. Celebrated physicians continued, even into the eighteenth century, to regard the so-called mischief of the evil-eye and of sorcery not as natural symptoms, nor as the reckless artifices of revengeful men—though plenty of these presented themselves on the witch-trials; but they pronounced them to be diseases immediately produced by the devil. They regarded the mulberry-marks found on the chest from nightmare, or on different parts of the body, sometimes in blue and yellow spots, and caused by cramps, to be certain signs of supernatural phenomena.

The highest law with the Theologians was that of Moses:—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. xxii. 18).

According to the Witch-hammer, the theological-juridical commentary of the criminal code of the Sorcery-Bill, the belief in the paramour-devils, and in their participation with the witch-host in all kinds of vice and lewdness, was an indisputable axiom, and the death by fire an unassailable right and command. The universal superstition contributed decidedly to make the imagination, already excited by stories, by religious fanaticism, by delusion of the senses, and disease, completely mad; and in the Inquisition it was often observed in the confession during witch-trials, that a partially fixed idea became confirmed during the inquiry. The bewitchment of the senses in such an excited condition of mind was by no means difficult, in order to convert the delusions of appearance into reality, or to give to reality the impression of illusion. For illusion becomes permanent although at first it may be known to be mere deception, where any one repeatedly treats it as reality, or where even any one simulates or firmly maintains a deception; as Mengs has remarked, that figures put themselves into motion if you continue to look at them for a long time. Therefore, the confession of visions and of appearances of men, animals, and devils, is easy of solution; the journeys through the air, so frequently related, find analogous scenes amongst the magnetic and other visions, and the spiritual intercourse, and all circumstances of fear and of fancy, with their results, originate in the same causes. As to the disconnected images and representations of the metamorphoses of beasts and men,—ghosts and blood-sucking vampires, who were the objects of the grossest superstition, especially in Hungary and Servia,—witch-worship, dances, and feasts, —it is less to be wondered at that such creatures of fantasy should be conceived, than that people should universally believe them, when, at least, in the beginning, the accused denied their existence, and suffered no tortures to extort a confession from them. There were, however, all sorts of books and writings which taught how people might be brought into intercourse with spirits; there were also witch-powders and salves which produced a kind of somnambulism in which stupifying herbs, as aconite, which, according to Cardan, produces a sensation of flying; hyoscyamus, taxus, hypericum, and assafœtida, sulphur, and glass of anti-

mony, were used. They rubbed themselves in various parts of the body with the salve, in which narcotics, garlic, etc., were used; and nymphomania, hysteria, and somnambulic visions were the consequences. For behind the curtains of magic and miraculous works lay concealed the unclean spirits in the natural flesh, which were not restrained. According to Jung Stilling, in "Theobald, or the Fanatic," vol. i. p. 244, the religious excitement often flows from a very impure source; and he states that a fanatic society appeared in the thirtieth year of the last century, in which such transports followed the rubbing and kneading of the body in a magnetic manner, and those in whom these took place were said to be new-born. It, therefore, depended entirely on the explanation whether in these scenes of excited feeling and of the life of the imagination, the result should be held to be a witch-exploit and dealing with the devil, or a vision of holiness; for the former were not always engrafted on sinful propensities and low desires, nor were the latter always the fruits of a pure mind and of genuine love. Spasms and all sorts of convulsive appearances accompanied invariably both exhibitions, which, however, in witchcraft terms were only attributed to the power of hell; and on that account, as Moses formerly, they believed themselves called upon to drive forth the devil and all his host with fire and sword.

There were very frequently such unusual appearances connected with those spasms, as are now often witnessed in magnetism, and which people in that dark time were not in a condition to treat as the consequences of abnormal processes of nature, but attributed to the evil principle; believing the spasms and accompanying phenomena to be the work of the devil, and those who suffered under them as possessed by him. Thus we read in the witch-trials that during the most horrible convulsions of the limbs, visions were seen revealing secrets of so deep a nature that the devil only knew them; that those who were considered to be bewitched (as those afflicted with St. Vitus's dance, epilepsy, or in the most terrible agitations of madness) not only fell to the ground, but sprung up walls, and climbed up on high, were carried up into the air, and danced, leaped, and made evolutions of the body which were inconceivable and impossible to men in health; and that such

persons ran here and there, and turned about at a surprising rate without any injury. So, also, under the torture, those accused of witchcraft, as in a state of catalepsy, were partially insensible to every agony, to stab and blow, to pinching and burning, and even fell asleep under the most terrific attempts at torture, feeling no pain whatever. As in hysterical cases, their bodies were now blown up like a barrel, without bursting; then again were drawn in as if they were totally gone, and as suddenly again puffed up like a pair of bellows, and with the loudest noises, as if struck, moved up and down, sunk and swelled again. From the different parts of the bodies of the bewitched all sorts of materials and working implements made their way: as worms, egg-shells, hairs, cloth, yarn, pins, needles, glass, etc.; whilst others, on the contrary, for long periods took no nourishment, and yet retained the strength and fulness of their bodies.

The natural causes of these phenomena we see as clearly from the accounts of the witch-prosecutions,—those terrible spectacles of blindness,—as out of the individual biographies and the reports of the stout assailants of the witch-faith. As that of Tartarelli in "Del congresso notturno delle lamie, Lib. tre S'aggiungono due dissertazione sopra l'arte magica, Roveredo, 1750." "A Short Epitome of the Crimes of Witchcraft with the Actis Magicis of Johann Reichen, 1703." "Maffei dell' Ossa, Balthazar Becker, die bezauberte Welt, Amsterdam, 1693." "Christian Thomasius de crimine magiæ, 1701." "De origine et progressu inquisitionis contra sagas, 1712." Also in German, "Enquiry into the origin and progress of the prosecutions of the Inquisition against witches." "Free thoughts, or monthly conversations,—the history of wisdom and folly." "Wier, de Prestigiis dæmonum." "Reginald Scott, Discovery of Witchcraft, London, 1602." "Nicolai de magicus artibus, tractatus singularis philosophico-theologicus et historicus, 1649." "Fried. Spee, Cautio criminalis, sive de processibus contra sagas, liber ad magistratus Germaniæ vox tempore necessarius, etc. Rintel, 1631. In German, "The Book of conscience on the trials against the witches." It first showed the physiological foundation of the false pictures of imagination. All these showed and described the natural ground and cause of those phenomena to be the Satanic

persecution of the courts of justice. No land and no people were behind the rest in this cursed drama, as Semler calls it,—every party in religion vied with the others for the first rank in the persecution of witches; hundreds of thousands were sacrificed, and misery spread its wings of darkness everywhere. Even the sick, and children of from nine to fourteen years of age, as well as old men, were struck by the destroying power; neither the traveller journeying on his way, nor yet even "the blind maiden, were spared." People of rank, consideration, and wealth, were often, from envy, revenge, or hatred, accused of witchcraft, because their understanding made them more distinguished, their diligence richer, and their rank more honoured. The protestations of innocence were treated as lies; the anguish and terror of the accused were regarded as proofs of guilt; and they who courageously stood firm by the truth had, by hours of continued torture, lies pressed out of them, for death only ended such misery. Auber, in recording these facts—Acta scripta magica—prays the reader, and especially those who had not seen the depths of Satan, and who always seem to think that in the doctrine of the bodily power of the devil there is something almost divine and true, to reflect, "per viscera Christi," who would probably have escaped with his life, if a stop had not been put to these fire-murders?

We have already seen, in our notice of paganism, the foundations of the belief in sorcery amongst Christians; we have now to take a nearer view of the further extension of the magic and witch-faith in Christianity down to the witch persecutions, which were no isolated appearances, but, as it were, a necessary development of a deeply-rooted germ.

The idea of two contending principles arose very early in the East. The apparently hostile powers of nature, and also the morally base, occasioned philosophy to accept of two higher, opposed primeval beings, the bad near to the good, and exercising a secret influence on nature and on man. On this notion rested especially the religious doctrines of Zoroaster, according to whom Ormuzd was the author of light, and Ahriman the author of darkness, the principle of evil. Both principles had their ministering spirits. The Amschaspands and the Izeds were the good spirits, and the Devs were the bad ones under the rule of

Ahriman. "The representations of absolute evil, of the devil and devilish spirits, which afterwards took such fast and universal hold on the public mind, were unknown to our pagan progenitors. A total ideal distinction between a good and an evil spirit is equally unknown to the Greek, the Indian, and our old German theology" (Grimm, S. 549).

It seems certain that the Jews, during their Assyrian captivity, acquired for the most part their notions respecting Satan and good and evil angels. In the history of the creation, Moses speaks nothing of Satan or the devil, but only of the serpent, "which was more subtle than all the beasts of the field which the Lord God had made." It is true that there lies an undeniable principle of treachery in the idea of the serpent; and the devil, as the author of wickedness and the opposer of God, is originally contained in the Jewish religion, although not so fully demonstrated till the Babylonish captivity. The word Satan presents itself a few times in the Old Testament; as in Samuel, 2nd book, xix. 22, where David says, "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that you should thus be Satan* to me?" Then in 1st Book of Chronicles, c. 21,—"And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." "Through the envy of the devil death is come into the world,"—Wisdom, ii. 24. But Satan first stands forth in person in Job: "So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils," etc. And he mingled amongst the children of God, and entered into a dialogue with the Lord, which is of genuine Oriental character,—Chap. i. ver. 6—13.

"6. Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them.

"7. And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.

"8. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?

* Thus rendered in the German Bible.

"9. Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought?

"10. Hast not thou made a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land.

"11. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.

"12. And the Lord said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord."

In the second chapter Satan holds the same dialogue with the Lord, with the request that he may stretch forth his hand, and touch Job's flesh and bone; whereupon the Lord gave him into Satan's hand, with this condition, that he should spare his life:—"Then went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head." It is clear that the pious and sorely afflicted Job had somnambulic visions, which the whole conversation of Satan with the Lord shows, and which is also plainly declared. Thus, in the conversation with his wife,—ii. 9; and again, iv. 12—16.

"12. Now a thing was secretly brought to me, and mine ear received a little thereof.

"13. In thoughts of the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men,

"14. Fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake.

"15. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up:

"16. It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes," etc.

And further,—"Then thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifyest me with visions"—viii. 14. And again,—"For the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit."

The whole extraordinary book of Job has been by numerous commentators asserted not to be of a period earlier than the captivity. Of this opinion are Michaelis, Döderlein, and Hufnagel; and Horst, in his "Dämonomagie," says,—"From this time forward as the Jews lived amongst

the admirers of Zoroaster, and thus became acquainted with his doctrines, we find, partly in contradiction to the earlier views of their religion, many tenets prevailing amongst them, the origin of which it is impossible to explain, except by the operation of the doctrines of Zoroaster. To these belong the general acceptance of the theory of Satan, as well as of good and bad angels (see the Handbook of the History of the Church, by J. E. C. Schmidt).

All the different descriptions of the existence and influence of evil spirits, as they have come down to us, have been modified by Christianity. The devil is altogether Jewish, Christian, heathen, idolatrous, and spectral. As the heathen gods disappeared Christianity stooped to dualism, and the gnostic philosophy endeavoured to establish the universal principle of good and evil. "The name of Devil," says Grimm, "is un-German, and is nothing else than the retained διάβολος; and our Angel, both in word and idea, is thence also derived. Tiebil, Tieval, Diefal, are used by the Vulgate for dæmonium; and in Ulfilas is Diabaulus, Satana, and Unhultho, translated by δαιμόνιον."

By Angel in the Old Testament, according to the original text, was understood an officer to carry a message; and thence messenger, one sent of God: on which account also the teachers and preachers in the Old and New Testaments are called "Publishers of glad tidings." Some commentators in this sense understand in Isaiah, xxxiii. ver. 7, by Angels of Peace, the messengers of the Assyrians to the Jews, and of the Jews to the Assyrians. In the Old Testament the appearances in the visions are called angels, as appearing to Moses, Abraham, etc. When the angel appeared a second time to Hagar, he promised to make of Ishmael a great people.

"The doctrine of angels," says Gottfried Büchner (Biblische Real- und Verbalconcordanzien, 1757), "is for the most part covered with darkness: here reason cannot see far; and the knowledge which we derive from the Scriptures is equally small. We do not know properly what a spirit is, and how it can move a body. Whether this class of beings think as we do; how they explain their ideas one to another; are questions as much buried under uncertainty. Reason, indeed, finds nothing absurd in the existence of spirits, since the

Scriptures clearly reveal it; but perceives, at the same time, that it is not contrary to the goodness, wisdom, and omnipotence of God, to have created such beings. But much further it cannot advance; it must content itself with probability, and it does so when it accepts, in faith, the divine assurances, and does not suffer itself to be disturbed at what a good and wise God has concealed from its knowledge."

Whence we infer, that we can as little deny as we can prove the existence of objective spirits; but that there is nothing in the theory contrary to reason, that God in his great household should have such, and should permit them to have an influence on the spirits of men. On this subject, in an article in the "Archeolog. Phil., p. 68," T. Burnet says:—"Facile credo, plures esse naturas invisibiles in rerum universitate, sed harum omnium familiam quis nobis enarrabit? Et gradus et cognationes et discrimina et singularum munera! quid agunt, quæ loca habitant? Harum rerum notitiam semper ambivit ingenium humanum, nunquam attigit. Juvat interea, non diffiteor, quandoque in animo, tanquam in tabula, majoris et melioris mundi imaginem contemplari, ne mens assuefacta hodiernæ vitæ minutiis se contrahat nimis, et tota subsidat in pusillas cogitationes. Sed veritati interea vigilandum est, modusque servandus, ut certa ab incertis, diem a nocte distinguamas."

It is very certain that impulses of spirits towards men are not so common as we fancy, for the psychological representations of all kind of phenomena proceed out of the undivided nature of the living man, and for the most part through a physical process, as I have shown in my "Magnetism in relation to Nature and Religion." It would not be, according to that belief, so very absurd to consider that man is influenced directly by God, without this influence being communicated through angels; while this influence has assumed to itself a form according to the language and ideas of men; as the Izeds of the East, the Angels of the Jews, the Dis of the Germans, and the Saints of the Middle Ages.

There is, indeed, no foundation in the Bible for the idea that every man has his guardian angel, since we see that one angel is given to many men (Daniel, iii. 28), and again many to one

man. Thus an angel smote of the people, when David took a census of them, sixty thousand. An angel smote in the camp of the Assyrians one hundred and eighty-five thousand men. On the other hand, the angels are represented in multitudes as engaged for particular purposes, and there is something venerable, excellent, and grand in the idea. For example, David pleased Achis as an angel of God. I. Sam. xxix. 9—"And my lord is wise with the wisdom of an angel." II. Sam. xiv. 20—"For my lord the king is as an angel of God, that he can hear both good and evil." Amongst the Jews the chief person in the Synagogue was called the angel of the congregation. It was requisite for him to have a perfect beard, to be a born Jew, and to exceed all others in wisdom, ability, and holiness, in expounding of the Scriptures. So also is the angel of the New Testament the oldest teacher, the head of the congregation (Revelations, ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, etc.) Christ is the great ambassador and chief messenger (Heb. iii. 1); the uncreated angel, who also went before the Israelites in the pillar of fire (Exod. xxiii. 30); who took upon himself the office of saving mankind. In the Scriptures he is everywhere to be understood where divine names, works, properties, and honours are attributed to an angel. Christ is the angel of the covenant, and already was so understood in the Old Testament; the angel of light, who appeared in the flesh in order to announce to men the covenant of God, "the angel amongst thousands,"—Job. "And the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in,"—Malachi, iii. 1.

The angels appeared in different forms and with symbolical signs, and their sublime images are described in the Revelations of St. John. For instance, in the 13th chapter,—"And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud; and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire." And, again, in the 16th chapter: the angel with the seven vials pouring out the wrath of God. In the 20th chapter: the angel who had the keys of the bottomless pit in his hand, to bind the dragon, the old serpent. By an evil angel is understood a wicked man, a false prophet; for instance, Alexander the coppersmith,—I. Tim. iv. 14. The angel of the bottomless pit, of darkness, the messenger of the devil, or Satan himself. But

general as was the belief in good and bad angels amongst the Jews, there were not wanting sceptics at the appearance of Christ,—as the Sadducees, who methodically denied the existence of spirits and devils, which, however, did not prevent the reception of good and bad angels into the universal belief of the church. For now they were the publishers of the will of God, his servants and messengers, the executors of his commands and judgments, the administrators of various ordinances, even in the phenomena of nature. For example, an angel agitated the waters in the pool of Bethesda,—John, v. 4. The evil angels are as numerous as the good, and they whose power is recognised are legion,—Mark, v. 9. They have even a certain gradation of ranks. Beelzebub is the chief of the devils,—Matthew, xii. 24.

After the Jews had adopted the ideas of the Assyrians as to good and bad spirits, of mischievous and destruction-bringing angels, the faith in their number and might augmented in proportion to the decline of religion, and at the time of Christ had reached such a height that it became as necessary to purify men within as without, and to purge their bodies and spirits equally from diseases. Christ did not bring the spirit-world into religion,—he found it already there; and his mission of emancipation consisted in this, that he conducted men to true virtue and freed them from the power of the devil. For the Prince of Darkness—he who dwells in the air—is cast by the God of peace under our feet,—Romans, xvi. 20. In wickedness the Wicked One had terrible address; what misery he brought upon pious Job! what anguish he occasioned to David by inducing him to number the people! But what availed his power against Christ? His temptations had dared to attack the inner and divine principle: but Christ cast all those false pretences behind him; and his power and authority were so great that he cast out the devils who had taken possession of others, and released the possessed from the pains of hell. But the fiends did not quit their hold on men without a fierce resistance, nor did they always disappear without a trace. The devils of two possessed who came out of the tombs, and were so terrible that they made the country of the Gergasenes quite unsettled, implored the Lord that they might enter into a herd of swine; "and the whole herd ran head-

long into the sea, and were drowned in the waters,"—Matt. viii. 28: a circumstance as interesting to the anthropologists as to the pious believers. The following passages in the gospel, the special anthropological interpretation of which I leave to the reader, are both expressive and important. For instance, "The devil sows tares amongst the good wheat,"—Matt. xiii. 24. He assumes the form of an angel of light,—II. Corinth. xi. 14. He goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,—I. Peter, v. 8. He produces also bodily disease; as the woman, who had the spirit of sickness for eighteen years, was bent and could scarcely look up,—Luke, xiii. 11. He blinds the senses "till they recover themselves out of the snares of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will,"—II. Timothy, ii. 26. The following passages are also important:—"Heal the sick; cast out devils,"—Matt. x. 8. "And they said of John, he has a devil,"—Matt. xi. 18; and of Christ, that he drove out the devils through Beelzebub. "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil,"—Ephesians, vi. 11. "Take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." "The devil will throw some of you into prison. He who sins is of the devil." He is also called metaphorically a devil in the Scriptures, who has a lying, calumnious spirit. The tables of the devil are feasts dedicated to idols, and at the same time to the devil. False gods, as some literally interpret it, are imps of the devil. Subtlety bears the name of serpent; devilish cruelty is represented under the name of a lion (I. Peter, v. 8); dominion amongst the children of unbelief under the image of a prince. The devil has not so much power as a divine tolerance.

When the godless have resisted the gentle drawings of the Holy Spirit, and have rejected grace, till they have forgotten God in their darkness, and are become as dry stubble, the devil finds in them his prey, and enters into them. If the pious are tempted like Job for the wise purposes of God, they kiss the paternal hand of God in humility, and hold fast their faith, so that to them who serve God and love their neighbours all things are well,—Romans, viii. 28. The Holy Ghost enters into them, so that the hellish lion has no power over them. They arm themselves with spiri-

tual weapons out of the armoury of Christ,—Ephesians, vi. 11. They pray fervently, are "sober and vigilant,"—I. Peter, v. 8. They resist in faith and avoid sin, and "they overcome all spiritual enemies through the blood of the Lamb,"—Revelations, xii. 11. So that they exclaim joyfully, "Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ,"—I. Corinthians, xv. 57.

Just as it is dark or bright in the inner man, do the objective impulses clothe themselves in correspondent terms; as soon as it is quiet within, the outward tempest of the world ceases. "Fear only has its seat," says Schiller, "where heavy and shapeless masses prevail, and the gloomy outlines waver between uncertain boundaries. Man rises superior to every terror of nature as soon as he is able to give it a form, and can make it a definite object. When he begins to assert his independence against nature as an appearance, he also asserts his dignity against nature as a power, and in all freedom stands up boldly before his gods. He tears away the masks from the spectres which terrified his childhood, and they surprise him with his own image, for they are merely his own imaginations."

The idea of the divine and the spiritual adapt themselves to the individual and national mind, and the historical advance of cultivation; and if every representation or thought which the mind entertains modify itself according to circumstances, and if every fact be presented in a peculiar light, still the objective foundation which occasions the thought and the representation is not, therefore, wholly inoperative; or, in other words, the motive to the representation may be an outward spiritual power. Who will assert that man is an isolated being, standing alone in creation? who will deny a manifold variety of spiritual powers? and who knows the ways and means through which the Creator and Ruler of the world influences mankind? But spirits and devils are not that which they, for the most part, appear in flesh and in clothes; they are lifeless shapes of the imagination, and not belonging to space and physics, as they are so often believed to be, for the spiritual excludes the idea of natural space. No spirit can appear in nature as a shade, or as a sensible shape, being destitute of material substance which can act as a reflector of sensation from without. What, then, is the external

charm or the internal germ of the conception and birth of all the fables and phantasmagoria of all nations and all individuals?

It was not, in fact, merely the representation of spirits, and their influence on the physical and spiritual nature of man that Christianity has transmitted from the East, but the various species of magic were a heritage from the earliest times from Egypt, the fatherland of magic. Astrology, the casting of nativities, exorcism, are mentioned by Isaiah. "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee,"—Isaiah, xvii. 12, 13.

The court magicians of Pharaoh are acknowledged to be real magicians, who turned water into blood, and made frogs and all sorts of vermin appear. How beautifully Isaiah makes answer to this:—"And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? from the living to the dead?"—Isaiah, viii. 19.

Very extraordinary things took place in those times during the exorcism of spirits, and especially in remote places; and equally extraordinary ones occurred in the attempts of female sorcerers, as in that of the Witch of Endor in Samuel, xviii. 7. The penal laws of Moses speak expressly of such women. "A witch thou shalt not suffer to live." Of such men and women togther:—"If a man or a woman be a sorcerer or an astrologer, they shall die the death."

We will now see how the belief in spirits and in sorcery gradually shaped and completed itself in Christianity, till it finally issued in superstition and unbelief in the witch-period of the Middle Ages.

In the early period of Christianity, men made little difference between the natural and the supernatural. Everything extraordinary was to them magical, or everything miraculous was a demoniac or theistic event. The laws of nature were not understood, and almost everything

unusual, therefore, belonged to the sphere of miracle, which every one explained according to his own ideas. The chief opposition of the heathen, however, originated in the fact that the Christians represented the heathen gods altogether as evil spirits, who occasioned trouble and crime, and, indeed, asserted that the devil, enraged that his kingdom was overthrown by Christ, endeavoured to revenge himself by stirring up all the demon hosts and all heathendom in hostility to it. See Münscher's History of Dogmas; Meyer's Historia diaboli, seu comment. de diaboli malorumque spirituum existentia," etc. Tübingen, 1780.

"Demons," says Tatian (Orat. ad Græc.), "are the founders of idolatry; and to satisfy their pride, allow themselves to be worshipped by the heathens as gods." He styles the devil *προτοίως δαίμων*. From them proceed all the miracles that are necessary for the authentication of idolatry; and they are the originators of oracles, by which they mock men with neologic-epigrammatic sentences (Athen. leg. Tertull. apolog. c. 29). By their aid the magical arts are maintained (Clemens Alex. cohort. ad gentes). They strive to injure men in every possible way, by public calamities, failure of crops, dearths, diseases, and all kinds of disastrous accidents (Origenes advers. Cels. viii. §. 31). The devil and the demons, or heathen gods and their assistants, are incessantly basely endeavouring to seduce men to sin and unbelief (Justin.) According to their fine organization, they are able to act upon the body and the soul (Tertullian). Justin says expressly, that they cherish the most deadly hatred to the Christians, because they will not flatter their pride, because they will not honour them, and because they are able to chase them away in the name, and by the holy cross of Christ."

In the early ages, people had such gross ideas of demons that they regarded them as beings who had need of nourishment, which consisted in the smoke and incense of offerings, which even the acute Origen asserted (Exhortat. ad Myst. iii. 572); and also earlier teachers, as Tertullian, Athenagoras, etc., perfectly agree with him. The possibility of evil spirits being chased away by exorcism and by the cross was taught by Tertullian, Lactantius, Gregorius, etc. See Horst's Demonology, where is introduced the passage

from Genesis, vi. 2: "And the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair," by which many understand angels and giants.

One daring assertion of the Gnostics and Christians to be found in the three first centuries, is that a demon, or a legion of such, is appointed to each soul at its birth. A class of holy people or priests were maintained, who occupied themselves exclusively with the demon-world and with the possessed, from which miracle upon miracle arose, until the matter became so desperate that St. Augustin declared that miracles must now cease, as Christianity was widely spread, that men might become spiritual and inward, and no longer depend on mere outward things; and he again returned to this subject in his work "De Civitate Dei," where he relates a multitude of miracles which occurred in his time, and especially of the healing of the possessed.

We spoke, in the sorcery of the ancient times, of a glance,—a magical operation without touch, which in the old language was called the evil eye. The knowing and inquiring ones, the prophets of the future, had their own peculiar customs, incantations, and forms of blessing; and Grimm says that, as in antiquity, our expressions of crying out, muttering, invoking, and abjuring, are derived from these forms of sorcery; for example—spells, female utterers of spells, female conjurors, etc. were terms familiar amongst them. Galdra was called a spoken magic, which was not punishable. Galdra, that is, *fascinare*, to bewitch, galdercraft, magic, magus, incantare, enchanter, to bewitch by singing. A light recitation, murmur, *inmurmurare*, was the same as conjuration; and *raunen* yet means to speak secretly: *susurrare*, to conjure, and conjuration, are of like meaning. One mode of conjuration was by casting lots, and prognosticating by cups. Witch feasts were held on mountains and in woods at fixed times, from the earliest times of paganism, where unlawful trials were held. On the first May night the great assembly was held in meadows, under oaks and linden-trees, but more especially on the Brocken.

The proper faith in sorcery and witchcraft, in the sense of later times, dates from about the fourteenth century, in direct contrast to the heathen faith. Angels and devils were now of higher rank, more spiritual, or of a more

supernatural character than the earlier ones who had so much intercourse with man. The devil no longer dwelt voluntarily in the possessed; man was, to a certain degree, himself responsible for his waywardness and his sins, and became an ally of the wicked one. During the growth of this opinion, however, a singular process of intellectual fermentation was taking place; the Platonic philosophy, unbelief, freethinking, and superstition, all stirred up, entered, as it were, into a zealous rivalry of attack upon pure Christianity, as a final endeavour to sustain in Europe sinking heathenism. The supernatural power of working miracles in the Christians occasioned even more and more the decline of paganism, and augmented the number of zealous disciples. On the other hand, the heathen exerted all their magical power, and exhibited before the Christians the oracles of their gods, their mysteries and miracles; and presented a magical champion in opposition to every apostle and martyr. Both parties vaunted their histories of miracles, but with this difference, that the Christians attributed the miracles of the heathen to the devil, their own to the power of God. Each party asserted, as proofs of their authenticity, the favour of heaven. The contest was fierce, the fire began already to glow, and many writings also were burnt with the idols; for instance, those of Epicurus. Though disbelief and superstition grew, yet Christianity maintained the ascendancy, and its higher, divine spirit rose in the conflict, as well in theoretic as in practical respects, ever more victorious; but in the fervour of the fullest zeal, it could not entirely cast from it the spots and rags of superstition. Thus, Theodoret relates (Historia eccles. v. c. 21) that the Bishop Marcellus in Syria, in the fourteenth century, with the help of the Prefect, attempted to burn a temple of Jupiter, but a black devil always extinguished the flame. The Bishop, however, caused a cask of water to be placed on the high altar, and after a prayer and the sign of the cross the water burnt like oil, and the idol temple was consumed to ashes.

The power of the saints began also to assert itself over physical substances; and the Frankish historian, Gregory of Tours, in the sixteenth century, records the miraculous power of a holy oil against cramps and possessions. On

certain festivals demoniacs appeared in the churches raving, so that they terrified the congregations and broke the lamps. But as soon as the oil fell upon them the demons departed out of them, and they became themselves again (Histor. Franc. lib. x. Ruinart's Ausg.) Thus were gradually collected the materials for the genuine witch-faith of later times; for the sorcerers and sorceresses of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were unknown in the early period of Christianity.

The fathers of the church had in the meantime, powerfully and publicly, though involuntarily, contributed, by treating demonology according to the ideas of their time, and opening a wide door to the devil. Thus, for instance, St. Jerome himself (Opp. T. iv.; which compare with Horst's Dæmonomagie, i. 55), in the fifth century, had often, from his lively temperament, to fight with the devils in an extraordinary manner; once even they heartily flogged him, because in his beautiful Latin he was rather a Ciceronian than a Christian, which afterwards, indeed, he treated as a mere dream. He really believed, also, in his narrow cell at Bethlehem that he heard the trumpets of the angels. "That which had a good lesson for future times," says Horst, "was, that authors then began to write in such a style that the devil had no further occasion to chastise them for their elegant diction." The ideas of Augustine had a direct tendency to countenance the belief in the intercourse of witches and devils (De civitate Dei, lib. xv. c. 23). Gregory the Great relates incredible things of the possessed (Dialogon, vulg. Thomasius, Historical Inquiry into the Origin of the Witch-Prosecutions.)

The first trace of a formal pact with the devil, in a judicial sense, is to be found in the sorcery period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and according to Schmager and Thomasius, in Basilius the Great, who had a slave who had made a pact with the devil, and whom he again "in integrum restituisti." The idea of the possibility of such an agreement existed, however, much earlier,—an agreement in which a mutual bond was entered into, the soul being given up to the evil one for money, honour, and riches. Thus had even St. Theophilus (Acta SS. 4 Febr.: compare with Semler and Horst) made himself over voluntarily to

the devil, but on his earnest prayer to the Holy Virgin he finally got the fatal manuscript back again, at the sight of which he was seized with horror and consternation. Such individual cases, though rare, occur very early, and scattered the seed of the later growth of belief in infernal magic, though in the twelfth century the heathenish delusion of men having intercourse with devils was rejected by the Christians. The magic offerings, the conjuration of the dead, the divining by dreams and stars, were then zealously denounced as relics of heathenism, and, therefore, it was a great mistake to enact punishments for such nonsense, such delusion, or such simplicity. The true faith in witch-sorcery, the cruel witch inquisitions, and the punishment of compacts with the devil, may, however, be traced from this period.

The stories of the flying forth and riding about of magicians in the air, usually by night, but sometimes by day, appear in the fifteenth century, and are of old heathenish origin, and connected with women of bad character. Amongst the resolutions of the Council of Ancyra, in the middle of the fifteenth century, is one concerning women who profess to ride about at night on all kinds of beasts with Diana and Herodias. (See Council of Ancyra, in Mans; Semler, Th. i. p. 138; Fuchs, Bibl. of Assemblies of the Church, Th. ii., where it treats of the miracles of the pagan demons in wells, trees, and stones.)

Grimm, indeed, traces the general assemblies of witches for play and lewdness, for cooking and feasting, to an earlier period. The Salic laws speak of witch-kettles and witch-kettle-carriers. They held their assemblies especially at salt springs, and Tacitus himself says (Ann. xiii. 57), "If the women or priestesses attended to the preparation of salt, the salt-kettles also stood under their care, and thus the people of after ages connected the boiling of salt and witchcraft. On certain festival days the witches assembled in the sacred wood on the mountain, where the salt boiled up, bringing with them cooking vessels, spoons, and forks. Their salt-pans, however, were boiled at night. Halle in Austrian means Salzaha, Sala, or the huts at the salt-springs; whence the popular belief that the fiends rode on besoms, oven-forks, or faggots, over hill and dale to Halle" (Grimm, 589). Grimm also points out these nocturnal flights in

the Edda. The Scandinavian sorceresses are there stated to have ridden on wolves, and to have tamed snakes. Grimm gives, from authentic sources, many interesting particulars of these witch-journeys and gatherings.

Horst, in his "Dæmonomagie," treats at great length of the sorcery-period from the sixth to the thirteenth century. All kinds of belief in magic shaped themselves, through so many centuries, even more fantastically and richly, till they were finally worked into a complete system in the Hexenhammer. The characteristic feature of this period seems to be, the more determinate form and the greater distinctness with which the devil, who earlier had been a creature of the fancy, now pushed himself forward bodily, and placed himself by the side of the saints in all his power and influence. Instead of giving many quotations, Horst singles out the terrible devils of the pious Guthlac, according to his own description of them—"They had thick, broad, and large heads, long necks, thin yellow faces, long, dirty beards, horse-teeth, fiery eyes like burning coals (the black eyes glowing like embers appear more frequently in the annihilating process of the Templars), fiery throats, wide mouths, swelled knees, crooked legs, and feet turned backwards." And now behold the contest with these repulsive beings! When Guthlac prayed or gave himself up to pious contemplations, they hauled him out of his cell, plunged him into bogs, dragged him through hedges and thorn-bushes, lashed him with iron whips, bore him on their hideous wings now high into the air, now down into the depths of the earth, then deep into the waters, or again into the fire-caves, where they torment the souls of men. By fervent calling upon St. Bartholomew, he at length rescued himself from these tormenting devils. The apparitions of the devil to other hermits, and their temptations, particularly those of St. Anthony and Macarius, are well known.

In the eighth century, when people already began to work out the dogmatic system, superstition kept pace with it, and advanced to the utmost absurdity. John of Damascus, at first in the service of a Saracenic Caliph, afterwards a monk in the monastery of Saba in Jerusalem, a writer of high reputation, speaks of the devils as no other than flying dragons, as burning, long serpents thick as pine-

trees, who speed through the air, and enter through windows, and have communication with those in alliance with them. He also speaks, completely in the spirit of the after witch-times, of sorcery by which men and beasts are tormented, by which children are bewitched even in their mothers' wombs, who are destroyed at the time of birth ; and of others whose livers are entirely eaten away. Some, however, attribute these accounts to spurious manuscripts.

The stories of witches carrying on their plans of sorcery by changing themselves into the shapes of beasts, were extant much earlier than the middle ages, though in a more undetermined and fanciful form,—as bears' heads and war-wolves. In the Templar prosecutions, the cat and he-goat metamorphoses showed themselves; and also those into other natural productions,—such as apples, toads, etc. These animal metamorphoses, in which a vast deal of haunting and wickedness took place, are mentioned, amongst others, by Luitprand, who was first Bishop of Cremona, and at that time imperial ambassador at Constantinople, and in the year 963 interpreter at Rome (Descriptio legationis ad Niceph. Phocam, published by Baroni, Canisius, etc.) Bewitching was common amongst the Bulgarians, and particularly bewitching of women. Clear-headed men, however, were not wanting, who endeavoured to check the progress of this devil-practice. Amongst these was Ratherius, Bishop of Verona in the tenth century; and his exposures of these absurdities shone like sparks of fire, says Horst, in the general darkness of the time (Extracts from his Writings by Dachery, Spicileg. t. i.)

The power and number of the devils grew in proportion to the increasing numbers and authority of the saints ; and we might almost say that the history of the devils is the most interesting one of the time. In science and in art, in labour and conflict, in victory and enterprise, the devils at this period played the chief part in the world, and it was as much matter of faith to believe in the miracles performed by the devil as in those performed by God the Father and Son. Thence it came that people rather consented to enter, as it were, silently into the alliance of the devil than to expose themselves to his wrath and persecution. In the compacts with the devil men promised to serve him for ever, to do as

much mischief and evil as they could; and, on the other hand, the devil promised all possible protection and prosperity, and immunity from the influence of friends or enemies. The contract was generally signed with the blood of the mortal contractor, and on the other part the devil marked him with a mole, that made the possessor of it invulnerable to stabs, blows, or gunshots. These moles the executioners of the Inquisition had to discover. The devil was accustomed to give to the breath of those in compact with him a magic power which no maiden was able to resist. They became mad with love of him who possessed this power, as soon as his breath had touched their nostrils. This practice seems to have been discovered in France, and to have been more particularly in vogue there. The faith in such compacts and base practices continued firm till the seventeenth century. Even in 1689 a celebrated teacher at Jena wrote "De nefando Lamiarum cum diabolo coitu."

Such compacts were also formed on a large scale; even cities and communities entered into agreement to pay yearly sums to the sorcerers and dealers in the black-art, that the weather-makers, chiefly women, and often miserable old women, might protect their fields against damage from hail and failure of crop. In the writings of Agobard, the bishop of Lyons in 841, "Contra Judicia Dei," in Henke's Church History, Th. ii., we find a description of this period, and of the most zealous endeavours to put a stop to the superstition which died away like a voice in the wilderness. Other heads of the church also attacked this general and increasing madness,—as Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, etc., who left many writings behind them, amongst which those "De Magicus Artibus" are most to our present purpose. Amongst those magic arts people of that time reckoned the production of vermin, worms, and maggots. By exorcism, however, they believed that these and other productions of the devil might be destroyed, since the power of God and of his saints was the greater. Horst gives examples from Maynald and Dell' Ossa, how people at Lausanne, and afterwards at Troyes in France, in the fifteenth century, expelled by the bann, through the prayers of the Holy Church, mischievous beasts which devoured the gardens and orchards, but which were

compelled to take their departure at the striking of one o'clock, to seek their prey in other countries.

But not merely were bribes given, punishment was severely enacted against these conjurations; which appears far the more natural, since wicked men and cheats, under the pretence of being possessed or mad, made the streets and highways dangerous, and committed robberies, violence, and murders. Never, as it appears, has the corruption of morals reached a higher pitch than in the ninth and tenth centuries. The most audacious contempt of all law and order, perjury, shameless defiance of honour and good manners, especially in the southern countries and in Italy, were the order of the day; and the discipline of the church was at the same time in the most deplorable condition. The sword of justice, alas! rarely struck the guilty; and the base sorcerers of the time increased in proportion to the wretched condition of the courts of law. The Ordeal was brought into use as the judgment of God, which was to discover innocence, on the principle that God will not allow it to perish: but horrible abuse and delusion took the place of just judgment and calm enquiry. Everything which deviated from ordinary life was set down as sorcery, and every one who distinguished himself in any manner was condemned as a master of the black art: learned men were not rarely accused as such; nay, once even a Pope, Sylvester II., was declared to have seized on the papal tiara by means of this black art.

After absurdity had thus reached its acme, the moral and intellectual horizon began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to grow lighter. Many external attractions, as the Crusades, increase of knowledge, and religious enlightenment, and often, indeed, wit, expelled the terrible devils and the frightful sorcery. The devil was generally represented in fables, ballads, and spiritual comedies, as a cunning wag, who, as a subtle deceiver, carried on much sport; but who by the help of a saint, or the exhibition of relics, or the making the sign of the cross, was easily expelled.

The devil, however, did not long tolerate this subjection: in the thirteenth century he began again to rage more mightily. New kinds of heretics came forth with new names, as Beguins, Lollards, Spiritualists, Waldenses, Texerants, or Weavers, etc. A young girl belonging to the

Texerants of the neighbourhood of Trier, which country was especially notorious for sorcery, was burnt in the fourteenth century, though her witch-instructress and reckless seducer escaped by means of a piece of twine out of the window. Old women were now particularly the object of suspicion, because they would not confess that they occasionally appeared as toads, or that they had witnessed such transformations; for toads now came forward as disguised demons in the arena of witchcraft. Trier particularly distinguished itself at that time, for many deviations from the orthodox faith existed there. In a Synod held there in 1231 against heresy the question was,—"tribus in ea urbe scholis eorum?"

The devil now first appeared amongst the male heretics in the form of tom-cats and he-goats; amongst the women as toads and geese, and finally as cats. Gregory IX. writes of such toads and geese to Prince Henry, the son of the Emperor Frederick, as "the outwardly evil shapes, because his inner person was overcome by Jesus Christ." After many witches and three wizards had been burnt at Trier, the burning of such people, according to Semler, spread extensively in those countries, quite to the Rhine, so that at length earnest complaints were made in Mainz, that many totally innocent people had been burnt, because they would not confess that they were occasionally toads; and one Ansfried there confessed that he had himself put many innocent people to death for that reason. And now the frenzy passed over from old women and common people to nobles and counts, and they were accused of witchcraft with such unsparing violence that the evil was obliged to be put an end to. An example of false wit, of the greatness and universality of the heretical faith, is shewn by the following passage in a bull of Pope Gregory IX., where it is said:—"Novitio præcedenti occurrit miri palloris homo, nigerrimos habens oculos, adeo extenuatus et macer, quod consumptis carnibus sola cutis relicta videtur ossibus superducta. Hunc novitius osculatus sensit frigidum sicut glaciem, et post osculum catholicæ memoria fidei de ipsius corde totaliter evanescit." In the same vein he proceeds:—"Completo convivio, per quondam statuam, quæ in scholis hujusmodi esse solet, descendit retrorsum, ad modum canis mediocris,

cattus niger, retorta cauda, quem a posterioribus primo novitius (thus the bishop first, infecting the others) post magister, deinde singuli per ordinem osculantur, qui tamen digni sunt et perfecti. Et tunc per loca sua positis, dictisque quibusdam carminibus, ac versus cattum capitibus inclinatis—parce nobis, dicit magister, etc. Is ita peractis, extinguuntur can delæ et proceditur fœtidissimum opus luxuriæ," etc. (Horst, a. a. O. S. 94 and iii.)

Towards the end of the thirteenth century there existed already many books on witchcraft in various languages, especially in the Netherlands and in Germany, the essential contents of which consisted in the art of expelling the devil. By this means the fear of the devil, superstition, and belief in the apparition of spirits, became universal. As the ceremonies of religion were abused by their almost entire application to controlling of spirits, so did the discharge of justice consist chiefly in the Inquisition. In the growing ascendancy of monastic life, fanaticism and the world of dreams flourished luxuriantly, and the phenomena of saints and devils reached their widest development. According to the accounts of Raynald, Aimericus, Param, etc., the absurdities of that period stood on a very broad and lofty platform. A nun named Marcella, for instance, was extremely persecuted by the devil, but the angel Gabriel brought her a piece of wood out of Paradise, with the smoke of which she drove away the devil.

The Arhbishop Edmund of Canterbury was greatly persecuted by the devil, when a child appeared to him with the inscription on its brow,—Jesus Nazar: Rex Judæorum. There are no end of such stories told by the monks. It is remarkable that the visions of saints and angels diffused an odour of sanctity; but those of bestial shapes and devils, on the contrary, brought with them a certain falling away from God. How widely diffused witchcraft then was, is evinced by the account of Raynald, who says, "that in Germany and Italy especially, such numbers of men were seduced to sorcery that the whole earth was overflowed by it, and would have been laid waste by the devil, had they not in both countries burnt some thirty thousand heretics."

It may here be seen that the witch persecution has been falsely attributed to the later Pope Innocent VIII. and his witch-bull; which accusation in part Thomasius and Becker

have themselves brought forward as the most hardy antagonists of the witch-faith. That the process of persecution already in the fourteenth century, when the faith in witchcraft was very common, was considered a valid and, as it were, a Christian right, is proved amongst other things, by the acts of the Templars in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and many writers, as Semler, Becker, Gottfried Wahrlieb, in his "Justice of the supposed Witchcraft and of the Witch-trials," Halle, 1720: by Kohler, in the "Trial of Joh. Faust," Leipzig, 1791; and especially by Tiedemann in his learned Inquiry, "Disputatio de quæstione quæ fuerit artium magic. origo," Marb. 1784.

From this time forward heresy and witchcraft were placed in the same category. Seeing or having a vision of the devil was deemed the same as having intercourse with him, and a falling from the faith. Raynald has a remarkable passage on this head:—"Valde rationabiliter posset ecclesia statuere, quod talia facientes, etsi non haberent errorem fidei in intellectu, si facerent hæc præcise propter aliquod pactum cum dæmone habitum, velut hæretici punirentur, et forsitan expediret, et propter gravitatem pœne homines a talibus arcerentur."

Any deviation from the orthodox faith was sufficient to class a person amongst the heretics, as the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Stedingses, the Manicheans, etc.; under which all varieties of opinion were placed. To these belongs the persecution of the Templars, and their judicial arraignment, which was the cause of the annihilation of this celebrated order. There were two principal classes of accusations brought forward, which had the effect of abolishing the order. 1st. The denial of God and of Christ, in the articles I.—XIII. 2nd. The worship of the devil and sorcery, Articles XIV.—LVII. Amongst many books, there is one pre-eminently severe against the Templars,—"The Proceedings against the Order of Templars, and the Original of the Papal Commission in France," by Dr. G. Moldenhawer, Hamburg, 1792, and a profound essay on the abolition of the Order by Fr. Munter in Henke's N. Magazine, Vol. 5. Without the fact having been proved, it was taken for granted against the Templars that they were enemies of God; and it was thence argued that their external Christianity was blas-

phemous hypocrisy, and that they worshipped the devil in the shape of a black cat like their fellows the Manicheans, Stedingenses, etc. Against these last Gregory IX. had already, as against heretics, deists, and sorcerers, issued an interdict in the year 1232 (Henke's Magazine, Vol. iv.) They were from the village of Steding, and also called the heretics of Osterstedten. (See Halen's "History of the Dukedom of Oldenburg," Vol. i.; and "Ritter de pago Steding et Stedingis," Viterb. 1751.)

After the witch-faith had thus adapted itself to all forms, and spread itself in all directions, it rose to its complete height and growth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The black mystery now rested on authority and law, on the spiritual and secular powers; superstition sacrificed to the devil, and absurdity persecuted the miserable lunatic witches, and burnt them as heretics. Thenceforward, from the fourteenth century, were witchcraft and heresy put into the same category, by which means the devil was kept in ascendant, and was worshipped under various forms of animals and of grotesque idols. An accusation made out of suspicion or enmity was held to be sufficient impeachment; this was followed by the criminal trial, and the trial by the fire-death. It mattered not whether the accused confessed or not. In the first case he was guilty; in the second he was punished as a hardened sinner. We see here the truth of the sentiment already expressed, that when the perception of the laws of nature fails, man hastens rapidly into thick intellectual darkness and heathenism. Never, probably, was the darkening of the mind so universal and so deep as in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; and never was there such a destitution of all talent for the observation of nature, for her language, and the constitution of her laws. All countries, all conditions, all intellects, were entangled in an indescribable manner in the logic of the devil, possessed with his fear, and driven to counsel and action by frenzy and fatuity, by policy and the thirst of vengeance, till the social abode of the earth was converted into an actual hell.

From the thirteenth century downwards, southern France was regarded as the nursery of heresy and the Black Art, to which its location on the Mediterranean and in the

vicinity of Spain particularly contributed,—Spain being regarded as the proscribed land of magic and Saracenic heresy. Thus the oldest relation of the Witch-Sabbath lays the scene of it in southern France; and Alphons. de Spina (Fortalitii fidei, lib. v., of which Wolff's Bibliotheca Hebraica gives a full account) records as contemporary very important witnesses and later *Inquisitor hæreticæ praviatis*—properly, a baptized Jew, that proselyted women, *mulieres perversæ*, in Dauphiné, were seduced by the devil, "quomodo dæmones illudunt fœminas, quæ Bruxe vel Kurgone vocantur," by night into a wilderness, "ubi est caper quidam in rupe," where they worshipped a he-goat upon a rock, by torch-light, "adorant illum caprum, osculantes in ano suo. Idque plures earum ab inquisitoribus fidei æt convictæ ignibus comburuntur."

The notorious Witch-Sabbath of Arras, in 1459, about which time A. de Spina lived, was frequented by men (Hauber, Biblioth. Mag. i. St. S. 85; Cove, historia liter. script. ecclesiast. vol. ii. p. 177); while in the more ancient times it was only resorted to by women. This celebration continued in France, especially in the southern provinces, till the seventeenth century. In the reign of Charles IX. the great sorcerer so much dreaded as Rinaldo *des trois Echelles* was executed, and he said undauntedly before the king that in France he had three hundred thousand confederates, all of whom they could not commit to the flames as they did him (Hauber. ii. p. 454).

Love affairs between spirits and men are, however, of more ancient origin. Elves stole away maidens, and men lived in secret love with female elves. But the coarse conception of Incubus and Succubus is of uncertain origin. although it is mixed up with the later alp and nightmare. The idea of lascivious intercourse of witches is later and of foreign derivation; according to this, free power was conferred on the devil over the witches. The devil was generally called the Bachelor. The witch-compacts had their origin in France or Italy. The devil generally appeared in the shape of a handsome young man, or in a dark and terrible form. The witches also represented him in an animal shape. He was called the Black One in human shape: the Black He-Goat was of high antiquity. The

oaths and wishes of the sixteenth century are a very common formula—may the He-Goat shame him! or by the He-Goat's skull! He was called also the Wolf, the Dog or Cat, thence the Hell-hound, the Black Raven, the Snake, Worm, Dragon, or in the shape of a Fly, as the Caterpillar, the Fly-god. Legends speak of spirits which were inclosed in glass like flies. They were also in earlier times compared to two instruments—the hammer and bolt. According to Grimm, this was derived from the heathen gods, where Hamar, the hammer, was equivalent to death and the devil, thunder and the devil. Little Master Hammer is the same as the Foul Fiend, Hell-bolt, Hell-hand, etc. St. Jerome in his time used *malleus* for devil in a letter to Damascus. By the by, how excellently the Hexen-hammer and the Sorcery-bull agree with the Hell-bolt, for they, in fact, bar the doors of hell, and keep the devil out in the world. The best known marks of the devil are the cloven foot, the goat's beard, the cock's feather, and the ox's tail.

Narbonne, in the south of France, was especially the magic region of Europe, while the Saracens were in Spain, and as there had always been there a number of Manicheans. According to the statements of those times, the magic of Spain had thoroughly fathomed the lowest depths of sorcery; and what the magic practices of Spain failed to effect was supplied by the more irritable temperament of the French, in whose songs, romances, and spiritual comedies, enchanted princes, black charcoal-burners, and bewitched vine-dressers! played their part. From the south of France the belief in magic diffused itself in two principal directions; the one towards Italy, the other towards Paris, the north of France and Lothringen. From Italy, where the witch-mania raged towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and especially in Upper Italy, and where Verona was particularly mentioned in a pope's bull, the witch-fever extended itself into the Tyrol and Upper Germany. The first fires for burning witches here were lighted in Baden and Würtemberg, in Alsace, and the country around Spire and Worms, The metamorphoses of the devil and of sorcerers into beasts, such as dogs, cats, goats, and toads, were very frequent in the south of France; and the Inquisition took down the most crazy statements and accusations as

formal indictments. (Linsborgh, Hist. Inquisit. lib. i. Also Menard, Histoire de la Ville de Nismes.)

Pope John XXII. complains bitterly in a bull of 1317 that a number of his own courtiers, and even his own physician, had given themselves over to the devil, and had conjured evil spirits into rings, looking-glasses, and circles, in order to influence men both at a distance and also near at hand, "nefariis operationibus, magicis artibus horrenda maleficia, incantationes et convocationes dæmonum;" yes, that his enemies even had availed themselves of means of sorcery in order to dispatch him out of the world. This bull contains the commission for the appointment of judges to inquire into these alleged crimes, by which it appears that those sorcerers had little pictures and mirrors, "Conflari imagines plumbeas vel etiam lapideas fabricarunt, malignos spiritus invocarunt, ut per eos contra salutem hominum molirentur, aut eos interimendo violentia carminis," etc. Ten years later the same pope complained of the unholy tendency of men towards the magic arts. "There prevails," he says, "such a darkness, that many *solo nomine Christianos* have forsaken the true light, and have made a compact with hell, and demand of the demons speech and answer—dæmones nempe immolant, hos adorant, fabricant imagines vel speculum, vel phialam, magice dæmones illibi alligantes: ab his petunt responsa, recipiunt et pro implendis pravis suis desideriis auxilia postulant." (Horst, Dæmonomagie, i. 115: according to Raynald, ab anno 1327.) Pope John had occasion to complain, for at that time men employed not merely the means of superstition and sorcery, but actual poison for devilish crimes, especially amongst the great, and at court, of which Tiedemann, Meiner in the Historical Comparison of the Middle Ages, Th. iii. p. 254, and Horst, give many examples. These crimes and superstitions rose so much into the ascendancy, that the Sarbonne, at the suggestion of the excellent Chancellor Gerson, in the year 1398 published seven-and-twenty articles against sorcery, superstition, and pictures in glasses and stones of demons and spirits. Gerson's own essay bears the title "De erroribus circa artem magicam." At Langres also there was a Synod held in 1404, especially to devise means for checking the progress of sorcery.

Finally, the belief in witchcraft reached its acme in the fifteenth century; so that afterwards it only the more strengthened itself by diffusion, and had its dignity augmented by the sacred sanction. The distinction of this century is, that from this time forward they were chiefly women who were accused of witchcraft, after some few, and those men of high rank, had been executed in 1440 on such charges; namely, the minister of Philip the Handsome, Enguerrand de Maigny, and Aegid de Rez, Marshal of France, who had himself destroyed a hundred and sixty children and as many pregnant women. Amongst the women burnt at that period for sorcery was the Maid of Orleans. The prosecution of witches was now formally sanctioned by the sorcery-bull of Innocent VIII.; and, finally, through the Hexenhammer, the tyranny of the Court of Heresy received authority to whirl the whip of destruction, and left the leadership of the world entirely to the devil.

As we have seen, the belief in witchcraft, the witch-trials, and the execution of conjurers, had already preceded this period, so that Innocent was not precisely the originator, but the establisher and promulgator of the witch-prosecutions, and of the now established faith in the arts and devilish doings. The sorcery-bull introduced the courts extraordinary, in which those accused of witchcraft were no longer examined as to their innocence or guilt, but in which consternation and horror followed the accusation, and the punishment was nearly on their heels. Terrible institution! Horrible time! Spectacle of despair for Europe, and especially for Germany! Certainly no other enactment in history can be placed in comparison with this, by which such a multitude of absurdities have been showered down on the human mind—no such ridiculous and yet ferocious historical document.

The contents of the bull of the 4th December, 1484, the work and creation of Innocent VIII., are as follows:—The Pope expresses his grief that, in many parts of Germany, particularly in Upper Germany, Salzburg and Mainz, Cologne, Trier, and Bremen, many persons of both sexes, forgetful of their salvation, and falling away from the

Catholic faith, mingle themselves with demons and paramour-devils (Incubus et succubus abuti), and then by their aid and magical means use devilish arts to torment men and animals, effect unspeakably numerous evils, and destroy the fruits of the earth, as vineyards, gardens, and meadows; disastrously affect both men and women (reactus conjugales reddere valeant), and perpetrate incalculable crimes (quam plurima nefanda excessus et crimina). The Pope conferred, by virtue of this bull, power on three appointed preachers to expound the word of God in those countries to the faithful, to hunt out the heretics, and to punish them by excommunication, censure, and chastisement, by interdict and suspension, and even to hang them without any power of appeal—"ac alias etiam formidabiliores sententias omni appellatione postposita." He commanded the right reverend brother the Bishop of Strasburg, not by any means, either of himself or by others, to make known publicly to the accused the charge against him; he was not allowed to weaken or restrict the power of the said apostolic letters by any means whatsoever; nor to contradict nor resist the orders of the commissioners, let the rank, office, privileges, nobility, or consideration of the accused be whatsoever they might. "Si quis autem hæc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum." The bull is abridged from the original in Hauber's Bibliotheca Mag. vol. i.; and in Horst's Dæmonomagie, vol. ii.

Through this ordnance the inquisitors had an easy game of it, for no one dared to contradict their opinion. It expressly treats of "people who pretend to know more than others, and does not hesitate to assert that such crimes ought to be punished." Thus, there was to be contradiction; every objection which necessity and justice, sagacity and truth, might advocate, was beaten down beforehand; and there could be no appeal whatever to any higher tribunal! General as the belief in witches then was, there were people enough who saw deeper; who had understanding and feeling enough to deny the benefit of so much nonsense, and to deplore the misery and the horrors which must thus

be poured upon mankind. Hitherto the people and the magistracy had only acknowledged the authority of the Pope in matters of faith, but not over offenders of the kind here indicated. Men had, indeed, for some centuries prosecuted heresy, and charged many of the accused with sorcery; for, as we have said, heresy and sorcery were now placed in the same category. But the witch-prosecutions hitherto had not been formally recognised; and the judge might be summoned to a higher tribunal to answer for his judgment; as it happened to the judges of sorcery cases at Arras, who were summoned before the parliament of Paris. The secular magistracy had hitherto had the deciding judgment. By the present bull, heresy and sorcery were linked together. "He who believes otherwise is a sorcerer; and he who is bewitched is a heretic, or a confederate of the devil." Through this change of authority a terrible innovation was made, and the secular power was placed in subjection to that of the inquisitors. No wonder that this bull was regarded by the sensible people of all conditions, even by clergymen and preachers, with the most decided repugnance; as we find expressly stated in the introduction to the Hexenhammer. "Even preachers of the Divine Word did not hesitate to assure the people that there were no such things as witches; that they had no arts by which they could injure men and animals; by which imprudent language the secular arm was not unfrequently restrained from punishing such sorceries; and thus they became amazingly increased, and heresy became enormously strengthened."

Malleus maleficarum, in German the Hexenhammer, in plain English the Witch-hammer, expresses admirably in each language the nature of the instrument. A hammer is made for striking; it crushes what it strikes. Here was the hammer for the heretics, who were held to be synonymous with evil-doers; and indeed, as the book expressed, maleficarum. Thus the witches were the wicked, heretical women (hæreticæ pravitatis) whom the hammer was to demolish, and which we must examine more closely.

This ominous book appeared first, probably, in 1489, and consisted of 625 pages in quarto. This was the original edition as quoted by Hauber. There were subsequent

editions, but they were never translated into German. The complete title stands thus:—

MALLEUS MALEFICARUM

In tres partes divisus, in quibus

I. Concurrentia ad maleficia;
II. Maleficiorum effectus,
III. Remedia adversus maleficia,

Et modus denique procedendi ac puniendi maleficas abunde continetur, præcipue autem omnibus inquisitoribus et divini verbi concionatoribus utilis et necessarius.

The authors were appointed by the Pope, and were styled in the sorcery-bull Inquisitors. 1st. Jacobus Sprenger, ordinis prædicorum et theologiæ professor in Cologne. 2nd. Johannes Gremper, clericus Constantien. diocess., magister in artibus; and 3rd. Henricus, Institor in Germany. They were expressly called "Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis." According to Becker and Hauber, there were others engaged with them in the composition of it. In the apology prefixed to the book the editors say distinctly, that they gathered matter rather than furnished it originally, in order that they might not be considered as the originators of it. As their authorities, they gave the names of Dionysius Areopagitus, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Hilarius, Augustin, Gregory I., Remigius, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Rabbi Mose, the "Vitæ sanctorum patrum," Concilia, Jura canonica, Biblia sacra, etc. Besides these sacred supports, the following secular writers were quoted:—M. Psellus, *de natura dæmonorum*, Martin Plausius, Bishop of Tübingen, *de maleficiis*, Bartholomew de Spina, *de ludificatione dæmonorum*.

To the book, as was natural, was prefixed the papal bull, and also a testimony of approbation extracted by the fanatical authors from the theological faculty of Cologne. Finally, they contrived to obtain from the Emperor Maximilian, who himself entertained doubts as to the existence of sorcery, a diploma. And now, says Horst, all was in order; and to their ferocious, humanity-outraging regulations, no further opposition could be made. Unfortunate Fatherland, worthy of all pity! Thee it concerned before

all other countries! For, in order to secure to themselves universal and undisputed lordship, to overcome all hindrances, and to stupify all minds alike, it was necessary to have a complete book, which demonstrated from the sacred Scriptures, from the fathers of the church, from philosophical and theological writings and authorities, not only the possibility, but the actuality of sorcery,—should demonstrate it far beyond all doubt; the dogmas of these works must become law; and must receive the highest sanction of both spiritual and secular princedoms, in order that the witch-prosecutions should stand as a most momentous affair of God and of Christianity, and should thus bring the whole human race into subjection.

The Hexenhammer was, in fact, the codex, in which everything was clearly and fully set forth which belonged to witchcraft. Sprenger and his assistants have reduced witchcraft into a regular system, which raised on the foundation of the papal command, and placed under the legal protection of the secular magistracy, must be carried into execution by a few cunning witch-judges, against whom neither reason nor innocence, neither honour nor rank, may utter a syllable of disapprobation; nay, was not allowed any appeal to the keys of St. Peter at Rome, so that all rescue should be utterly impossible, and no bounds be set to the career of destruction.

In the Hexenhammer, the idea of witchcraft is systematically determined. Witches, sorcerers, and sorceresses, are people who deny God, and renounce him and his grace; who have made a league with the devil; have given themselves up to him body and soul: who attend his assemblies and sabbaths, and receive from him poison-powder, and, as his subjects, receive command from him to injure and to destroy men and animals; who, through devilish arts, stir up storms, damage the corn, the meadows, and the fields, and confound the powers of nature. The sorcerers were called Malefici, according to Isidorus, on account of their malignity, because they, with the help of the devil, bring even the elements into confusion. As the witches are more especially the objects of his attention, and as they carry on more feminine avocations, such as milking the neighbours' cows, making witch-butter, fortune-telling, etc., they are the

more numerous offenders; yet are the wizards not to be overlooked in the Hexenhammer; for these have it in their nature to be more engaged in maiming, stabbing, striking and shooting dead.

The Hexenhammer is, according to the prefixed apology, divided into three principal parts, containing various chapters and episodes, but very confused and full of contradictions. I can here only give a cursory view of it, referring for a more extended one to Horst's "Dæmonomagie."

The first division contains eighteen queries on all that presents itself under the head of sorcery; namely, 1st. the devil; 2nd. the sorcerer or witch; and 3rd. the divine permission. The devil is the chief person, through whose aid sorcery takes place by the divine permission. The belief in this is orthodox; the assertion of the contrary is heresy. This is the great principle, which is fortified by a multitude of quotations: to show the power of the devil in natural and bodily things, yet with the profound addition, that it is heresy to believe that God is not the stronger, and that nature is his own proper work. The devil has only power through God's permission; and he works either directly or by delusion. Sprenger admits, too, in his way, deceptions of the imagination, but asserts that they are more frequently the devil's work, though heresy is often to be attributed rather to the imagination than to the devil. If the witches believe that they are making their excursions through the air with Diana or Herodias, it is properly with the devil that they do it, who operates on the imagination, and then the witch, when she is in her trance, believes in the devil and in the excursion.

The second division contains the query respecting the essential characteristics of witchcraft over station and knowledge. Ignorance is not wholly excusable, because people should conquer their ignorance.

On the question, how the devil acts in witches, it is answered: "The devil operates, in fact, alone, as in the case of Job; but the witches are necessary instruments for his corporal actions, because the devil being a spiritual being, needs a vehicle through which to exercise his power. Many have greenish eyes, the glance of which injures. Natural things have all sorts of secret properties, which the witches

know, and therewith perform various wonders; for instance, they lay something under the door-sills and bewitch men and beasts—nay, even destroy them, the devil being actually present on the occasions. The witches bewitch; and sometimes by their bleared eyes. These bleared eyes are inflamed eyes; these inflame the air, and even sound eyes, but especially when these bleared eyes fix themselves in a direct line with the healthy ones."

The third most beautiful and highly important question is, whether in the connections with the devil real children are begotten? This question is often asked in the witch-trials. The question is answered succinctly in the affirmative; to doubt it were heresy.

The fifth question treats of the influence of stars on plants, animals, and men, of course by the help of the devil, whose names, as Diabolus, Belial, Beelzebub, the god of flies, are etymologically thence derived.

One of the most entertaining chapters is the answer to the sixth query, why women are more given to sorcery than men. Here there is no lack of merry monkish wit. "The holy fathers of the church," it says, "always assert that three things, whether for good or for evil, know no bounds; namely, the tongue, a priest, and a woman. As to the tongue, it is quite clear that the Holy Ghost conferred fiery tongues on the apostles: amongst preachers the tongue is like the tongues of the dogs which licked the sores of Lazarus. So there are amongst all men, amongst the clergy as well as others, wicked and unwholesome tongues; for as the holy Bernard says:—'Nostri prælati facti sunt Pilati, nostri pastores facti sunt tonsores.' (Our shepherds are become sheep-shearers.) As to women, it is also very clear; for the wise Solomon gives his experience of them, and what St. Chrysostom says does not sound very flattering:—'Marriage is a very doubtful thing; for what is a woman but an enemy to friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a perpetual fountain of tears, a mischief of nature overlaid with a glittering varnish?' Seneca says: 'A woman loves or hates; there is no third course. If she weeps there is deceit afloat, for two sorts of tears bedew the eyes of women: the one kind are evidences of their

pain, the other of their deceit and their cunning.' But of good wives the fame also is unbounded; and men, and indeed whole countries, have been saved by them." But the Witch-hammer turns quickly from this subject, and draws this immediate conclusion—that women are more addicted to sorcery than men—from these causes: 1st. from their easiness of faith; 2nd. from the weakness of their constitutions, by which they become more susceptible to revelations (thus, a weakness and yet a higher endowment from God are attributed to them); 3rd. on account of their slippery tongues, and their inquisitive wits, by which they tempt the devil, *i. e.*, put questions to him,—get too far with him to get back again. A whole host of crimes are then enumerated against the female sex, as squabbling, envy, stiffneckedness (because they were made out of Adam's crooked rib). Already in Paradise Eve practised deceit, and showed a want of faith, for *femina* comes from *fe*—faith, and *minus*—less.

The eighth and ninth queries are a sort of continuation; the tenth query is, whether it be deception or reality when men appear to be turned into beasts by the witches? Here truth precedes falsehood in order to make the apparent more imposing. "An actual metamorphosis," it says, "appears impossible, for two creatures of different natures cannot exist in the same subject, as St. Augustin says. But the devil can so dispose the imagination, that a man may seem, both to himself and others, to be a beast. In this case a bodily change does take place, namely, that of the countenance; which the pagan Circe accomplished on the comrades of Ulysses, which, was, however, only a change to the eye. A brave girl rejected the advances of a dissipated young man steadfastly; and he went away, highly excited, to a Jew, and had her bewitched, and the poor thing was turned into a horse; but it was no real change, but only a jugglery of the devil, who so blinded the eyes of the maiden and of others that she seemed to be a horse. They took her to St. Macarius, over whose eyes the devil had no power. He immediately knew her for a real maiden, and not a horse, and relieved her happily from the witchcraft." (How *naïve* and pious!)

When wolves sometimes fall on men and carry children

away out of their cradles (wehrwolf, lycanthropy, kynanthropy—possession and metamorphosis into the nature of dogs and wolves), they sometimes are real wolves, but in others they are only delusions of the devil. The Lord God formerly menaced the people with wild beasts, through Moses. The devil also disposes the imagination to a wolf-mania; and in the first case the devil can enter into real wolves as into real swine; in the other case it is only appearance. (The Witch-hammer becomes philosophical too!)

The twelfth question treats of witch-midwives, who injure the fruits, produce untimely births, and carry children under the chimneys or into the open air, and dedicate them to the devil. The twelfth and thirteenth questions treat of the permission of God—an edifying argument! The fourteenth question is, "What must we think of witches, and what shall we preach about them?" The witches are fallen from God, are heretics and apostates, and thus deserve condign punishment more than all other criminals whatever. As heretics, they are deserving the ban of the church, confiscation of goods, and death. Is the heretic a layman, and declines to abjure his error, he must be burnt. If a coiner is punishable with death, how much more a coiner of false faith! Ecclesiastics were either condemned to death, or cast for life into prison. But the witches, as apostates, were not to escape with life, even if they confessed their sins, and repented of them. (Very full of Christian love!)

The fifteenth query or chapter: Innocent, and otherwise not dangerous people, were sometimes bewitched, partly through their own sins, and partly through the sins of the sorcerer. The sixteenth chapter: Explanation and comparison of the preceding with other kinds of crimes and superstition.

Seventeenth chapter: Comparison of the devil's works with witches' works. The witches are worse than the devil himself. Eighteenth chapter: How you are to preach against the five proofs that God does not allow the devil so great power to bewitch men. Here the fifth objection gave the inquisitors a good deal to do; namely, why the judges, who prosecuted and burnt witches, were not bewitched by them before all other men?—a question which the second

part of the Witch-hammer answered, in which there are only two cardinal questions: 1st. How people are to defend themselves against sorcery,—treated in six chapters; and 2nd. How sorcery is again to be removed,—treated in eight chapters.

There are three kinds of men whom witchcraft cannot touch: magistrates, clergymen exercising the pious rites of the church, and saints who are under the immediate protection of the angels. Of course, inquisitors and judges stand first under the protection of God. Especial injuries done by the devil to the innocent, bodily and spiritual. The devil seduces pious young women through witches. Two were burnt by the authors at Ravensburg. One of them was of bad character; and she confessed that she had suffered much from having endeavoured to seduce a young maiden of the city to the devil's will. Once she had invited her on a festival day, when the devil, in the shape of a fine young gentleman, spoke with her. But the pious maiden constantly defended herself by making the sign of the cross whenever he approached her, till at length he was compelled to abandon his attempt, for which she, the witch, had to undergo much torment. Many such edifying stories the authors of the Witch-hammer give from their own experience.

The second chapter treats of the manner in which witchcraft is expelled; one of the most important and interesting chapters. It contains also a description of the belief in witches at the end of the fifteenth century. There are three kinds of witches, it states: the mischievous—*maleficæ*, who cannot again disenchant you; those who hurt no one; and hurtful ones, who can, however, release their victims from their spells. Amongst the first kind, the most mischievous are the devourers of children. These are the most powerful of all, who occasion hail, thunder, and tempests, who fly through the air, and make themselves devoid of feeling on the rack; nay, they even sometimes bewitch the judges, and seek to confuse them with compassion. They rob both animals and men of their power of reproduction, and through help of the devil have revelations of future things, which they foretell distinctly. If they do not devour children, they yet persecute them in all manner

of ways; plunge them into water, if they are playing by brooks; and make horses shy and start. The form of compact with the devil is minutely described, which either took place solemnly on a witch-sabbath, or in private. In the first, the devil takes the place of honour, as the grand master, though in the witch-trials he is usually styled the little master; and the old witches present the female candidates to the prince of hell. There then takes place an examination as to faith and abilities; and the novice swears truth and obedience. The devil, on the other hand, teaches them how to make magic ointment, and drinks, and powders, for the damage or destruction of men and cattle, from the bones and members of new-born infants, and still more efficacious ones from those of baptised children. All this the authors of the Witch-hammer have themselves experienced.

A child-eater related the following ceremonial before the tribunal of justice, which is important for a true estimate of the witch-trials. "We lie in wait," she said, "for children. These are often found dead by their parents; and the simple people believe that they have themselves overlain them, or that they died from natural causes; but it is we who have destroyed them. For that purpose we steal them out of the grave and boil them with lime, till all the flesh is loosed from the bones, and is reduced to one mass. We make out of the firm part an ointment, and fill a bottle with the fluid; and whoever drinks with due ceremonies of this, belongs to our league, and is already capable of bewitching."

A similar relation of the ceremonies of abjuration was made by a young man who was accused with his wife, and who was forced to this confession by the authors of the Witch-hammer themselves; but, spite of this confession, the two were delivered up to death by fire. The young man declared before his execution that his wife would rather suffer herself to be torn to pieces on the rack—nay, even burnt alive, than confess any such thing; and this she actually did; but the husband himself made the confession, and yet was put to death. "A woman in Basle," continues the Witch-hammer, "had for seven years intercourse with the devil; but God took pity on her poor soul, for very shortly before the com-

pletion of this time she was happily discovered by us, seized, and burned. She confessed her sins very penitently."

The third chapter treats of the manner in which they made their flights through the air. If people ascribe these flights merely to the imagination, that is directly contrary to the Word of God, "for the devil took the Lord Christ himself, and set him upon the pinnacle of the Temple, and showed him all the glory of the world." A good angel also took the pious Habakuk by the hair of the head, and bore him through the air. Before the flight, the witches smear a broom-stick, an oven-fork, or a piece of linen, with their ointment, and they are at once borne away; it may be by day, but much oftener by night. There are very edifying stories told of the way in which these women produce rain when it is wanted. From the fourth to the seventh chapters, the amorous affairs of the witches and the devil are treated of; in the eighth again the change of men into beasts. To doubt of that is heresy. "Was not Nebuchadnezzar changed into an ox and ate grass?" In the ninth chapter it says, "The devil in such metamorphoses secretes himself in the head or the body of the man. He causes a blinding of the outer and inner senses; and the seats of the various faculties are very phrenologically given, as, for instance, memory in the hinder part of the head up towards the middle above, where imagination has her organ. *Sensus communis* has its cell in the front part of the head, where the imagination presents, with lightning speed, the figure of a horse, so that the man swears that he sees such an one. The devil does this with such skill, that not even a head-ache occurs from it, such miracles does he work; but they are no real miracles; those only are wrought by God."

The tenth chapter treats of the bodily possession of the devil; and contains a demonology in the spirit of the Witch-hammer. The eleventh and twelfth are repetitions of the midwives, children-eaters, and child-offerings which were made to the devil. The thirteenth contains the conversation of a father with his eight-years'-old daughter on the drought which then prevailed; and the daughter declared that she was able to produce rain, on which the mother, with a threat-

ening countenance, commanded her to keep quiet. Yes, she could produce thunder and hail. The inquisitors heard of this; the godless mother was arrested and burnt, but the maiden was saved.

The fourteenth chapter explains how the witches bewitch the cows. According to Sprenger, the witch-milking proceeds thus: The witch sticks a knife into a wall, takes a milk-pail between the knees, and cries to the devil to send them the milk of the cow that belongs to this or that person. The devil immediately milks the cow, and brings the milk to the witch, when it appears to run out of the knife-handle, by which the devil only deceives the witch, for he has brought the milk through the air. In a similar manner the witches supplied themselves with butter out of water that flowed by, and especially good May-butter; and the devil steals for them the wine of pious people, from their cellars. Cattle are bewitched by the touch, and even by looking at them. They make for such purposes all kinds of magical instruments, pictures, especially of toads, lizards, and snakes, etc., and lay them under the door-sills, and thereby they spoil milk, and produce diseases in the cattle.

The fifteenth chapter treats of witch thunder-storms, and damages to cattle and corn. As on one occasion terrible tempests laid waste the country from Ravensburg to Salzburg, the people cried loudly against the witches who occasioned it. "We caused, therefore," says Sprenger, "a few notorious old women to be arrested and tortured; and the event showed that we had hit on the chief offenders, for they all confessed." They were burnt as a matter of course. Sixteenth chapter: The witchery of men consists of three principal kinds:—Shooting with bows, the devil directing the arrows, so that they are sure to hit; the enchanting of swords, so as to sharpen those of friends and dull those of enemies, for which purpose they use magic songs, spells, and witch-knots. To the great trouble, however, of the wizards, such men were very frequently taken under the protection of the powerful nobles.

The second part consists of two chief questions, how witchcraft is to be done away with. The means are physical and spiritual. Of the first, smoke is a means; of the last, prayers and making the sign of the cross. This

is followed by a diffuse inquiry of nearly a hundred pages, with learned treatment of bewitchings and freeing from witchery.

The third part contains the criminal code, which was to be used against the witches and heretics, in five-and-thirty questions, or items, in which the whole process of trial, from the arrest to the judgment, is fully detailed. It is necessary to the understanding of the whole spirit of the Witch-hammer, that we should make ourselves acquainted with the penal laws, of which I give the following brief notice:—

The first chapter or query is, how a witch-prosecution is to be conducted. The arrest may take place on the simple rumour that a witch is to be found here or there, without any previous denunciation, since the duty of the judge is here to afford help. The second chapter is concerning the witnesses. Two or three are sufficient; and the judge may summon them, administer the oath, and frequently examine them. The witnesses, according to the chapters three and four, must have no high qualities. Excommunicated, infamous, runaway, and lewd scoundrels were fitting witnesses. Accomplices are admitted, in matters of faith of each kind, as evidence. Nay, in the absence of better witnesses, heretics and witches are taken as unexceptionable evidence against their fellows; the wife may witness against the husband, and *vice versâ*, and the children against their parents. According to the fifth chapter, enemies, when they are not mortal enemies, that is, through attempts upon life, are admitted as half witnesses; and if they agree in their evidence wholly with another they two make a whole witness. For instance, Michael's Eliza says that Peter's Barbara has quarrelled with her, and bewitched her child—a half witness. Another man bears testimony that Peter's Barbara seven years before took away the milk of his cow—a whole witness. Barbara is convicted of witchcraft, and burnt.

The sixth chapter teaches how the prosecution was to be conducted. Here come all sorts of interesting and most important questions which are addressed to the accused. As, whether she confessed that she was a witch? Why she let herself be seen in the field or the stall? Why she touched the cow, which thereupon became ill? Why

her cow gave more milk than three or four of other people's?

Seventh chapter:—Whether the accused was to be regarded as a witch? Eighth chapter:—How the witches were to be arrested? And in this particular it is most important to take care that the prisoner does not touch the ground, or she might, by her witchcraft, liberate herself. On this account witches at a later day, according to Horst, were suspended in the witch-tower at Lindheim, and there burnt. Ninth and tenth chapters:—Detail further proceedings with the prisoner. Whether a defence was to be allowed? What may happen under the circumstances—but the affair is delicate. If an advocate defended his client beyond what was requisite, whether it was not reasonable that he too should be considered guilty; for he is a patron of witches and heretics. (No wonder that there was no great zeal shown in defending those accused.) Eleventh and twelfth chapters:—Proceedings with unknown names, and by enemies. Here all sorts of cunning and juridical artifices were allowed. Thirteenth chapter:—What the judge has to notice in the audience of the torture-chamber. Witches who have given themselves up for years, body and soul, to the devil (who, in fact, have been afflicted with cramps and convulsions), are made by him so insensible to pain on the rack, that they rather allow themselves to be torn to pieces than confess. Others, who were not so true, he ceased to torture. Such were easy to bring to confession. (The unhappy sensitive ones preferred death to the rack.) Fourteenth chapter:—Upon torture and the mode of racking;—very instructive! For instance: In order to bring the accused to voluntary confession, you may promise her her life; which promise, however, may afterwards be withdrawn. If the witch does not confess the first day, the torture to be continued the second and third days. But here the difference between continuing and repeating is important. The torture may not be continued without fresh evidence; but it may be repeated according to judgment. For instance, the judge announces after the first torture: "We condemn thee to be again tortured to-morrow." Fifteenth chapter:—Continuance of the discovery of a witch by her marks. Here, amongst other signs, weep-

ing is one. It is a damning thing if an accused, on being brought up, cannot at once shed tears. The clergy and judges lay their hands on the head of the accused, and adjure her by the hot tears of the most glorified Virgin, that in case of her innocence she shed abundant tears in the name of God the Father. (Who now will only believe on God, and not on the devil too?) It was found by experience that the more a witch was adjured, the less she could weep. Further, the judge must be careful in touching the witch that he carry upon his person consecrated herbs and salt; and he must not look directly at her; for after looking at the accused, the judges lost all power of condemning them, and set them at liberty! The witches were, therefore, carried backwards into the room. The witches must also have all their hair shorn off; for without this foresight many cannot be brought to confession. In Germany this shaving was denounced as disgraceful, as the Witch-hammer complains. In other countries less resistance was made. When even pity was reduced to silence, indignation against the breach of morals and decency aroused the German breast, and became loud.

Sixteenth chapter:—Continuation. Seventeenth chapter:—Means of purification on the part of the witches, and the fire-proof. The fire-proof is opposed, because there are herbs which defend against the fire, which the witches knew; and the devil can make them insensible to the effect of hot iron. Eighteenth chapter:—On how many kinds of suspicion the judgment of death may be awarded. Twentieth chapter to the three-and-twentieth:—On questioning and judging notorious witches, of which sufficient has already been seen in the preceding chapters. Five-and-twentieth:—Here the grey witch-cloaks present themselves, in which the witches must, in all cases, do penance before the doors of the church. It was a wide, grey cloak, like a monk's cloak, only without a cape, with saffron-coloured crosses of three hands long and two broad. Six- and Seven-and-twentieth chapters:—The mode of proceeding with a heretic who has confessed, but afterwards has returned to the church. Twenty-eighth:—But how, when a repentant heretic again apostatises, he shall be dealt with. Twenty-ninth to the thirty-third chapter:—Similar questions as to confession, and the then

denying of confession: of avoiding temptation. Of caution in the proceedings against persons who have been accused by witches already tried and burnt, because the devil often spoke out in them. (Nearly the only trace of humanity in the whole work.) Thirty-fourth chapter:—How to proceed with a witch who has actually employed magic means,—as midwives and shooters. Finally, thirty-fifth chapter:—How sorcerers and witches are to be dealt with who appeal to a higher tribunal. This appeal must be opposed; and if it sometimes please the judge to allow of it, he is under no necessity to hasten the proceedings.

These brief indications of the contents of the Witch-hammer are all of an essential character, and may serve us as a little abridgment of the history of the faith and legal practice of that time, and especially as it regards the witch-prosecutions, on which, therefore, we may be more concise.

The bull of Innocent VIII. opened a wide door to the most terrific tyranny of past ages; body and life, honour and estate, were given up as a prey to the will of ignorant and fanatic wizards, so that no one was any longer safe in his house, nor even in his sleep and dreams. We have here certainly an unexampled reign of terror, for the bull and the Witch-hammer were not of an evanescent nature, but their influence continued operating for ages both on Catholics and Protestants, so that all conditions and both sexes suffered under a chronic bewilderment of mind, and were affected, as it were, by a universal mania. But if we calmly consider that in history, as in nature, everything has a fixed, certain course prescribed by certain laws, as we have already shown, we shall see that this was also, as it were, a natural development of the time. Pope Innocent, who had assumed this name at Fleury, undoubtedly because he wished it to indicate what he really desired to be, has been denounced by later, and especially by Protestant writers, as "a scandalous hypocrite," and his bull as "a cursed war-song of hell;" the inquisitors as hangman's slaves, rabid jailers, blood-thirsty monsters, etc. Pope Innocent was the child of the time. Witchcraft had grown up long before him; prosecutions of heretics and witches had been carried on; but what the Papal throne had not yet accomplished—that of setting its principle of sacerdotal authority above the secular power—

Innocent effected. Witchcraft and heresy had long been judged to be twin-sisters, and the devil as the universal enemy, who was the soul and mainspring of the system. The spiritual power deemed itself bound to proclaim eternal war against him; and it was thought that success was the most certain if they seized on his allies and destroyed them. And the accusation which was made against Innocent could only have been justly founded if the Pope had not participated in the general belief, if he had been wiser than his time, and really seen that the heretics were no allies whatever of the devil, and that the witches were no heretics.

The idea of witchcraft was a disease of the time; and who shall assert that in such a general condition of ignorance and bewilderment there were not reckless and base men enow who invented all sorts of stratagems in order to speculate on the health, the properties, and the lives of others, and to make their own fortunes on their ruin? who, contrary to all law and order, contrary to morals and decency, took the field, and to whom the Holiest and his servants were a stumbling-block? The question then was, whence was help to arise? A few sagacious and well-meaning persons might preach and teach, but their voices were lost in the wilderness. The secular magistracy was destitute of the knowledge and understanding to detect mere lies and deceit,—what was human and what devilish. They had no influence on public opinion, nor even on faith. Did not these concern the ecclesiastical power, which possessed the greatest rank, consideration, and knowledge? did it not behove the head of the Church to discover some means of putting a stop to the universal evil and corruption? The will is one thing, and the consequence of the act is another. Who shall declare that Innocent did not really desire the good of mankind, although his bull produced so much abuse, so much calamity and misery? That which is really wonderful lies rather in the Witch-hammer than in the bull; wonderful is it how such a medley of nonsense, of theologic, sophistical, and juridical silliness, should become the general code of law for four centuries; for, till the end of the seventeenth century, witch-prosecutions were still in progress, and the death-fires were not extinguished. A hundred and fifty years after the Reformation, even amongst jurists in general, the same belief in witches still

continued as in the Witch-hammer, of which the last edition of Carpzov's Criminal Practice of 1758 affords evidence,—"B. Carpzovii practica nova rerum criminalium, editio Boehmer, 3 vols. fol."

The cause of this long-continued effect lay in the prevalence of the religious faith, which in both Catholics and Protestants continued the same on this head. With both, demonology stood on the same basis,—namely, the devilish; they believed that the devil possessed an unspeakably great, at least as great a power as God himself; or that God permitted this to him; permitted him to seduce men, to possess and to bewitch them. Now man is in nothing so slow as in adopting heartily a new faith; and, once adopted, he is equally slow in yielding it up again, whether his faith be rooted in fact or in mere appearance. And as now the voices of the superior few, however urgent, convincing, and well-meant they might be, fell on deaf ears, and only rarely found attention or acquiescence, it is easy to perceive by what slow degrees and with what labour the mind was opened, and the understanding enlightened by the light of truth. This was only possible to be effected very gradually, both as regarded religious errors and the laws of natural phenomena. In this department a great number of natural philosophers, theologists, and men learned in the law, have in mutual action and reaction won a deathless renown by the cure of the witch-mania and absurdity, by breaking the bonds of sorcery, teaching us to discriminate between witchcraft and the operations of nature, and, in a word, bringing the witch-mania to an end. Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Bacon, Wier, Becker, Thomasius, Spee, Molitor, Tartaretti, Reginald Scott, Dell' Ossa, Reiche, Hauber, etc., are the writers who, bold and enterprising, illuminated their own times, stood forth undauntedly against the monstrous tyranny of the devil, and delivered over the Witch-hammer to the rust of the obsolete armoury of Superstition.

By the detailed description of the contents of the Witch-hammer, we have become acquainted with the conditions, the means, and the aim of the witch-prosecutions. We have, therefore, no further occasion for a long history of these. But as the magical phenomena which appear in these concern our subject nearly, we shall notice a few par-

ticular instances, by which we shall in part corroborate the past, and in part learn more perfectly some important isolated facts. For this purpose I shall select those trials which characterise their times and nationality. These are, first, the witch-prosecutions at Arras in France in 1459—thus, previous to the sorcery-bull; secondly, the witch-trial at Mora in Sweden in 1670; and, thirdly, the trial of the nun Maria Renata at Würzburg in 1749. The first gives evidence of the demoniac assemblies of paramour-devils, of both sexes. The proceedings of these assemblies, whither the witches were suddenly transported in the night, exceed everything that ever was conceived by superstition or the grossest sensuality and depraved imagination. If the trial at Arras surpasses in legal ferocity those which succeeded, that at Mora at least is not behind it in cruelty, and exceeds it in proofs of the universal belief in sorcery, the folly of women in declaring it, and a contagious, and, as it were, general perversion of mind, for even children were summoned on the trial;—for example, a child of four years old, which declared in the examination that "he did not yet know the reading by rote which had been given to him." Many children were affected simultaneously with the women with cramps and faintings, in which they passed to the witch-dances, and to the witch-assemblies on the Blocksberg. There arose a universal terror in Sweden, and the king sent a commission to Mora, where the Inquisitors, by means of the rack, soon procured evidence enough; and seventy-two women with fifteen children were condemned to death, and many others to severe punishments. Nearly all condemned victims confessed the most absurd nonsense as to their intercourse with the devil in all sorts of shapes and clothes; that they had lived and feasted with him; had been married to him; and that he had even allowed a priest to baptise him.

The trial of the Maid of Orleans at Rouen in 1434 deserves a brief notice. That quiet, pious herd-maiden, who helped and gave to all; the heroic maid, who freed France from decline and subjection; the prophetic seeress, who, in intercourse with the saints, performed unheard-of deeds of martial leadership, and at the same time spared the enemy, fell before injustice and superstition,—yielded up her beautiful young life amid the flames. When thirteen years

of age, she heard in her father's garden a voice, and a form stood in splendour before her eyes. St. Catherine and St. Margaret appeared to her, and exhorted her to fulfil the commands of the Almighty; to proceed to the interior of France and raise the siege of Orleans, in order to recover the kingdom for her king Charles VII.; which, in spite of stupendous difficulties and obstructions, she actually accomplished. Finally, taken prisoner by her enemies, the English, she was tried on the plea that she could only have performed such wonderful deeds through witchcraft; the accusation was admitted by her own countrymen, and the Inquisition brought her before its tribunal; and spite of the want of a single trace of guilt, she was condemned in the most arbitrary manner.

Schiller, in his drama, "The Maid of Orleans," less historically true than poetically great in its execution, has, through the introduction of the Black Knight, produced in that composition a perfect piece of art. This Black Knight is purposely, not accidentally, chosen. He faithfully characterises the inner darkness of that time by the outward appearance of the evil one exercising lordship on the earth, entangling in subtle snares the senses and the heart of man. How striking are these passages in the ninth scene of the third act:—

MAID OF ORLEANS.

Detested art thou to my inmost soul,
Even as the night, which is thy hateful hue:
To chase thee from the friendly light of day
Inspires me with unconquerable longing.
Open thy visor!

To which the BLACK KNIGHT replies:—

Is the prophetic spirit silent in thee?

MAID OF ORLEANS.

No! still it speaketh in my deepest breast
And tells that dire misfortune dogs my steps.
Who art thou, double-tongued, perfidious man,
That seeks to terrify and to confound me?
How dar'st thou with false oracles presume
To prophesy the false?
But, bearing God's own sword, why should I fear?
Victoriously I will complete my course;
And even though hell itself should take the field,
It shall not make my courage quail or waver.
Die that which is but mortal!

The BLACK KNIGHT replies :—

It was a juggling form,
A shape of hell, a spirit of delusion,
Which from the lake of fire before thee came!
He who sent deception will withdraw it;
When it is ripe the fruit of fate shall fall.

Schiller represents Joan as one inspired by God; as a being who performs heroic deeds, but who in her innocence is equally capable of keeping silence, and of bearing her fate till her time is come :—

"Who dare cry halt! to me?
Who can command the spirit that doth lead me?
The arrow must fly onward to the mark
To which the archer's hand directeth it.
Heaven spake, and I was silent.
I gave myself in silence to my mission."

That Schiller had in view to work out in this tragedy the idea of the inward, creative, and divine spirit, in opposition to the phrenzy and misconceptions of man, is sufficiently obvious in this poem of the "Maid of Orleans" :—

"To shame in thee the noble human form,
Did mockery cast thee down into the dust.
Wit wars for ever with the beautiful:
It has no faith in angel nor in God;
But, like thyself, born of a child-like race—
Herself a pious shepherdess like thee—
Hath poetry endowed thee with her gifts.
As with a glory she hath crowned thee,
Has formed thy heart that thou may'st live for ever.
The world delights to soil the luminous
And drag the glorious down into the dust.
The noisy market Momus may amuse,
But noble souls love only noble forms."

Hauber first transferred the Witch-trial of Arras into German; and since then, Horst has introduced it in his Dämonomagie, from Enguerrand de Monstrelet's Chronicle.

"In the year 1459 a terrible circumstance took place in the city of Arras, or in the country of Artois, which the people called Vaudoirée: why, I know not. It was said, however, that certain people, men and women, were carried away by night by help of the devil from the place where

they were, and came suddenly to a certain remote place in a desert, where a great multitude of men and women found themselves. There they met a devil in the shape of a man, whose face they never were able to see; and this devil read or delivered to them his commands and regulations, as to how they should worship and serve him as their lord. Hereupon he allowed each of them to kiss him, after which he gave every one some money. Finally, he divided wine and viands amongst them, and they made merry. Then followed scenes that are better left unrevealed, and afterwards, by aid of the devil, they all found themselves at the places whence they came.

"On account of these follies, numbers of people of condition in the city of Arras, as also other people of less consideration, were arrested and imprisoned, and then so tortured and horribly racked, that some of them confessed that they had conducted themselves in the manner above described. And besides this, it being suggested to them, and put into their mouths by the Inquisitors, they confessed, under the agonies of the rack, that they had seen people of rank, prelates and magistrates occupying posts and offices in the city, at these witch-assemblies. Some of these were immediately arrested, and so terribly racked that they also actually confessed that that was true which had been reported of them. The former people were most barbarously executed, and the greater part of them burnt. Others who were richer and more powerful purchased their security by money. There were some also who were assured that they should neither suffer in their persons nor their property if they would only confess. Others endured the agonies of the torture with wonderful patience, but would confess nothing to the injury of others. Greater numbers, however, gave large sums to the judges, and to all those who could free them from the torture; others fled the country, and made their innocence so apparent that they were left in peace.

"And here it is not to be omitted that many honourable people stated confidently that these accusations were many of them made by malicious individuals to injure people of condition to whom they owed a grudge, or from a disposition prone to envy and evil. Besides this, the judges were in the habit of taking low people, and giving them a touch of

the rack, so that they were ready to accuse people of wealth, from whom the judges could extort money.

"There is also another relation of this barbarous witch-prosecution, which is not wholly so liberal and honourable as the other, but is, at the same time, the more interesting, because it shews the overbearing conduct of the judges, the monstrous violation of principles of justice and law, and the bribing and rescuing with gold, etc." Jacob Meyer relates the affair in his "Annal. Flandriæ, lib. xvi. sub Phillippo Burgundione ad ann. 1459."

"In the year 1459 we read that at Arras something very fearful took place. That very many people were inhumanly burnt with fire, for having had nocturnal meetings with the devil, who had given them much gold. Very many gentlemen and ladies of condition were arrested on the evidence of those who were burnt, and most barbarously tortured. Others purchased their escape with gold; some fled from the country, but others suffered the torture steadfastly, and would confess nothing. It is related that some of the judges were so abominably base that they accused numbers of persons to whom they were inimical, in order that they might have the pleasure of torturing them. Others assert that there really were such nocturnal assemblies of men and women, where they worshipped the devil in the shape of a he-goat or a tom-cat, never being allowed to see his face; yet have sworn to obey his commands. That they then made a banquet, and concluded with lewd practices."

Horst adds to this, that in these witch-prosecutions one Peter Brüssard was made beadle. They accused these witches at the same time of being Waldenses and Manichæans. Limborch says that many persons who had been compelled to criminate themselves under torture, as soon as they were condemned to the fire protested against the whole proceeding, and cried out with all their might publicly that they were innocent and should die unjustly! That they never were at the devil's sabbaths in Waldesia, but that they had been inhumanly betrayed by the judges, who had promised them, with many flatteries, that if they confessed what they were accused of, they should be at once released from the rack, and set free."

Horst says that the witch-prosecution at Mora in Sweden was the greatest and most frightful in Europe. The account exists in many Swedish and Latin documents; and Glanvil has introduced it to the English in his "Sadducæismus oder Atheismus Triumphans." There is something so monstrous, says Horst, in this prosecution, that we know not what to think of it, because Sweden at that time stood second to no nation in Europe in the science of legislation; and the trials in that country had never been so savage as in most other countries, and nearly all the public officers and clergy of Dalecarlia were present as members of the examinations.

The circumstance about to be related occurred in the year 1669, at Mora, in Dalecarlia, that province so celebrated through Gustavus Wasa and Gustavus III. Many children at this place fell at the same time into swoons, suffered violent attacks on their nerves, and cramps; their countenances became distorted, and they spoke and raved when they awoke of Blokula, and the witches there. Blokula—renowned as the rendezvous of the Swedish witches, and also called Blakula—was a rock in the sea between Smoland and Œland,—meaning literally, the Black Hill. According to Arnkiel, there was a sea-goddess Blakylla.

The affair made an extraordinary sensation. The cause was attributed to witchcraft, and strange rumours spread all over the province that the witches took the children with them to an unknown place called Blokula. The king dispatched a Commission to Mora, who, with the judges, and nearly the whole of the clergy of the province, constituted a public tribunal in order to investigate the affair on the spot. The whole population of Mora seemed actually gone mad on the subject; and the clergy and judges were strongly affected with the mania. The Inquiry, in which the rack was not the least convincing means, ended its labours by finally convicting of witchcraft sixty-two women and fifteen of the elder children, all of whom were condemned to death. Sixty-six others were condemned to severe punishments, and forty-seven other persons, involved in the course of the trials, were detained for further examination. Nearly all confessed the following absurdities:—"The place to which they had taken the children was called Blokula, and was only known to

them. Here the devil appeared in all sorts of shapes, but usually in a grey coat, red breeches, and stockings. He had a red beard, had a tall hat with various coloured ribbons (a Swedish fashion then), and the same ribbons adorned his breeches. They rode through the air to Blokula; but they were expected to take with them at least fifteen children, their own and others, whom they clandestinely carried off. If they failed in this the devil chastised them severely. They rode through the air on all kinds of animals, and sometimes on men, or on spits and staves. When they rode on he-goats and had many children with them, they thrust a pole through the goat behind, on which the children rode very conveniently. If they had brought many children with them, these were often in returning obliged to ease themselves in the air, and what fell from them was aurora-coloured, and was often found in the cabbage garden (a moist fungus), and that is the true witch-butter. On Blokula every witch must cut her finger, and write her name in the devil's book with her blood. Then the devil cited a clergyman, and caused himself to be baptized. This done, he gave them a litttle purse containing the filings of church bells, and this they were to fling into the water, saying, "As these filings will never come to the bell again, so may my soul never come to heaven." After which the banquet began; and the devil treated them to cabbage broth, bacon, oatmeal-porridge, milk, butter, and cheese (pure Swedish dishes). After the banquet there was a dance, in which there arose contentions and often blows. When the devil was in a right merry humour, he caused all the witches to ride about on poles; then he suddenly plucked the poles away from between their legs, and beat them on the back with them till they often went home with their backs all black and blue, at which he laughed till his sides shook. He sometimes also cudgelled the children at these merry-makings, so that they became miserable and sickly in consequence. But sometimes the devil was very gracious, and played all kind of beautiful pieces on the harp, and took those witches with whom he was most pleased aside with him. All confessed to the same intercourse with the devil, and to having had children by him; but not real children, only lizards, snakes, and toads. Sometimes they said the devil was ill, and then the witches must open a vein for

him, and put on cupping-glasses. Yes, sometimes he was even at the point of death, on which there was great lamentation on Blokula."

Just as edifying were the questions of the judges,—for instance, whether they were quite certain that they were carried off by the devil; or whether he only appeared to them in swoons or dreams; and whether he went up the chimney or through the closed windows; to which the witches often gave admirably befitting answers.

The celebrated witch-trial at Marbois, in England, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, may be cited as a parallel to that of Mora. In memory of this barbarous trial, there continued to be a sermon annually preached at Huntingdon against witchcraft, down to the eighteenth century. But England is the country, as we have already stated, where haunting spectres were always at home. Witches were equally prevalent, and transcended those of other countries no less in power than in folly. Thus the female sex was here, earlier than in other countries, dreaded on account of witchcraft. Before the coronation of Richard Cœur de Lion, it was proclaimed that neither Jews nor women should be present at it (see Hume's History of England). The Jews, undoubtedly, were forbidden, on account of their having crucified Christ; the women because they were suspected of witchcraft.

In the year 1303 a bishop of Coventry was accused at Rome of a series of crimes, and amongst others, "quod diabolo homagium fecerat et eum fuerit osculatus in tergo." Boniface VIII. acquitted him. The same accusation was made against the later witches. James I. was so devoted to the devil and to witchcraft that he wrote a Demonology, in which he stood forward as the defender of witches against one of his own subjects, Reginald Scott, and against Joh. Wier. This royal production is in form and contents very like the Witch-hammer. A witch had given him instruction, for which he gave her her life; and witchcraft was, therefore, quite the *mode* at his court. The witch-trial at Marlborough was, for the most part, a consequence of this. The Incubus and Succubus then had a king for their champion, who proved the reality of such things from the Scriptures. In respect to the amorous devils,

there were many names for them,—fairies, fays, peri, and elves. According to Sir Walter Scott, they retained these names all the longer because they had a mixture of Greek, oriental, and Teutonic ideas in them, and because the Witch-hammer was not able then to reduce them all to one repulsive form, as in Germany. Yet even the fairies did not fail to kindle fires at the stake. Thus, according to Hippert, in his History of Spiritual Life, a plethorically sick woman had probably continual visions both sleeping and waking, in which she associated with the queen of the elves and with the good neighbours. In such visions she saw her cousin Simpson, whom the elves had carried away into the mountains. She received an ointment from the elves which healed every disease; and the Bishop of St. Andrew's did not despise the emolument from it. In the criminal indictment against her, it is stated, that as she and some other persons had been ill, and had lain in bed, a man clothed in green came to them (green is the colour of fairies and elves), who promised her a cure in return for her fidelity to him. She cried out, however, four times, but as no one came, she declared her acquiescence, on the assurance that he came in God's name; on which he took his leave. Another time, it was said, he came as a jolly fellow, in company with men and women; but she crossed herself, and remained with them, and was entertained with music and feasting. She had seen the Good Neighbours prepare the ointment over the fire. This woman was ultimately burnt as a witch.

The Deasil of the English is celebrated from antiquity. Like the magic circle of the Druids. The Deasil was a circle in which a person with certain solemn ceremonies ran three times round, following the course of the sun. By this circumgyration it happened, as with the Schamans, that the performer fell into ecstasy, and foretold hidden things. Second-sight was also communicated to others by Deasil-running, especially when it took place in haunted ground, or in a mystic mood of mind.

One of the most remarkable witch-trials in Denmark was at Kioge, where one of the most singular inquiries, amongst others, was about the "membrum virile diaboli." In Germany great witch-prosecutions were introduced into Trier, Cologne, Baden, Bamberg, in various places of Upper

Germany; in the dominions of the Princes and Counts, and also into the free cities. But the reader must pardon passing over many things with which he is already acquainted. I refer him for more details to Hauber and Horst.

The last trial in Germany was that of the nun, Maria Renata, at Würzburg, in 1749. The last witch was executed at Clarus. I will shortly relate the history of this tragedy from "The Christian Address at the burning of Maria Renata, of the convent of Unterzell, who was burnt on the 21st of June, 1749; which address was delivered to a numerous multitude, and afterwards printed by command of the authorities."

Maria Renata was born at Munich, and as a child of six or seven years old went into the neighbourhood of Linz, and was seduced to witchcraft by an officer, in whom the devil was probably embodied; and as hell cannot endure the name of Maria, she was called Emma Renata,—my new-born one. At twelve years old she had reached such a pitch, that she took the first rank at the assemblies of the prince of darkness. At the age of nineteen, probably against her will, she was placed in the convent of Unterzell near Würzburg, celebrated for its good discipline, where, on account of her apparent piety, she was placed over the other nuns as sub-prioress. Renata passed fifty years in the convent, during which time, by the special providence of God, she was prevented, according to her own communications, from injuring the souls of any of the sisters. Satan, therefore, enraged, tormented the bodies of these ladies, and they suffered in that convent, as in most others, especially from spasms. Renata endeavoured to heal four of the nuns, partly by magical breathing on them, and partly by roots and herbs of magic power. She, however, bewitched several infernal spirits into five other, together with a lay-sister. On account of all these circumstances, Renata was arrested and examined by the spiritual power. She was then delivered over to the secular arm, and condemned to death. Through the clemency of the prince she was permitted to be first beheaded, and afterwards her lifeless body burnt to ashes, so that no trace of it should remain, and that her memory might perish with her ashes.

For the text of this witch-sermon the preacher took, of

course, "A witch shalt thou not suffer to live." This law, it says, is by no means abolished by Christianity, but made the more imperative, insomuch as they blaspheme God and all the saints, for a witch renounces all these and the holy mother, and curses and reviles them. They insult the Christian church, for the witches imitate and bring into ridicule its most holy rites; and in the same manner the preacher makes it appear that they alone libel and corrupt all laws, institutions of society, and morals. He concludes by saying that men must seize on spiritual weapons to overcome and destroy the wizard arts of geomancy, the magic glass, and of fortune-telling by cups, chalices, and bags; and that all must admire the means of grace by which Renata had finally been rescued from the claws of the devil!

With the trial of Emma Renata the fires of the death-pyre were extinguished, but not the haunting of possession; for in the convent of Unterzell there continued to be, for a long time afterwards, nuns who gave themselves out to be possessed. Order and decorum vanished; clergymen and laymen went into the convent every hour; everywhere they sent for exorcists, but nowhere for physicians.

But it appears very clearly from the confessions of Renata, and others, that the possession of those nuns was nothing else than the symptoms of diseases which have always been more prevalent within the walls of convents than without them. All complain of tension and unusual movement in the region of the stomach, of a rising and a swelling sensation towards the heart and throat, of anxiety, depression, and loss of voice before the actual attack of convulsions, which were accompanied by ravings, in which they uttered the most violent denunciations against everything sacred. Such invalids answered, in the character of the concealed spirit of the demon, by whom they believed themselves possessed, many times, with the imitated howling of beasts; they were also very clever at throwing their interrogators into confusion, by the exposure of their ignorance, or of their failings. Similar phenomena I have observed in mesmeric subjects, with an inimitable mimicry and wit, and every experienced physician must have done the same. Thus a possessed person answered Kerna, a celebrated Protestant theologian, who adjured her with the

words, "Spirit, thou who art a nothing, I command thee to go out!" To which the spirit replied with ironic coolness, "That is the stupidest stuff that I ever heard." The paroxysms in this convent terminated with fainting, violent diarrhœa, with a general perspiration, followed by repose, cheerfulness, and a continuance of health for some time. That which appeared the most extraordinary, and which the people believed could only be ascribed to the power of the devil, were, the terrible attacks which produced all kinds of gestures, grimaces, turning round in a speechless state, wild cries, catalepsy, epilepsy, and all sorts of prophetic visions; accompanied by the power of infecting and transferring the spasms and visions to the other sisters; and, farther, those apparitions of nightmare, insensibility to all exterior excitement, and long abstinence from any nourishment, as well as the appearance of pins and needles in various parts of the body, which is by no means unusual in cases of this kind.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the belief in witchcraft grew more wavering, and men began to oppose it with keenness and vigour; and this even in Germany, which had hitherto swarmed with witches, and where the smoke of the death-fires had choked all genuine Christianity. But that which this mock-faith lost in Germany, France, and Italy, it gained in the far north and in the east of Europe, in Livonia, in Poland and Russia, in Servia and Wallachia, where the blood-sucking vampire hovered the longest, — a superstition of the most revolting kind "A vampire-ghost," says an official document quoted by Horst, "is a dead person who continues to live on in the grave; who in the night ascends from his tomb as an apparition, in order to suck the blood of the living, by which he maintains his body in the earth unemaciated, and incapable of decay."

This vampirism had a different kind of penal trial from that of witches, for here the dead bodies were examined and burnt. It is said in the above-mentioned statement, which being official may stand as the type of many others, that "after P. Plagoymitz had been interred a few days, several persons at once fell ill, and within eight days nine people died. All these on their death-beds protested that the said Plagoymitz was the sole cause of their deaths, because he

had come by night as they slept, had seized them by their throats, and sucked their blood. In order to put an end to this general calamity in the village, it was determined to open the grave, when, to the astonishment of all the spectators, the body, although it had lain three weeks in the grave, gave forth not the slightest odour of death, and, except that his nose was somewhat fallen in, the whole was perfectly fresh and sound. They took the body out of the grave, sharpened a stake, and drove it through the heart of the vampire, upon which fresh blood gushed from the mouth and ears. They then burnt the body, and turned him, thus pierced through, to dust and ashes." This account is drawn up from the surgeon of the place, who himself directed the inquiry.

It was in Spain—the western land of marvels—that magic was originally introduced into the universities, and there it first disappeared; to which, probably, the constant troubles and wars with the Moors mainly contributed. On the contrary, it has maintained itself longest in the East, where possibly yet more absurd superstitions existed, where the imagination loosed itself to every poetical fancy, and where the faith in sorcery is not even yet totally subdued, because German illumination has not hitherto been able to penetrate thither: German illumination which has driven the whole witch and apparition world from its own soil, spite of all the arms and opposition that it could bring against it, and this it has done pre-eminently through the cultivation of natural philosophy. The Germans, even in the worst times of witchcraft, set themselves in the most courageous opposition to that desolating superstition, encountering it with invincible reasons, as we shall see.

In order to prolong the career of the authorized witch-prosecutions, two of the succeeding popes issued from time to time bulls in the same spirit; the first of these being the act of Alexander VI., the successor of Innocent VIII. But in the sixteenth century men began gradually to awake; and there arose voices in Italy and Germany against those maniacal barbarities, and that so strongly, that the secular magistracy began to resist the arbitrary will of the witch-commissioners. It was the republic of Venice which first in Italy made complaints to the Pope through the Doge and Grand Council, praying him to add a commission extra-

ordinary to the witch-inquisitors ; to which the Pope consented, and appointed the nuncio, Bishop of Poli, to this office, either, or with others, to revise their judgments. When the judge of heresy in Berscia, Bergamo, and Como, had condemned a formidable list of witches with renewed zeal, the council of Venice forbade the sentences to be executed, and would not allow the required costs of the prosecutions to be paid. This bold proceeding gave umbrage to the Pope ; he deemed it hostile to the freedom and dominance of the church, and issued a fresh bull, by which he invested the judges of heresy again with full powers. But the spirit of the time was already too far advanced ; and the Venetians displayed less fear than the church had expected.

The Pope found himself engaged in other important and absorbing business, and the general persecution of witches continued more and more to relax. In Germany the Reformation put an end to the papal prosecutions of heretics, and in the countries and cities where the doctrines of Luther prevailed the heresy-edicts disappeared rapidly, yet not altogether: for after Luther's death free-thinking sprung up by the side of fanaticism, and again the death-fires blazed up, before their final extinction, fiercer than ever. Any one who now opposed himself stoutly to the heretical faith,—and this took place not only amongst the Protestants but amongst the Catholics even more frequently, was set down himself as a heretic, as was experienced by popes and cardinals. (See Staüdlin's History of Scepticism, Vol. ii.)

Many learned men, as Stephen Dolet, Gottfried Valer at Paris, Jordan Brunus, in 1600, were executed at Rome as atheists. And, indeed, the learned had not always found the true medium course between faith and knowledge, between fanaticism and atheism ; and while many of them contended against the extravagant belief in witchcraft, they not wholly themselves renounce their own faith in magic and demonology. The French and Italian schools held fast by that faith, and amongst their most distinguished men Pomponaz, Cardanus, Casalpinus, Cosmus Rugieri, Thom-Campanella.

One of the most free-thinking and enlightened intellects

was Bodinus (Colloquium de abditis rerum sublimium causis, de magorum dæmonomania, 1603; Universæ naturæ Theatrum, in Baumgarten's Halle Bibliothek, Vol. iii.) Bodinus's opinions on Religion and the Church, fortunately for him, were only known after his death; yet, with all their scepticism and naturalism, they were by no means free from belief in astrology and demons. In a similar manner was Cornelius Agrippa of Rettesheim a lauder of the magic arts, and Mich. Nostradamus, the court physician of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici, had the reputation of a prophet and a magician. His oracles and prophesyings had a widely diffused fame. See Adelung's History of Folly, contained in his "Vraiss centuries et propheties," in which it is asserted that the history of the French Revolution may be found."

Amongst the Germans there were many especially who took the field courageously and with convincing arguments against the belief in witchcraft; one of the first, Cornelius Laos, priest in Mainz, who set himself determinedly, as it were, against the whole bewitched host, and demonstrated the absurdities of the witch-trials. Seized and imprisoned, he was compelled to recant; but the moment he was again free he renewed his onslaughts, was again incarcerated, and was again compelled to recant and keep silence, to avoid being himself burnt. He died in 1593.

Johannes Weier, or Wier, the physician of the Duke of Cleves, wrote very freely and luminously against the witch-persecution. His writings excited violent discussion, and were many times reprinted during his lifetime. "De præstigiis dæmonum, incantationibus et veneficiis, libri vi.," Basel, 1563. Also the physician Thomas Erast of Basle, in his work "De lamiis seu strigibus," 1577, operated beneficially, although he himself declared against Calvin.

As in the seventeenth century the witch-faith had reached its point of culmination, and was become quite universal; as the devil and the witches were everywhere, in the field as in the house, in the stable and in the church, in the air and on the earth; as weather and hail, drought and rain, conflagrations and death of cattle, came only from the witches; as the devil ruled in castles and public offices, in the council chamber, and, most of all, in the brains of men, so

also did the number of men increase who desired to set bounds to the darkness of this superstition, and to celebrate the triumph of victorious reason. These put forth all their strength, and thereby acquired an immortal renown.

Adam Tanner, a Jesuit in Bavaria, counselled the judges to use more circumspection and obtain better evidence in the witch-trials. When he died in the Tyrol, however, Horst says that he was denied burial, because he professed to have conjured a hairy devil under a glass, but which after his death they discovered to be a flea which he had shut up in a microscope! Frederick Spee, a Jesuit, displayed a rare boldness of wisdom, by first turning round upon the rulers, judges, and clergy, and demonstrating from his own experience the barbarity and folly of superstition. He died during the thirty-years' war, and wrote an admirable work, under the title, "Cautio criminalis, sive de processibus contra sagas, liber ad magistratus Germaniæ hoc tempore necessarius, tum autem consiliariis principum, inquisitoribus, advocatis, confessariis reorum, concionatoribus, ceterisque lictu utilis: Rintel. 1637. Autore incerto theologo orthodoxo." A year afterwards the same work appeared at Cologne and Frankfort simultaneously, and frequently afterwards. It appeared in Germany at Bremen in 1647, as "The Book of Conscience in the Witch-Prosecutions, by Joh. Seifert, Swedish Chaplain."

The excellent Elector of Mainz, Joh. Phillipp, cherished Spee's memory. He says of him that he declared himself the author of that work, with the confession that he owed to the witches the grey hair which he had in the prime of life; it was caused by his consuming sorrow on account of the number of these victims of superstition which he had led to the stake. Still more revolting, if possible, was the fury against witch-devils in the seventeenth century in France; the best account of which you find in a book published at Rouen in 1606,—"Discours exécrable des sorciers, ensemble leur procès, fait depuis deux ans en divers endroits de la France, etc., par Hen. Baguet, grand juge au comté de Bourgogne." An excellent work, also, is that of Naudé,—"Apologie pour les grand hommes, faussement soupsonnés de magie, Paris, 1625."

The Spanish Jesuit de Rio opposed himself to these wholesome endeavours, and wrote, "Disquisitiones Magic. liv. vi.," and defended the grossest superstition which continued rampant through the whole seventeenth century, flourishing with a deadly luxuriance, so that what war, hunger, and plague, did not destroy, superstition swept away. Kepler, the great astronomer, relates that he was summoned by the Emperor to Regensburg to give his assistance in reforming the calendar, and although he was very unwell, he was suddenly called back again, and obliged to travel amid all danger and with all possible rapidity towards his native country of Wirtemberg, where his poor old mother was in imminent danger of being burnt for a witch. He succeeded, though with great difficulty, in rescuing her from the stake (Monumentum J. Keplero dedicatum: Rhatisb. 1808).

The two authors who more than all contributed to put an end to the witch-prosecutions were, however, the theologian Balthasar Becker, and the jurist Christ. Thomasius.

At the close of the seventeenth century, Becker advanced the nine propositions which deny the influence and active power of spirits over the physical world. His work, "De vaste spessen de volmaaken,"—"Strong Food for the Perfect," 1670, brought him at once into suspicion of teaching error. His book, "The Bewitched World," appeared first in Dutch, 1691, at Amsterdam; in German in 1693. It made so great a sensation that in two months four thousand copies were sold. In the Netherlands at that time the witch-prosecutions had ceased, but the clergy opposed his doctrines with all their might, and defended stoutly the power of the devil and the reality of possession. Becker treated the witch-faith mercilesssly, and challenged the evil demi-god of the Christians, the Devil, formally, to take vengeance on him, if he were able. Becker contended with trenchant weapons of the Cartesian philosophy, and with his less happy *Exegesis*. But it was not merely his lucid philosophical knowledge, it was rather his humane mind, which impelled him to rescue mankind from the degrading madness concerning the devil. The impunity which Becker enjoyed from any attempts of the devil in consequence of his challenge was explained thus by his opponents; that

Satan out of cunning abstained from spoiling his game, as he was in the end the greatest gainer by unbelief. But Becker did not achieve an immediate victory. The Church, schools, consistories, and synods, took up arms against him; and in 1693 he was deposed from his office, and was classed, on account of his zeal as an anti-diaboliker, amongst deists and atheists.

Christ. Thomasius was enabled as professor of jurisprudence to effect more than his humanely-minded coadjutor. He succeeded in doing that which Becker could not. His writings, as it regards the witch-prosecutions, are classical. They are the following,—"De crimine magiæ dissert., by Joh. Reichen, 1701," and more extended in German. "Thomasius's Short Theorems on the Crime of Sorcery, with appended *actis magicis*, by Joh. Reichen, 1703;" "De origine et progressu processus inquisitorii contra sagas, 1712;" also German in the same year. The rest of his juridical writings also treat this subject freely, as, "The Business of Jurisprudence, in 8 parts." A number of writings were published by him, amongst which the following are the most important:—"Joh. Reicher's Discriminating Writings on the Nuisance of the Witch-Prosecutions, 1703;" the same on the nuisance of Sorcery, 1704; "Webster, Trials for Witchcraft, from the English, 1719;" Gott. Wahrlich, "The Uselessness of the so-called Witch-Prosecutions," Halle, 1720; Beaumont, "Tract on Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches;" Ant. Prätorius, "On Sorcery and Sorcerers."

But that which the jurists and the theologians, with all their courage and zeal, with all their understanding and knowledge, were unable to effect by these attacks on superstition, the natural philosophers at length achieved. The diligent study of nature, the experiments and discoveries of physiology and experimental physics, it was which preeminently demonstrated those things to be mere natural phenomena which had been attributed to secret arts or to the devil. The writings of Erxleben, Funke, Fischer, Murhard on Natural History and Physics, Euler's Letters on different subjects of Natural Philosophy, 1792; the Great Magazine for the Natural History of Man, Zittau, 1788; Hallé's Natural Magic; Martius's Instructions in

Natural Magic, Wiegleb, Blumenbach, and numerous physicians, have finally dissolved the spell of sorcery, and have made superstition innocuous, if they have not utterly and for ever expelled it from the human race.

As we have now become familiar with the historical development of the witch-prosecutions, and the chief phenomena of the same, it is not here the place to enter farther into the theological and philosophical disputes concerning it, nor to take a more particular review of the sects which belong, more or less, to the department of sorcery, as the exorcists and banishers of spirits, the diggers for treasure, and the alchemical gold-makers, the astrological and hermetic mystagogues,—as the Rosicrucians, the casters of nativities, the illuminatio and fortune-tellers by cards, the necromancers and minor prophets, etc., which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the order of the day. In the works of Hauber and Horst the reader will find all these things collected. The latter, in the "Dæmonomagie," gives an enumeration of all the kinds of belief in sorcery both of Christian and heathen people and times. As I propose to take a review of the most distinguished mystics of the Middle Ages so far as they are connected with magic, and of the philosophical magic of the writers of the highest class, the reader may perhaps desire to have, preparatory to this, a sort of bird's-eye view of the prevailing beliefs in sorcery, as it were *in nuce*. To this end I cannot better serve the reader than by referring him to the work of Grimm, and to its 27th chapter, entitled "Sorcery." I shall here merely notice a few of such facts as have not been already introduced by me on this subject.

We have already spoken of what sorcery means, of its existence and character amongst the ancient nations,—Scythians, Syrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, etc.; as it appeared amongst the ancient Scandinavians, Germans, and British. We have traced it down through its various modifications, especially through the influence of Christianity, and how it degenerated into devil-worship and witchcraft, with the horrors, scandals, and persecutions which followed, and continued nearly to our own times. Amongst the facts which led to its prevalence, contributed to vary its features, and led to its extinction, may be noticed the following.

The earliest antiquity attributed magic pre-eminently to women. The cause of this lay in outward circumstances. To women, and not to men, were confided the selection and preparation of powerful medicines, even as the preparation of food belonged to them. To prepare ointments, to weave linen, to heal wounds, seemed best to suit their gentle and soft hands. The art of writing and reading letters was in the most ancient times chiefly committed to women. The unquiet career of the life of man was occupied with war, hunting, agriculture, and mechanical arts. To woman all the facilities for sorcery were furnished by experience. The imaginative power of woman is more ardent and more susceptible than that of man, and from the most remote time, homage was paid an inward and sacred strength and power of divination existing in them. Women were priestesses and soothsayers; the German and Scandinavian traditions have handed down to us their names and their fame. According to the different popular opinions they were Nornor and Valor, Valkyrior and Swan-maidens, with a divine life, or they were sorceresses. Upon a mixture of all this, of natural, legendary, and imaginary circumstances, are founded the ideas of the Middle Ages regarding witchcraft. Fantasy, tradition, the knowledge of curative means, poverty, and laziness, converted old women into witches; and the three last circumstances created sorceresses out of shepherdesses and herds-maidens. Christianity modified these ideas, as we have seen.

The witches of Shakspere came together to cook; but they may be placed together with the ancient prophetesses of the Cimbri. But there are other connecting points between ancient and the modern nations. Salt-springs stand in direct connection with modern witchcraft (see Tacitus, Ann. B. 57). There were undoubtedly such salt streams at that period in Germany flowing out of mountains in the sacred woods. Their produce was regarded as the immediate gift of the present godhead; the obtaining and distribution of this salt was deemed a sacred employment; possibly sacrifices and popular festivals were connected with it. These wise women or priestesses managed the preparation of the salt; when the salt pan was placed under their care and superintendence, we have a direct connection between these

salt-boilings and the later notions of witchcraft. On certain days of festivity the witches took their station on the hill in the sacred wood, where the salt wells spring forth, with cooking apparatus, spoons, and forks, and their salt-pan glowed in the darkness of night.

It is well known that annually in Germany there was a general expedition of the witches on the night of the first of May—Walpurgisnacht—that is, at the time of the sacrificial feast of the ancient assembly of the people. On the first of May, through many ages, were held the unsummoned tribunals, and on this day were celebrated the merry May-games,—that is, the riding of Summer into the country, which in Denmark occurred on the Walpurgis day. Such May-games in the ancient Danish and Swedish chronicles are frequently spoken of; they were a great gathering of the nobility for sport. Nobility and royalty frequently took part in them. The young men rode first; then the May-Earl with two wreaths of flowers on each shoulder; the rest of the people only with one. Songs were sung; all the young maidens formed a circle round the May-Earl, and he chose a May-Countess by throwing at her a garland (see Grimm, 449). The first of May is one of the most distinguished festivals of the heathen. But if we mention two or three witch-feasts, that of Walpurgis, St. John's, and St. Bartholomew's days, we are reminded by them of all the prosecutions of the Middle Ages. The Danish witch-trials name Valborg Eve St. Hans' Eve; and Maria, Besögelsesdag's Eve. The people would not have given up their honourable days of assembly to the witches had not these been in their hereditary possession.

Still more striking is the accordance in the places of meeting. The witches proceeded to those places precisely where the ancient popular tribunals were held, or where sacred offerings were made. Their gatherings took place in the meadows, in groves of oak, under the lime-trees, under the oak, by the pear-tree. In the boughs of the tree sat the musician whose aid they require for the dance. Sometimes they danced at the place of execution, under the gallows. But most commonly mountains, hills, or the highest points of the country were the places of their rendezvous.

The fame of particular witch-mountains extended itself

over whole kingdoms; and which are named after gods, sacrifices, and ancient tribunals. Nearly all the witch-mountains were mountains of sacrifice, fire hills, salt-hills. The whole of Germany is familiar with the Brocken or Blocksberg. The oldest name of it is Brockersberg; others write it Brockelsberg and Blockersberg, Blocksbarg. A confession-book of the fifteenth century speaks of the sorceresses who were on the Brockisberg. Huiberg, near Halberstadt, is mentioned as a witch-mountain. In Thuringia they went to Horselberg near Eisenach, or to the Inselberg near Smalcalde; in Westphalia to Köterberg, near Corvei; to Wechinstein,—Wedingstein, where Wittekind or Witte lived, near Minden; in Swabia, to the Schwarzwald, or to Heuberg near Ballingen; in Franconia to Staffelstein near Bamberg. The Swedish rendezvous was called Blokula, and that of Norway Blakalla. The Neapolitan *Streghe* assembled under a nut-tree in Benevento; the people call it the Benevento wedding. Exactly on this spot stood the sacred tree of the Longobards; and thus witchcraft depends clearly on ancient pagan worship. The witch-mountains of Italy are, the Barco di Ferrara, the Paterno di Bologna, Spirato della Mirandolo, Tossale di Bergamo. In France the Puy de Dôme near Clermont is famous. The Spanish Hechizeras held their dance on the heath near Buraona, in the sands of Seville, in the fields of Cirniegolo.

A part of Carpathia between Hungary and Poland is called in Polish Babia gora,—the Old Women's Mountain. The witches succeeded to the dethroned goddesses, and the manner in which it took place was this. When the populace went over to the new faith, there were a few who hung back, and for a long time clung to the ancient belief, and in secret continued to practise their rites. From this state of things, the demonology of the ancients mingled itself imperceptibly with Christianity, and from an union of actuality and imagination arose the representation of the nocturnal flights of witches, in which all the barbarities of ancient paganism were perpetuated. How near to the Greek Diana, or the Jewish Herodias, lay the Frau Holda,—a Celtic Abundia, who was soon herself changed into an Unhold, or unholy thing. This agrees curiously with the tradition that the Thüringian Horselberg was simultaneously possessed by

Holda and her host, and by the witches. Kiesersberg makes the night-travelling witches proceed to no other place than to Venusberg—Frau Venus with her train—where there is good eating, dancing, and leaping. These nocturnal women, white mothers,—*dominæ nocturnæ; bonne dames; lamiæ sive geniciales feminæ*, were originally demoniac, elfish women, who appeared in female shape, and showed kindness to men. Holda, Abundia, to whom a third part of the world is subject, conducts the dances; and Grimm attributes the original appearances of the witch-dances to the leaping about of the ignis fatuæ, to which may be united their derivation from the heathen May-dances. Burchard von Morin, in his collection of decrees from the beginning of the eleventh century, gives the following lively picture of those meetings. "Et si aliqua femina est, quæ se dicat, cum dæmonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformata, certis noctibus equitare super quasdam bestias, et in eorum consortio (dæmonum) annumeratum esse. Quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, dæmonum illusionibus seductæ, credunt se nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea vel cum Herodia et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multæ terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut dominæ obedire et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari."

Here we have the nocturnal women, good, social servants, who went with the witches on these expeditions, brought good luck, performed various little offices, examined the furniture of the house, blessed the children in the cradle; and still this superstition was totally heathen, for the name of Christ might not be mentioned; they were not considered devilish.

We may quote the following as giving one of the most complete descriptions of the proceedings at the witch assemblies:—The devil appears as a handsome young man, wearing feathers, and amorously disposed. When it is too late, the witches first perceive the horse-foot or the goose-foot. He then compels them to renounce God, baptizes them, and gives them a new name, at the same time that he conceals his own. Sometimes he approaches as a mouse, crow, or fly, but soon assumes the human form. After repeated intercourse with

him the witches only receive small presents of money, which, in fact, are only disguised filth. He appoints certain days on which they shall visit him, or he fetches them to nightly feasts which are celebrated in the company of other devils and witches. When the devil fetches them, he sits before them on the staff, fire-shovel, or whatever it be on which they ride. Or he comes on a he-goat on which they mount; or they travel on horses which rise out of the earth. They find at the place of rendezvous many witches, some of them who have long been dead, and others ladies of station, who are masked. Their paramours, however, are only servants of the chief devil, who, in the shape of a he-goat, with a black man's face, sits solemnly on a tall chair, or on a stone table in the middle of the circle, where all do homage to him by curtseys and kisses. He also appoints witch-queens. Sable candles which burn between the horns of the he-goat light up the unsatisfactory meal. They there relate what mischiefs they have done, and resolve upon fresh ones. If the devil disapproves of their deeds, he chastises them. After the meal, which neither satisfies nor nourishes, the dance begins. The musician sits on a tree; his fiddle is a horse's head; his pipe is a cudgel or a cat's tail; in the dance they turn round backwards, and in the morning there are seen in the grass the intersecting traces of the hoofs of cows and goats. When the dance is over, they flog one another with flails or mangle-rollers; finally, they burn the great he-goat to ashes, which are distributed among the witches as a means of mischief. A young witch is not at once admitted to the feast and dance, but is set on one side to take care of toads with a white stick. The return home is in the same manner as the going thither. The husband, who all the time has had a piece of wood in bed, in the place of his wife, knows nothing of the affair. The mischiefs chiefly done by the witches are on the corn and cattle of their neighbours. They milk the cows of others, without approaching them. They stick a knife into an oaken post, hang a string to it, down which the milk flows (see Goethe's Faust in Auerbach's cellar), or they strike an axe into the door-post, and milk out of the axe-handle. Good milk they turn blue or bloody; if they shake milk it will produce no butter, and therefore witches are styled "milk-

thieves." Bewitched milk must be whipped in a pot, or a sickle must be run through it, and every stroke or cut is felt in the body of the witch.

By striking with their besoms or hooks, by scattering water or pebbles in the air, or by throwing sand towards the sunset, they could occasion storms and hail, dash down the corn and fruits of their neighbours to the earth, or sow devil's ashes over the fields. If they bind together the legs of a white horse, they can heal the broken bones of absent persons. If at a wedding, they turn the key of a lock, and fling the lock into the water, and which is called making a net, or tying a witch knot, so long as that knot remains unfound and untied the married pair are without children. If the witches stick pins into pictures or dolls, they are able to kill men. They are said to dig up the bodies of young children from the churchyard, and cut off their fingers, which they use as instruments of witchcraft. Their children by the devils are elfish creatures, and called elves or Holds. These are sometimes butterflies, sometimes humble bees, sometimes caterpillars, or worms. They are called good or bad things—Holds or Holdiken. They injure cattle with them; conjure them into the stem of a tree; bury them under the elder-bushes; and as the caterpillars eat the foliage of the tree, the hearts of those people are troubled of whom the witches think.

Not unfrequently the devil appears in the form of a butterfly, or of an asp. Sometimes the witches offer black cattle to him; and sometimes also their daughters at their birth. They delight to find themselves together at cross roads; they can pass in and out of houses through the key-hole. When there are three candles in a room, the witches have power. They hate the ringing of bells. When brought before the tribunal, if they can touch the earth they instantly disappear. They have no power to shed a tear, and when thrown into the water they swim. "Easdem præterea non posse mergi ne veste quidem degravatas," Pliny, viii. 2. The devil, it is said, promises to bring them an iron bar, so that they may be able to sink, but he brings them only a needle. If the witch can catch the eye of the judge he immediately feels compassion, and never can condemn her.

It is characteristic that all witches, spite of their art and the power of the devil, continue in misery and deep poverty.

There is not an instance to be heard of where any one made herself rich by her witchcraft; and for the loss of heavenly felicity they acquire only the least possible of worldly enjoyment. The witches do evil without reaping any advantage from it, and at the best they can only feel a malicious joy. Their intercourse with the devil gives them only half-satisfaction,—a circumstance which throws a light on the whole nature of witchcraft, proving it to be but the work of imagination, and not a reality. It is curious that in a Dalecarlian account, the devil did not occupy the chief seat at the Swedish witch-feasts, but lay under the table bound with a chain. The witches related many things of this chain; as that when its links wore out then came an angel and soldered them together again.

In Lower Germany the honeysuckle is called Albranke, the witch-snare. Long, running plants and entangled twigs are called witch-scapes, and the people believe that an Alp or witch hard pursued could escape by their means. The idea of the butterfly, like so many others, is derived from the ancient mythology in which it is made an emblem of the soul. The formula which enabled a witch to fly was generally—"Up and away! Hi! up aloft, and nowhere stay!" A northern sorcerer took a goat skin and wrapped it round his head, and said, "Let it be foggy and let it be magic!" Their dislike of bells is also heathenish. They call bells yelling sounds. The causing of hail storms and the destruction of crops are equally derived from ancient sources. As good divinities gave a blessing to the crops, and as air-riding Valkyrior scattered from the manes of their horses wholesome dews on the fields below, so did malicious and sorcery-using beings endeavour by their poison to destroy the corn. In the Twelve Tables of the Romans a punishment was decreed for those "qui fruges excantassit, sive alienum segetem perplexerit." "Rhudis adhuc antiquitas credebat, et attrati imbres cantibus et repelli" (Seneca). In the eighth and ninth centuries, however, this weather-making was laid to the charge of the wizards rather than witches. The northern sorcerers proceed precisely in this manner, particularly the women of the Finns. Ogautan had a weather-bag, and when he shook it there burst forth storms and wind, and wherever he turned his face there blew a good wind. There is something beautiful in the northern

saga which says that twenty-seven Valkyrior ride the air, and when they shake their horses' manes above the deep valleys, hail drops on the bright trees,—the sign of a good year. Thus every day falls morning dew on the earth, from the foaming bit of the horse Krimfari.

Tacitus has shown in what high respect woods and trees were held by the heathen Germans. Probably particular groves and, perhaps, particular trees, were dedicated to the gods. Such a grove might not be entered by the common people; such a tree must not be robbed of its leaves or boughs, and must by no means be cut down,—"Sacrum nemus, nemus castrum," says Tacitus. Particular trees were also dedicated to certain elves, wood and house-spirits. The people, long after their conversion to Christianity, continued to hang lights under certain trees, and to bring small offerings, as even to this day they are yet hung with garlands, and dances take place beneath their boughs. This was called in the prohibitions of the church, "vota ad arbores facere aut ibi candelam se ut quodelibet munus deferre; arborem colere prohibitum." The Longobards paid honours to the so-called blood-tree. Amongst the Germans the oak was sacred, and the elder. In Lower Saxony the *Sambucus nigra* was called Ellhorn, or elf-horn; and therefore the Ellhorn was sacred to our ancestors.

Grimm, in his appendix, and also in the text of his work on mythology, collected many of the witch formulas. The invocation to the moon, the formula for driving away death and winter, etc. For example:—

> "As God be welcome gentle moon,
> Make thou my money more, and soon."

The elves were often apostrophized, but by Christian names, or with a mixture of them. Various were the wonders effected by magic song. Men were killed or made alive, storms evoked or laid, sicknesses ameliorated or occasioned, mountains opened or closed, bonds burst, wicked spirits summoned:—"By the help of an old woman the evil one was addressed." The dead were called forth from the graves. Swords made sharp or dull by magic; arrows blessed; and as locks, doors, etc. opened before spirits, and the nights women passed through closed doors, so both lock and bolt gave way before a magic word. New married

people were bewitched. Protecting amulets of tin, glass, wood, bones, herbs, silver and gold, were hung round the neck against the malicious arts of witches. Secret writings and runes were hung round the neck, too, as a protection for cattle and men against fever and plague. "Inscriptiones et ligaturæ magicæ artis insignia sunt, admoneant sacerdotes, non ligaturas ossium vel herbarum cuiquam adhibitas prodesse, sed hæc esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostes." The gay colours of these amulets remind us of the Virgilian verse, "Terra tibi hæc primum triplici deversa colore Licia circumdo;" and "Necte tribus nodis ternas, Amarylli, collares."

The magic power of stones was known in the Middle Ages: see Marbod's "Liber Lapidum," 1123, and Albertus Magnus. Magic stones did not come into the hands of poor witches, but their chief strength lay in the gathering and boiling of herbs. The most esteemed herbs for those purposes are the betony root, henbane, deadly nightshade, origanum, and anthirrhinum, or female flose, arum, fern, and ground ivy. The cuckoo-flowers were gathered on the first of May in the meadows. Tasting of chervil, it is said, makes any one see double. The sleep-apple, a mossy sort of excrescence on the wild-rose, or hawthorn, laid under the pillow, will not allow any one to awake till they are taken away. In the Edda it is called Sleep-thorn. Some confound it with the mandrake or Alraun, which is drawn out of the earth by means of a dog. The divining gall-apple of the oak, the misletoe sacred to the Celts, the savin, and vervain, were all considered magical. Often many herbs were boiled together, seven, or nine; three kinds of wood made bewitched water boil; and the witch-ointments contain seven herbs.

Amongst the means of defence against witchcraft we have mentioned that of avoiding to look directly at a witch. You must make no answer to a witch; if you receive any gift from her you must not thank her. It was customary to spit three times before the house of a witch. Bread, salt, and charcoal, are defences against witchcraft. The sign of the cross puts to flight devils and witches; therefore, on the first May night you see so many crosses on the doors. The sound of bells we have mentioned as hateful to witches.

SUPERSTITIONS.

GRIMM, in the appendix to his work, has collected a great multitude of magical practices, opinions, and legends of different people and times, under the title of Superstition, from which we extract the following.

In order to discover future events a house-door key is laid in a Bible, or an axe in a wooden bowl, and put in motion while the names of suspected persons are named. Probably the revolving wheels of fortune which idle fellows carry about had their origin in divination. As a relic of *judicium casei* may be regarded the following: a man who is suspected of theft is made to eat of a consecrated cheese which will stick in the throat of a guilty person.

Drawing of lots was the most respectable and just mode of divining. A very doubtful matter was elevated by this means above the caprice or passions of men, and was made sacred; as in the decision of inheritances, the selection of victims of sacrifice, etc. The lot can decide the perplexity of the present, and also extends itself to the future. Confided at first to the hands of the priest or of the judges, it became afterwards the resort of sorcery, and from *sors* comes *sortilegus*, sorcerer. There were two modes. The priest, or the father of the family, cast the lot, and showed how it had fallen, or he held the lots towards the party drawing. The former related to the future, the latter to the arrangement of the present. Tacitus describes the former mode.

A whole host of modes of divination came into Europe through the Greeks and Romans. But the peculiar customs of the European people, which are not derived from these sources, are the more important. The ancient Poles divined victory from water which taken up in a sieve and without running through, was carried before the army. According to one account, the Normans caused a marvellous banner to advance before their army, from which they could foretell victory or defeat. We have already spoken of obtaining a knowledge of the future by the neighing of horses. The superstitious listen at twelve o'clock on Christmas-eve on cross-roads and at land-marks. If they fancy that they hear

the clash of swords and the neighing of horses, war will break out the following spring. Maidens will listen at that time at the doors of stables, and if they hear the neighing of a horse a lover will appear before the twenty-fourth of June. Others will sleep in the mangers, in order to discover future things.

The divining by the bones of a goose is similar: especially the breast bones of capons, geese, and ducks. If they are red they betoken a continuous cold; but if they are white, clear, and transparent, the weather in winter will be tolerable. So also with the Martinmas goose. "Ye good old mothers, I consecrate the breast-bone to you, that you may from it become weather-prophets. The foremost part by the throat betokens the early part of winter; the hindermost part the end of winter; the white indicates snow and mild weather, the other great cold."

A ringing in the ears, *garrula auris*, *βόμβος*, in the right ear was fortunate,—"Absentes tinnitu aurium præsentire de se receptum est," Plin. The twitchings of eyebrows and of cheeks are prognostic. If you meet an old woman, a woman with flying hair, or, which is the same, with her hair bound loose, it is unlucky. He who meets an old woman early in the morning, he who is obliged to walk behind two old women, is for that day unlucky. If a hunter meet an old woman in the morning, he lies down on the ground and lets her stride over him, in order to avoid the mischief. According to the Swedish superstition, it is unlucky to meet any woman except a courtezan, as, according to Chrysostom, the *πάρθενος*, the unfortunate, indicated *πόρνη*, a happy day. With this agrees—"Maiden and priest are bad signs; a courtezan, a good sign." But wherefore the meeting with a blind or one-eyed man, a lame man or a beggar, should be an ill omen, and a humpbacked man or a leper should be good, does not appear very plain: nor why a walker should be more fortunate to encounter than a rider, or why a water-carrier be unlucky. It is more intelligible why no man would allow a woman to reach him a sword, and that the meeting of two warriors predicted victory according to the Edda.

Prognostications drawn from the meetings of animals have

their origin in the life of hunters and herdsmen. They are founded on appearances of nature and the legendary accounts of the movements of beasts. Still more delicate and complete were the auguries founded on the flight of birds. The Greeks Romans had carried this department of soothsaying to great perfection, and the practice and particular instances of it will occur to all our readers. The ancient Germans were equally addicted to this species of divination. "What bird has whispered that in thine ear?" "A little bird has sung that to me," are become popular phrases from this source. Modern Greek and the Servian popular songs are very frequently opened by flying birds, and birds that turn themselves round in all directions, and hold conversations. We have already spoken of the prophetic note of the cuckoo. It belongs to the omen of success, when the traveller unexpectedly hears its voice in a wood. Birds whose movements are prophetic are called Way-birds. How early these superstitions found their way amongst the German people is shown by the following. Hermigisel, king of Warner, as he was riding over the field, saw a bird sitting on a tree and heard it crow. Being acquainted with language of birds, the king said to his followers that it had foretold his death within fourteen days.

Prophetic ants, and swarms of bees hanging on houses, betoken fire or damage. Their appearance in the camp of Drusus is an historical fact (Pliny, ii. 18). The choice of particular days, or the preference of them, prevailed amongst the Jews, the Greeks, and probably amongst all heathen nations. "Nullus observet," preached Eligius, "quæ die domum exeat, vel qua die revertatur, nullus ad inchoandum opus diem vel lunam attendat." The ancient Germans appear to have regarded Wednesday and Saturday as sacred to their chief gods, Woutan and Donor. On the other hand, Wednesday and Friday are rejected witch-days. According to the Witch-prosecutions the devil appears chiefly on Saturday and Tuesday; but Monday also was reckoned unlucky to begin anything fresh upon. On Tuesday people should ride out and make marriages. Sunday is a fortunate day.

DISEASES.

The healing art amongst the heathen was half sacerdotal, half magical. Experience and a higher education gave to the priests the knowledge of the healing powers of nature; and from the sanctity of their office proceeded sentences of blessing full of curative influence. Through the whole of the Middle Ages, we see the clergy especially in possession of medicines and the gift of using them. But a part of that pagan teaching passed over to the "knowing men and women," who, through the retention of superstitious customs and abuses, actually gave to sorcery the reputation of a curative art. Both witchcraft and medicine fell to the share of women, and from the same causes. A physician was called in the Gothic, Lekeis; in Anglo-Saxon, Lanen; in the old Norse, Läknir; in Swedish, Läkare. The English Leech is degraded to a quack amongst the peasantry, or a cattle-doctor. Lachenäre, Lachenärinne, express Sorcerer and Sorceress. One of the Scandinavian Asinor was considered the most experienced of doctresses. Amongst the people there are still old women who practise forms of invocation, stroking, sprinkling, and blessing. It is remarkable that the healing formulas are said only to take effect from men upon women, and from women upon men. There are shepherds who are said to have a preeminent faculty for healing; and formerly this was the case amongst herdsmen and hunters.

Demi-goddesses, wise women, were possessed of the power of healing. Crescentia received the gift of curing all diseases; according to the old French poem (Méon, n. ii. 2, 71, 73) merely the leprosy. The queens of antiquity were said to have the power of curing certain diseases by the touch. In Rother, 32 f, 33 a, the queen stroked the lame and the crooked with a stone. The kings of France and England are said to possess a similar power. If a woman has seven sons in succession, the seventh is believed to be able with a blow of his hand to heal all injuries. According to Ettner's midwife, he can cure goitre by the touch.

Christianity considers disease to be a dispensation of God; heathenism treated it as the work of spirits, and it was thus regarded as something elfish. Of course, the

diseases of animals were also the effect of spirits. In the fourth formula Stesso with his nine young ones is adjured to come out of the flesh and skin of the lame horse. Hydrophobia is said to be owing to a worm under the tongue of dogs, and that the worm may be extracted. A disease of horses is called the blowing worm, which reminds us of the blowing Hold. According to the popular faith a witch can conjure its Hold or Elf into men as well as beasts.

Amongst the multitude of superstitious means of cure, the following are striking. It was a most ancient custom to measure the sick, partly for the purpose of cure, and partly to ascertain whether the disease increased or decreased; and we find in both books of Kings that Elijah and Elisha measured themselves upon the lifeless bodies of the children, and that by that means the life returned into them.

Next to the water-drawing and sprinkling of the knowing woman is the blessing the door-sill of a house with the stroke of an axe. But another mode of healing was of letting the children or cattle pass through a hollow scooped in the earth, or through the opening of a cleft tree. This it was supposed cast out all witchcraft, or to annihilate it, or to cure sympathetically. If a child did not willingly learn to walk, it was made to creep through the long withes of the blackberry-bush which were grown down to the earth. Sick sheep were passed through the cleft of a young oak. This slipping through the cleft of the oak, or through the earth, seems to have been with the view of transferring the disease to the genius of the tree or the earth: but it is not related what were the diseases thus cured. In the last century the English peasantry cured ruptures in this manner. Diseases and means of cure were also buried in the earth, and especially in the nests of ants. To this mode belongs the cure of epilepsy in the tenth century by a buried peach-blossom, as Ratherius relates incredulously.

This transference of the disease to the tree, or rather to the spirit which lived in it, is curious. Amongst the forms of adjuration, we find the commencement thus:—"Twig, I bind thee; fever, now leave me." Westendorp relates the following Netherlands practice:—Whoever has the ague, let him go early in the morning to an old willow tree,

tie three knots in a branch, and say, "Good morning, old one! I give thee the cold; good morning, old one!" He must then turn round quickly, and run off as fast as he can without looking behind him. The gout must be handed over to an old pine tree. A number of sympathetic means either heal or do more mischief. Thus the jaundice becomes incurable if a yellow-legged hen flies over the patient, but is cured by looking into black cart-grease. Spanning over a can or a bowl brings out spasms of the heart. Twisting a willow cures a twisted neck or cuts in the body. To cure St. Anthony's Fire you must strike sparks over it. Break a loaf of bread over the heads of children that learn to speak with difficulty; a tooth that is pulled must be stuck into the bark of a young tree. There are abundance of such means against hiccup, ear-ache, tooth-ache, etc. Great virtues are attributed to springs of water, especially to such as have been blessed by a saint.

SYMPATHETIC SUPERSTITION.

When women boil yarn, they must tell a lie at the same time, otherwise it will not get white.

Parents must not buy their children any rattles, nor allow any to be given them, or they will be slow at learning, and will speak with difficulty.

When you take straw for a hen's nest out of a marriage bed, you must take it from the man's side if you want cock chickens, and from the wife's if you want hen chickens.

No one must on any account weigh an empty cradle, or he will weigh the child's rest away.

The nails on the hands of an infant must be bitten off by the mother the first time, or it will learn to steal.

If you wish a child to become a hundred years old, you must get it godfathers out of three different parishes.

If you let a child look into a looking-glass before it is a year old, it will become proud.

Children that cry at christening, will die soon.

Let a mother go three Sundays successively out of the church in silence, and blow each time into the mouth of her child, and it will get its teeth easy.

Let the father immediately after the christening give the child a sword in its hand, and it will become brave.

Blue cornflowers gathered on Corpus-Christi Sunday stop the bleeding of the nose if they are held in the hand till they are warm.

A woman can cure her ear-ache by binding a man's stocking round her head.

Elder planted before the stable door preserves the cattle from witchcraft.

He who carries about him a cord with which a rupture doctor has bound up a rupture, may lift the heaviest weight without any danger.

A piece of wood out of a coffin that has been dug up, when laid in a cabbage bed defends it from caterpillars.

One should not lean over a cradle where a child is sleeping, nor should it be left standing open.

Splinters from an oak split by lightning cure tooth-ache.

He who will sow seed, let him be careful not to lay it on a table, otherwise it will not grow.

He who has the hiccup, let him plunge a naked knife into a can of beer, and take a good draught of it at one breath.

He who cannot sleep, be it child or adult, let him lay a composing whisp under his pillow; that is, straw which workwomen put under the burdens on their backs; but it must be taken from the people unknown to them.

In brewing, lay a bunch of nettles in the barrel; it is then safe against thunder.

A wife who has a cold must sneeze into her husband's shoe.

It is not good to strike a beast with a switch which has been used to correct a child.

Chastise neither man nor beast with a peeled stick, for whatever is beaten with it will dry up.

When you place your shoes reversed at the head of your bed, the nightmare cannot oppress you.

Old women often cut a turf of a foot long which their enemy has lately trodden on, and hang it up in the chimney, and their enemy must wither away.

Let any one who has great anxiety, touch the great toe of a dead person, and he will at once become free from it.

If any one dies in the house, you must shake the bee-

hives, and the wine and vinegar, or the bees, the wine and the vinegar, will all go off or spoil.

The first medicine which a lying-in woman takes, should be out of her husband's spoon; it will then be more efficacious.

During the pains of child-birth, it does good to turn the slippers of the husband round.

Three grains of salt in a measure of milk preserves it from witchcraft.

No one must taste the first warm beer which is given to a lying-in woman; it must be tried with the finger, otherwise the woman will be attacked with colic.

If a child has the red-gum, take a piece of wood from a mill-wheel, burn it, and smoke the child's swaddling-clothes therewith; then wash the child with water that flows from the wheel. The wood that remains must be cast into running water.

You should never wean a child while trees are in blossom; otherwise it will have grey hair.

Three buttons bound together with a thread, and laid in a coffin, will free from warts.

If any one has received a bodily hurt, wash him with brook-water while the bell is tolling for a funeral.

Plantain laid under the feet removes weariness.

He who carries a wolf's heart with him, will not be devoured by the wolf.

To cure the weakness of children, let their water be received into a vessel in which is laid the egg of a coal-black hen, which has been bought without handling, and in which nine holes are pierced. The vessel must then be wrapped in linen, and placed in an ant's nest which has been found without seeking for, and that after sunset. Whoever finds this vessel let him take care not to use it, otherwise he will receive the buried weakness.

If a child fall off in its health, bind a thread of red-silk about its neck; then catch a mouse, draw a thread of the same silk through its skin across the back-bone, and let it run away. As the mouse wastes away, the child will improve.

When an old woman blesses and prays the spasms of the chest, she breathes crosswise on the affected part, applies a poultice of salt and barley meal to it, and pro-

nounces—"Spasm and throe, I bid thee go; away from the rib, as Christ from the crib." If the patient is seized with the cramp, he must stretch himself on a plum-tree, and say —"Climbing plant stand, plum-tree waver."

There are people who, through the muttering of a formula, are able to stop a horse in full gallop, to make a watch-dog silent, to stanch blood, and to drive back fire, so that it consumes itself.

In sowing peas, take before the sun goes down some of the peas in your mouth, keep them there in silence while you are sowing the rest, and this will preserve them from sparrows.

The oak is a prophetic tree. A fly in the gall-nut foretells war; a maggot, dearness; a spider, pestilence.

A piece of oak rubbed in silence on the body on St. John's Day, before the sun rise, heals all open wounds.

He who has warts, let him take a great house-snail, and nail it on the door-post, and as the snail dries up, the wart will dry up too.

A bunch of wild thyme and origanum laid by the milk, prevents its being spoiled by thunder.

Moles are cured on the face by touching them with a dead man's hand; but the hand must be kept there till it becomes warm.

Rain water that stands on a tomb-stone will take away freckles.

A horse may be lamed by driving a nail into the recent print of his foot.

If a hen wants to set, make her nest of straw out of the bed of husband or wife.

He who has ague, let him go without speaking, or crossing water, to a lofty willow, make a gash in it, breathe three times into it, close it quickly, and hasten away without looking back, and the ague will be gone.

Young lilies of the valley gathered before sunrise, and rubbed over the face, take away freckles.

The women hang a kind of root on the cows to drive gadflies and maggots, and have extraordinary superstitions concerning this.*

* The author has omitted the well-known practice in the middle ages of anointing the sword which had wounded any one, instead of the

Those spasms which were witnessed so frequently in the witch-trials are in all respects very like those to which people are prone in general; nay, they may even become epidemic and contagious. They were common amongst the Brahmins and the deliverers of oracles; in the St. Vitus's Dance, and in lunacy; and the visions connected with them shaped themselves according to the individual circumstances and the activity of the imagination. There frequently is a chest spasm connected with a clairvoyant state, and out of this arises what is called the alp, or nightmare. Some kind of a beast, or monster, a giant or cobold, comes and lays itself on the chest, in which the circulation stops, and the action of the muscles is paralysed, so that the sufferer cannot move a limb. In those who are attacked by nightmare, which often occurs in youth from a too full or weak stomach, there are frequently violent attacks of cramp, and after the attack swellings, or blue spots, or bloody marks, even in particular places. The congestion of blood in the part, with severe spasmodic pressure of the same, occasions an anxious feeling, and a pain which can be felt long after the attack and the vision connected with it have disappeared.

"Thus, some one saw that a spirit seized him; and after this had vanished, he felt in the part which it had seized

wound itself. From these notions no doubt comes the drinking proverb of taking a hair of the dog that bit him; that is, the following morning taking a dram of the liquor which made him drunk. The common practice of children in the country, when they have nettled themselves, taking a dock-leaf and rubbing the place with it, repeating all the time—"Nettle go out, dock go in," is a remains of the superstition of sympathetic cures, and the mummery of formulas during the process, especially of the belief that you might transfer your complaints to trees and plants; such as the instance recorded above of giving your ague to an old willow—"Good morning old one, etc."

The peasantry of Germany, particularly in the Catholic districts, have full faith in these superstitions. The reader may find numerous formulas for such cures in a book sold on all stalls at German fairs called "Romanen Büchein." This book teaches that Abracadabra, written on a strip of paper and kept in your waistcoat pocket, will defend you against wounds or stabs, and also, if you should find your house on fire, you have only to throw this paper into it, and the fire will be extinguished. See Howitt's "Rural and Social Life of Germany."—*Translator.*

a severe pain for several days. In other persons this part was actually swollen. It is not to be wondered at that no one can persuade such persons out of the belief in apparitions, as they cannot otherwise account for the fixed pain and swelling. Experience shows, too, that men in severe frights swell over the whole body. In those spectral visions terror fixes the pain and swelling in the part on which the spectre seems to seize."

A very orthodox, but at the same time very enlightened Catholic clergyman, L. Phil. Ed. Lillbopp, in his work on the Miracles of Christianity, and their relation to animal magnetism, sweeps away the darkness from this subject and from that which prevailed in the witch-times, with a few strokes of his pen, and lets in the light of reason and of tried experience.

Another phenomenon of magic was insensibility to all external stimulants, which was sometimes observed, and was attributed to the devil. We have already seen that in the rigid spasm, in madness and in convulsions, that was by no means unfrequent, and which is not difficult to conceive in the full negation of the external polarity of the senses.

In Paris, not many years ago, a clairvoyant prescribed in her sleep the amputation of her own diseased breast, and when this was afterwards done during her mesmeric sleep she was extremely astonished that she had not in the least perceived it.* Such a temporary loss of feeling I have myself often witnessed. I was able shortly after a dislocation of the thigh to convey the magnetic-sleeping Miss H—— in a carriage, for more than ninety miles in two days, during the greater part of which time she slept. This clairvoyant placed a burning moxa on the chest and another on the hip of a magnetic patient during sleep, and she felt nothing of it. In modern times total insensibility to pain has been observed under the most violent torture; but this has not been attributed to supernatural agency, as in former ages.

Horst relates that a merchant named Löhnig, from Silesia, under the government of the Emperor Paul, was condemned to a hundred and fifty severe blows of the knout. At the same time another person was condemned to thirty, and a

* An eminent physician in London assured us that he had witnessed an exactly similar case in a lady on Denmark-hill.

thirl to fifty. Löhnig saw the first die before him, and the next kicked away. When it came to his turn, he immediately under the stroke of the knout became insensible to all feeling. He received the whole number of his blows; both nostrils were torn open, and the brow scarred; yet Löhnig, according to his positive assurance, had felt nothing of all this. Heim, in the "Archives of Practical Medicine," relates many cases of the temporary loss of consciousness and feeling in otherwise healthy individuals. Amongst others, a soldier received fifty strokes of a stick from a subaltern officer, which he sustained without a sign of pain, and without moving. After the chastisement, he said to the commanding officer that he begged pardon for sleeping in his presence. Horst relates a similar but still more striking case. There have been men who could voluntarily throw themselves into a state of catalepsy, and of external insensibility; as, for instance, the celebrated Cardanus. Many such perfectly credible facts are related of the saints, especially when at the stake.

St. Augustine relates (De civitate Dei, l. xiv. c. 24): There was a priest, of the name of Restitutus, in Calama, who according to his pleasure, when he imitated a tone of pain, thus withdrew himself from the senses, and lay like one dead, so that he neither felt pinches nor pricks; and even was once burnt with fire without any sensation or consequent wound. No breathing was observed in him; and he himself declared that he only heard the loudest voices as if they came from a distance. When in the year 1461 the Hussites fell under great persecution, a very pious man of superior rank at Prague was put upon the rack. Immediately that he was bound on the frame, he became insensible to all pain and as one dead, so that the executioner believing him so, threw him aside on the ground. After some time coming to himself, he wondered that his sides, his hands, and feet were so painful; and it was only when he had noticed the weals, the marks of stabs, and the blood-blisters on his body, and saw the instruments of his execution, that he was aware what had happened. He then related a beautiful dream which he had had during the time of the torture. He was led into a lovely meadow, in the midst of which there was a tree with abundance of splendid

fruit. There were upon this tree a variety of birds; and there was seen a youth who kept them in order with a switch, so that none of them ventured to fly away. He also saw three men, who looked at this tree; and it was very remarkable that the year following, three men, who resembled those seen in the vision, were promoted to be princes in the church."

Now as to those matters and instruments which come out of various parts of the bodies of witches, there have also been in our times similar phenomena. But the hocus in these recent cases has been too palpable to need any supernatural agency to explain them. These matters, spite of appearances, or of any presumed acts of the devil, have neither grown in the body, nor are introduced into it by any miracle. Jugglers swallow stones and glass, knives and forks, and throw up such things at pleasure, as one not long ago in America did to the astonishment of all who saw him, but in the end died of it, and was found with a whole heap of such things in his stomach. In lunacy and in spasms, people swallow, frequently, anything that they can lay hands on; others swallow pins and needles, and probably stick them into their flesh; and it happens, by no means unfrequently, that the sick, in order to draw the pity or attention of others towards them, play an heroic part, and affect a great virtue in pains and sufferings, in weaknesses and tortures. This *errare humanum*, or hobby, may be the effect of a whim; but it may sometimes be, as history teaches, the consequence of a selfish imposture. Wholly impure designs are frequently concealed behind the veil, and pins and needles are often the very natural means of producing swellings. A celebrated and circumspect physician, some years ago, at Copenhagen, saw for a long time a number of needles come out of the body of a patient, and even helped to extract them, till he perceived the trickery, not through acute observation, but merely by chance. They are precisely needles and pins which have always created such astonishment. Wier relates, on the authority of J. Rufus, that a maid who was possessed in Constance, after violent pains in the intestines, gave forth a number of such things. "Famulam cujusdam civis a dæmonio compressam, eique tandem per pœnitentiam

valedixisse, ac postea tantos in utero sensisse crutiatus, ut in singulas fere horas infantem se crederat exixuram: inde clavos ferreos, ligna, vitra compacta, lapides, ossa et hujusmodi ex matrice excrevisse." People found but little sorcery in the hairs, the egg-shells, the yarn, even in the glass and stones, which made their appearance by unknown ways. The devil seems to have attained his object better with his pins and needles. In short, these things with women are difficult to trace to the bottom, but with pins and needles they are thoroughly at home. Yet in the very times of witchcraft we find these things explained in a similar manner, as a passage in Horst shows:—"Instructio pro formandis processibus in causis strigum, sortilegiorum et maleficiorum, Romæ, 1671." It is there said:—"Et adeo si perquirentur singulorum lecti, præcipue ex pluma confecti, nec mirum quod quandoque reperiantur acus, nam ubi sunt mulieres, acus ubique abundant et facile est, quod per accidens spatio alicujus temporis multæ acus in predictis mobilibus introcludantur. Neque forsan ab re est considerare, dæmonem aliquando talia supponere potuisse absque partitione, ut inde credantur maleficium commissum et sic aliqua persona indebite damnum patiatur, quemadmodum videmus in actu exorcismi nonnullorum obsessorum, qui videntur evomere acus, clavos et diversa involucra, quæ tamen impossibile et obsessos in corpore habere, prout non habent, etc. Ex quibus patet quam circumspectus esse debet judex circus hujusmodi reperta, cum de facili, vel potuerint supponi, vel esse naturalia, vel [he adds in favour of his own times] facta opera dæmonis sive alicujus ministerio."

There were in the middle ages other kindred phenomena, which had their foundation in religious fanaticism. To these belong the ecstasies and convulsions in the churchyard of St. Medard at Paris, where at the grave of the Deacon of Paris people had the most violent convulsions and visions, which to all appearance were very like the possessions of ancient times. They are said to have continued perfectly insensible to, and uninjured by, stabs and blows with pointed poles and iron bars, and under the crush of the heaviest weights which were thrown upon them. The community of spirits and of visions was also plentifully there.

The Phrygian prophets and the Montanists exhibited many phenomena resembling these convulsions, to which Irenæus and Tertullian had nothing to object. But never were the convulsions and the excitement more horrible than amongst the Flagellants, and in the Dancing-mania, a disease in the middle ages, which Hecker describes. See "The Dancing-mania; a Popular Disease," 1832.

The Society of Flagellants appeared in Italy in the thirteenth century. The disease first attacked the inhabitants of Perugia, and, finally, nearly all the people of Italy. After crimes and abominations had disgraced Italy, a great repentance and fear of Christ fell upon them; and the noble and the commoner, the young and the old, even children of five years of age, ran through the streets naked with whips and leathern straps, with which, amid sighs and weeping, they chastised themselves on the shoulders till the blood flowed, and they cried aloud for mercy. Even in the night, too, they went about by ten thousand at a time, with torches, and with priests and banners. This frenzy, however, became far more extensive in the middle of the fourteenth century in consequence of the Black Death. The scourges of the Brothers of the Cross in Westphalia were sticks with loose-hanging thongs, at the end of each of which were iron prickles, with which they chastised themselves till their bodies were green and blue. In 1374 there were seen in Aix-la-Chapelle troops of men and women, out of Germany, who, hand in hand, and in a state of perfect insanity, danced furiously for whole hours together, till they fell down exhausted. Then they complained of great oppression, and groaned, till people laced up the lower parts of their bodies, and pressed them together by blows of the fists and by treading on them. Some said that they saw in their convulsions the heavens open; then followed spasms, and epileptic convulsions and fearful racking of the limbs, and those who were accidentally present became infected by them, so that they were irresistibly compelled to join them. For two hundred years examples of their dancings continued. The history of the St. Vitus's dance and its contagiousness is better known.

Tholuck gives the following facts concerning the sect of

Jumpers or Springers who arose in America in 1760. (See Tholuck's Miscellaneous Writings, Th. i. p. 91.) "Their divine service was accompanied by the most wonderfully convulsive gestures; and still in the religious assemblages of the Methodists there, which are held in the open air, that is, at their camp-meetings, the convulsions and violent spasms, under the name of jerkings, are by no means uncommon. The remarkable epidemic laughing-mood is also of this kind, which sometimes attacks them in their public services. Women have often been known to laugh for two days together, and to be so attacked by the devil that they could not resist. Wesley, their founder, was attacked by this laughing epidemic on a Sunday fourteen years before, as he was walking with his brother in a meadow, and while they were singing religious hymns. Spite of their endeavours, neither of them could give over, and they were obliged to go home. Poor L—— created a particularly great sensation; and they knew very well that she did not feign. Never, he says, had he seen any one who was so terribly dragged hither and thither by the evil one. Now she laughed aloud so that she was nearly suffocated; now she broke forth in cursing and blaspheming the name of God: then she stamped on the ground with such extraordinary strength that four or five people were not able to hold her. She was like one possessed. Finally, with a feeble voice, she called on Christ for help, and the violence of the paroxysm ceased. Because these paroxysms expressed themselves in laughter, they considered them to be the work of the devil.

Of the same kind were those magical occurrences amongst the children in the orphan-houses at Amsterdam and Horn, which may be compared perfectly to the effect on the children at Mora. The Netherland historian, P. C. Hooft, relates that, in the year 1566, the children in the orphan-houses at Amsterdam were so horribly tormented that it was enough to make any one's hair stand on end. Many children possessed by devils were not only so severely tortured that after their release the effects continued to cling to them through their lives, but they also climbed like cats up the walls and over the roofs, and made such horrible faces that the most

courageous men were terrified at them. They could speak foreign languages, and related things which took place at the same moment in other places, even in the courts of justice. They made such extraordinary movements in particular before the houses of certain women, that there arose a loud outcry against those women as witches.

In the orphan-house at Horn, according to Franz Kniper, in his work on the Devils, the following circumstances occurred in the same year as the strange events at Mora. In the year 1670 a great number of orphans of both sexes, but generally of the uneducated class, were attacked with a complaint for which various doctors of medicine could find no cure. The children fell down suddenly, and lost all consciousness. They were terribly racked and torn. They stamped with the feet, struck their arms and their heads on the earth, gnashed their teeth, howled and yelled like dogs. The stomachs of some of them rose and fell so violently as if they had some living thing within them. When they lay still they were as stiff as so many pieces of wood, and they could be carried about without their limbs moving; in which state they frequently continued for hours. The paroxysms infected other children when they saw them, or when they only heard their howling; and they fell into this condition on almost every occasion of divine worship, either before the preacher, or during the hours of prayer. The more God was prayed to for aid, the worse became the paroxsyms. In the times of fast these children were the most disorderly, and yet the most free from these attacks, because they had freedom and pleasure, and this, therefore, was regarded as devilish. When, at length, the children were taken out of the orphan-house, and received into the families of the citizens, they became rapidly better.

The same circumstances took place amongst the girls, in the girls' school of Antoinette Bourignon at Ryssel, from 1640 to 1650, which we shall soon become better acquainted with, more than fifty of whom by degrees confessed that they could bewitch people; the first, who had been shut up on account of some misdemeanour, found

means of escape, and declared, on examination, that the devil had released her.

We have seen how the natural gifts of divining were awakened amongst men, and were diffused through sympathy. We have seen this amongst the Indians; amongst the prophets of the school of Samuel, and the Israelites; amongst the Greek Corybantes; amongst the Scandinavian and German Druids; in the Taigheirm, and in the inspired dances of the Schamans, and amongst the witches of the middle ages.

Now comes another kind of visionary phenomena amongst the religious fanatics, of which the so-called Philadelphian Society, established by Pordage, displayed the most extraordinary specimens. All the members of the society had revelations and similar impressions of the senses, so that their visions, as it were, working from within outwardly, as by a contagion the inner senses affecting the outer ones, the wonder of all parties was excited,—the believers attributing the whole to the power of spirits, and the unbelievers to the effect of a bewildered imagination, or to deceit, which we, instructed by magnetism, have learned to recognise as physiological realities, and to explain the causes of their productions.

If the demoniacally-prophetic was supposed in the preceding phenomena, under the guidance of the devil, to play a demoralising part amid the most frightful rackings of the body and the confusion of the soul, others came forward somewhat later to unite the idea of white magic with religious faith in the divine, and in its miraculous power. This white, or natural magic, consists not in the sorcerer's faith in demoniac conjuration, — "ars subtilis nullis ceremoniis et conjurationibus contaminata," but it rests, according to Paracelsus, on the knowledge of natural powers, on the miraculous force of the imagination through faith. "Through faith, men may perform the incredible by means of the imagination, even to draw down the strength of the influences of the stars; and if the command be combined with faith, the magically-divine spirit in us has a superhuman sphere of action, which extends itself as wide as our thoughts, our imagination, and our faith."

To this white magic belongs the power of working

miracles, of perceiving and using the signatures of natural things, of foretelling the future, and of uniting the spirit fully with God through love, and thereby becoming an immediate partaker in the being and the work of God. So says Campanella (De sensu rerum, c. 1 and 2.) :—"Qui magiam naturalem probe exercit cum pietate et reverentia erga creatorem, meretur sæpe ad supernaturalem eligi, et cum superis participare: qui autem abutuntur in maleficiis et venenis, merentur a dæmone ludificari et ad perditionem trahi. Fides requiritur et cordis puritas non historica sed intrinseca, quæ cum deo unanimes nos faciat."

It is difficult to arrive, however, at this beautiful idea of magic in the highest degree, since there requires for it a genuine holiness; and where pious minds strive honestly after it, yet they very easily stray into the flowery field of Theosophy, and thence lose themselves in that fanatic darkness of spiritual adepts, in whom the free activity of the spirit cooperates less in exertion than pious faith in passive submission, awaits immediate inspiration as the gift of divine grace without any merit of our own. We have here to take a passing glance at examples of this kind, taken from the biographies of spiritually allied theosophists of the seventeenth century, and especially of Pordage, Bromley, Antoinette Bourignon, Jane Lead, Poiret, Swedenborg, etc. In all of these, magic, in its best sense, plays the chief part; but one-sided theosophic subtleties, and a fanaticism of the imagination as to inward enlightenment, and divination and intercourse with spirits, have also their ample share.

Pordage was an English preacher of Cromwell's time; and being removed by the Protector from his living, he became an esteemed physician. In his principal work, "The True Divine Metaphysics," Pordage sets the power of the word with the inner vision and the right intention above everything. He who knows how to make himself master of the true word, and how to use it, and has the best intentions in using it, can produce magical effects; since through the inward vision men become aware of distant and future things. Pordage, with these peculiarities and visions and

intercourse with spirits, had once even a combat with a giant, who carried a tree which he had torn up, upon his shoulder, and a monstrous sword in his hand. Another time there appeared a winged dragon, who took up half the room, and vomited fire upon him, so that he fell down in a swoon. He was accustomed to such apparitions, particularly in the night, and the spirits went in and out of his chamber; and according to his assurance, his wife often saw the spirits as well as himself. By that battle with the giant, Pordage does not mean an actual, but a spiritual or magical giant, as one spirit has power to operate upon another. For there is a real though inexplicable influence which one spirit can exert upon another; and the influence of spirits can extend itself to a distance, so that a man through imagination and a lively desire can effect good or evil.

Pordage, in 1651, established amongst friends of similar views the so-called Philadelphian Society, to which afterwards some twenty members belonged; amongst them, Jane Lead, Thomas Bramley, Edward Hoker, etc. This society increased to a hundred members, and they were called the Angelic Brethren. Soon after this establishment, all the members at once, in one of their meetings, fell into ecstasy, in which they first saw visions of the dark world in the most horrible forms, but immediately afterwards, for the refreshment of their spirits, they had others from the world of angels. These transports took place daily for nearly a whole month, and generally in the meetings by day, though also at night. The former, from the world of darkness, passed in great pomp before their eyes. Their carriages were drawn by beasts; such as dragons, bears, tigers, etc. The unhappy spirits also appeared in the human form, yet in various distortions; some with the ears of cats, others with claws, or with fiery eyes, great teeth, and mouths drawn all on one side. He saw spirits pass in regular hosts on clear days before his windows; others through the glass into the room. He saw these and other apparitions, as he expresses it, through the outward sight with the inward eye. "For when we closed our eyes, we saw just as well as when they were open. Thus we saw everything, both inward with the eyes of the mind, and outwardly with the eyes of the body."

And then he gives the true explanation: "The true original ground of this seeing was in the opening of the inward eye of the mind; and thus it proceeded farther, in a magical manner, from the inward through the outward organ, through the most intimate union of the internal and external sight."

The evil spirits, like the angels, are in all places, in the air and on the earth, and cannot be excluded. "We saw them in the open air, and we saw them pass through closed doors and windows, without breaking the panes, and by clear daylight. The spirits can change themselves according to pleasure into gigantic forms or into furious beasts; as bears, lions, tigers, and snakes. From this we learn that evil spirits as well as good can be excluded from no place, for we saw them, says he, with their pomp and state go by like the clouds in the air, and in a moment they had passed through the windows into the room. Moreover, the organs of smell were affected; and thus the evil spirits kept up for three weeks, during which they appeared to them, a pernicious and abominable smell, which affected them greatly through the medium of the imagination." They also were persecuted with a detestable taste; for whether alone or in company with each other, they had an intolerable devilish taste of brimstone, soot, and salt, all mixed together, that would have occasioned them not only great disgust, but horror and sickness, had not the invisible hand of God supported them. They felt during this time exceedingly unwell, both in body and mind; and they were conscious of strange magical wounds, and stabs, and plagues, such as no one can describe except such as have been tried like Job, etc. The devils, says Pordage, finally drew all sorts of figures on the windows, and also on the tiles of the house, which they could not wash away; such as the two hemispheres of the globe, carriages full of men drawn by four horses, and which pictures appeared always to be in motion.

To these enthusiastic spirit-seers belonged particularly Thomas Bromley, Madame Antoinette Bourignon, and Jane Lead. Both ladies, through their intellectual accomplishments, and their numerous writings, have left an extended fame and a lasting interest; so that we must pay them some attention.

Antoinette Bourignon was born in Ryssel, in Flanders, in 1616, where she founded the above-mentioned ladies' school, and endeavoured to educate the children committed to her care, rather for heaven than earth; but which did not succeed. For the children preferred remaining on the earth, and therefore they were not able to follow the spiritual flight of their governess into heaven; they only reached, at the highest, the region of the air, and then fell, through the want of bodily nourishment, into the company of the sorcerers, who at that time haunted the world in all directions. Madame Bourignon was supported by the pious in these endeavours through spiritual exercises, but by the mockers she was declared to be a fool. She was finally obliged to quit the school, and after she had suffered severe trials from the kingdom of Satan, whom she had presented in many strange shapes in her writings, she rescued herself by flight. From her earliest years she had loved a quiet and retired life, exercised in pious practices; she had a decided drawing towards a conventual existence, which her parents did not permit her to indulge. As she could not attain to the object of her desires, she converted her chamber into a cell, where she had a beautiful crucifix, and passed the greater part of her nights on her knees in prayer. During such devotional exercises, she had often apparitions, which indicated her call to a solitary and unmarried life. As, however, during the life of her parents, she could not obtain her wish of retiring into the wilderness in the garb of an anchorite, after their death, through the means of one Saulieu, this girls' school was established for her. After he had set up a similar boys' school which met with little support, he made her an offer of marriage. The pious Bourignon rejected such a proposition with horror, and these witch-apparitions in her school were attributed to the disappointed Saulieu.

Bourignon then went to live at Ghent, in Belgium, and afterwards in Hamburg, where she continued her ascetic practices with others of like mind, maintaining her mantic and gnostic views; and by her numerous writings she gave rise to many theological controversies, in which she had very celebrated men as her supporters; amongst others, Johann Swammerdam, who in his latter years submitted all his writings to her inspection and judgment. She pub-

lished herself her autobiography: "La vie intérieure et extérieure de B., par elle-même." And Poiret republished this with the rest of her writings, as—"La dernière miséricorde de Dieu; la lumière née en ténèbres; le nouveau ciel et la nouvelle terre," etc. Finally, her life has been published at Leipsig, in 1809, in the Pantheon of Celebrated Women.

Jane Lead, of a noble family in Norfolk, had enjoyed a careful education, but displayed in her youth a passion for solitude. After the death of her husband, with whom she had lived in wedlock seven-and-twenty years, she had her first apparition, which, according to her own account, showed evidence of great excitement. She now withdrew from all domestic affairs, lived nearly isolated, and, as a member of the Philadelphian Society, had those apparitions of spirits which proceed from the light of Christ, the spiritual bridegroom, and from the Sophia in God, and the magic strength of those who are born again. This strength is to be compared to a creative breath or to a life-giving flame, as she expresses it, and which propagates itself as a spiritual root which takes hold on others, and thus extends itself increasingly. He who possesses it is enabled by it to command the whole of nature,—plants, beasts, and the mineral kingdom, and when much magic operates through one organ, can mould all nature into a paradise. She has published a great number of writings, as—"Clouds," "The Revelation of Revelations," "The Laws of Paradise," "The Wonders of the Creation of God," "An Embassy to the Philadelphian Society." All these appeared in the ninetieth year of the seventeenth century at Amsterdam. Her writings are wholly included in "Jager's Acta Leadiana," Tübingen, 1712.

During the Thirty Years War,, Anna M. Fliescher of Freiburg, of whom Andreas Moller speaks at length in his account of that city, created a great sensation in Germany. She had before related similar visions and revelations, but was a greater enthusiast than those already mentioned, and suffered from epilepsy and terrible convulsions, so that in her paroxysms she was thrown hither and thither as by the devil's power; nay, was even lifted three ells into the air. She climbed up tall stones and roofs, and placed herself in the utmost peril while she sang holy songs. In

her transports, she saw a shining youth, who brought her the revelations, and exhorted her to good; but the devil, too, appeared to her with all sorts of temptations and plagues, so that her body and limbs were dislocated, and after the attacks were again reset by the youth. Moller says, the wrenching, agitation, and restoration of her limbs took place as though it were done by a surgeon, which was witnessed both by myself and two physicians of this city, as well as many other persons. Fräulein H—— had an actual dislocation of the hip-joint, which I magnetised, and in magnetic sleep replaced, but she had no visions.

At no time did more enthusiasts, visionaries, and prophets appear, than in the first half of the seventeenth century, and during the Thirty-years' War, in which troubles of all sorts, sorrow and suffering, hunger and plague, overspread Germany. Terror and misfortune, expectation and longing after freedom, so excited the minds of the religious partizans of that time, that religious zeal and heroic faith, as well as fanaticism and fantastic transports, were the order of the day. A great number of persons might, therefore, be added to these as examples, who in form and substance exactly agree with them. Most of them were bodily and spiritually sick, on which account their visions belong less to the category of religious imaginative pictures. Thus, Christiana Poniatöwitzsch, a daughter of a Protestant clergyman, through her visions and prophesyings in Bohemia and Germany, excited great attention. She had both night and day, with both open and closed eyes, visions of all kinds, transports and communion with spirits, like Swedenborg; but with her transports she had, at the same time, the most horrible spasms, till at length she fell into a swoon, and the spasms and visions left her for ever.

Not only these religious ecstatics, but others, and even sober philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, placed the power of imagination very high; nay, not seldom beside enthusiastic exaggeration, so that a father said to his ecstatic daughter Seraphine, and with great truth:— "Thou knowest not, dear child, what a fearful creature man carries about with him in his own imagination. Seraphine will not be the last victim of this murderess."

Many of the philosophical writers of that century have dwelt

largely on the nature of the imaginative power, which shows that they had a deeper conception of it than at present is the case, when imagination is regarded as a wholly fleeting, shapeless form of representation, and as a wind hurrying past. The most eminent of these philosophers are Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Campanella, Poiret, etc.

Poiret, in his "Divine Housekeeping," agrees entirely with Pordage, that the spirit, the creative imagination, perceives things no otherwise than through an infusion of itself into them, or through a pouring of its own light into them, by which it becomes, to a certain degree, present to external objects. Thus, for instance, the divine communication of a revelation takes place through an immediate illumination of the human soul, and thus is God made present with men. This revelation cannot take place in a soul which is not the image of God; which is not of a divine nature. But man possesses the same creative power, though in a less degree, and of a less noble quality, in his reason and imagination. As God created the actual world through the inbeaming of his imagination and his will, so he conferred imagination on man, by the help of which he can represent things to himself. He gave him not, indeed, the creative power of mind, to bring forth material things, but the equally, and, in a certain sense, not less active imagination, by means of which he originally could handle physical objects as he could the pictures of his own imagination. Thus, for example, through imagination, he could so operate on an animal, by his will, which he beheld at a distance, that it should come nearer to him, so that in this manner he could rule absent things even as he now rules present ones. Originally man could by gestures and words, by the exertion of his imagination and his will, command the whole physical world. Thus, as we now can move our members as we will, because secret force flows from us into them, so could man through secret spiritual influence operate on the physical world, which was present to him or near to him; for, says Poiret, one is just as conceivable or inconceivable as the other. It was merely a renewal of the original nature of man, when the saints of the old time, in concert with their imaginations and the force of their wills, performed such wonderful things through the

might of their word; and thence the theurgic faith of all time in the omnipotence of adjuration. For example, when Noah called the animals to him into the ark; when Joshua commanded the sun; and Moses the Red Sea. Man did not originally receive speech in order to communicate his thoughts to his fellows; for that he could originally do through a secret influence, or through the mere desire of communication. He says, also, what Franz von Baader confirms, that man can not plasticly create, but he can dominate and imaginate over that which is created.

After the above concise summary of this last historical period, I quote as a conclusion the following judgment upon it, from my work on Magnetism:—1st. A certain prophetic faculty is a common property of the human race, which becomes conspicuous in proportion as man withdraws himself from the external physical world. 2nd. Man discovers from this a higher power of the spirit, and a less circumscribed sphere of action for it; and this power can, according to the direction of the will, adapt itself to good or evil. 3rd. But it easily happens that the imagination acquiring a predominating action in the inner world of mind, separates itself from the guiding understanding, and then loses itself in an unrestrained flight in obscure paths, so that the subjective image of contemplation takes the place of the objective one of reality, and attributes to it external substances; as the apparitions of the Angelic Brethren show. 4th. The imagination thus excited, can in so free a flight and in the predominating religious mood of mind, be easily misled to fanaticism, if the general intercourse with man be interrupted or wholly abandoned. 5th. In such a state of things visions may have an injurious reflex action on the body, and injure the health, 6th. In such a wavering condition of the body and the soul, the functions of life become, in fact, diseased: the senses produce visions, and the muscles spasms, as an abnormal condition, in which transports and madness are more frequently the result than truth and strength. 7th. As the soul and the body have their true equilibrium, and occasion mutually defective functions and sympathies, so can an over-excited or false subjective condition of the senses draw all or several of the objective senses into a diseased sympathy of suffering; as we have seen

in the witches of the Philadelphian Society, and as we frequently find to be the case in the magnetic phenomena of a degraded class of persons, in which smell, taste, and feeling, all have a smack of the spiritual cesspool within them. 8th. In so great a susceptibility and, as it were, demoralized state of the imagination, the objective impression of the senses easily passes in tone and form over into the inner movements of the subjective life, so that a loud sound, or a flash of light, may change themselves into a speaking voice and fixed luminous image, as is often the case with excitable, imaginative artists; and which is then the result of an exclusive attention to one object, as in the instance of the drawings left by the devil with Pordage, which on being looked at appeared to move; by which the reversal of the polarity of the senses, and the passing over of the inner sense to the outward organs of the senses, is no longer so perplexing. 9th. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, if uneducated magical seers, or enthusiastic minds, once sunk in such a visionary life, exert no judgment and no discrimination, in order to distinguish the subjective image of the imagination from the objective reality. 10th. Apart from deception and wilful deceit, self-delusion is very possible; appearance and fact, truth and error, may no longer be distinguishable from each other. 11th. So long as man lives on earth he must cherish his body, and allow it to receive all that is good for it, as well as cultivate the soul: for the sound body only has a sound soul. Where the limbs are contracted by spasms, the spirit sees apparitions. 12th The business of life is not mere visionary contemplation and indolent seclusion, but an active faith to do the work of love in a social community.

THIRD DIVISION.

MYSTIC DOCTRINES, AND ENDEAVOURS AFTER A PHILOSOPHICAL ELUCIDATION OF THE MAGIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

As I here propose to go no further into the history of philosophy, and in regard to the mystic philosophy in particular, refer to Molitor's work "The Philosophy of History, Part 3rd," I shall confine myself especially to those men who had magic and magical circumstances pre-eminently in view, and who have left behind them instructive hints and speculations upon them, highly advantageous to the history of magnetism.

THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS.

Unquestionably Paracelsus deserves one of the most eminent places in the history of magic; nay, we may assert that with him begins properly a new epoch in that history, since he not only awoke the mind to a higher endeavour, but still more, was the founder of a very remarkable school of magnetism, and that in more than one respect.

As to what relates to the phenomena, the mode of treating it, and to the theory of magnetism, we have already seen sufficient examples in the ancient times, and so downwards; but no man has developed the doctrine of the reciprocating elements of life with such perspicuity, such striking illustration, and such impressive language, as Paracelsus. Paracelsus was the first who compared this universal

reciprocity of life in all creations, in the great as in the small, with the magnet: so that the word *magnetism*, in the sense in which we understand it, originated with Paracelsus.

This doctrine of magnetism is scattered in a most remarkable manner through the works of Paracelsus, who lived three hundred years before our time; so that by seeking them out and collecting them they become very instructive to us. His conceptions of magnetic reciprocity were so clear and just, his ideas upon it, which he for the most part corroborated by his own experience, were of so lofty and peculiar a scope, that it is difficult for us to emulate his flight. But as he, as a spiritual philosopher, taught, and not only taught, but founded his system on the doctrine of emanation of all things from a primal Being, and on the emanations of the stars and the elementary bodies, and their influences on each other, people, from a great want of historical information, have regarded him as the originator of the Cabbalah; and as the essential principles of this school were not understood, and as the very name was a bugbear, Paracelsus was set down as a noisy theorist, an enthusiast and adventurer, and, through traditionary custom, this character has, in a great degree, adhered to him to the present time. A principal cause of this, indeed, was, that such unusual and startling assertions, brought forward in an incomprehensible style and in barbarous terms, and defended against his enemies with such lively fire, and with such bitterness and caustic wit, that it was not to be wondered at that it gave rise, in a man of such impetuous temperament, to much exaggerated and mysterious trash and a variety of nonsense.

I will now introduce some passages of the Paracelsian doctrine, and for that purpose avail myself of the works of Hemmann (Medico-Surgical Essays, Berlin, 1778) and Pfaff's Astrology; to which I shall add some important extracts on magnetism from his own works.

This extraordinary man, says Hemmann, gifted by nature with the most original talents, lived in an age when the science of medicine had degenerated to a shallow school gossip, and the disciples of Galen, spite of their gossiping and their passion for controversy and disputation, were the most wretched pretenders in the healing of diseases. He was one of the greatest chemists of his time; and as he

saw through much experience that the Galenic doctors, with their bleeding, purging, and emetics (for in those things consisted the whole lumber), scarcely succeeded in curing a single disease; and that pedlars, newsmongers, and the like fellows, were often more successful than these puffed-up drivellers, it could not fail but that a genius, who was least of all things calculated to become a miserable imitator, should conceive the intensest hatred and contempt for the Galenic art of healing.

"I have in the beginning," says Paracelsus, "just as muchas my opponents, thrown myself with fervent zeal on the teachers; but when I saw that nothing resulted from their practice, but killing, death, murdering, laming and distorting—that the greatest number of complaints were deemed by them to be incurable, and that they scarcely administered anything but syrups, laxatives, purgatives, and oatmeal-gruel, pumpkins or citrons, jalap, and other such messes, with everlasting clysters, I determined to abandon such a miserable art, and to seek truth by some other way. I considered with myself, that if there were no teacher of medicine in the world, how would I set about to learn the art? No otherwise than in the great open book of nature, written with the finger of God. This I now studied, and the books of the physicians no longer; for every pretender has his own hobby; and who can here obtain any result, or discover the truth? I am accused and denounced for not having entered in at the right door of art. But which is the right one? Galen, Avicenna, Mesue, Rhasis, or honest nature? I believe, the last! Through this door I entered, and the light of nature, and no apothecary's lamp, directed me on my way."

Paracelsus, continues Hemmann, set out on this journey, but he did not, like our effeminate men of learning, drive through the world in a post-chaise. He went on foot, and did not seek merely a collection of snails and butterflies. Through his mode of travelling he had the best opportunities of observing everything worthy of notice in nature. As he had studied metallurgy, he was, therefore, in a condition to examine the mines of Germany, Hungary, Sweden, and Norway, with advantage. He travelled through the greater part of the then known world, and spared neither labour nor

research to enrich his mind with profitable knowledge. "I have pursued art," he said, "even at the risk of my life, and have not been ashamed to learn even of pedlars, newsmongers, and barbers." He learned by these means the art of healing wounds, and practised with great success and fame in this department. With this rare, and at that time extraordinary mass of knowledge and experience, he was called to become a lecturer in the university of Basle, to which the most celebrated men were invited from all parts. On his travels he had considerably unlearned his Latin, and was, therefore, compelled to teach in German, a circumstance which at that time was looked upon as an unheard-of heresy. He was boldly attacked on account of his travels, and also on account of his simple mode of living and dressing. In his sixth defence he vindicated his travels with much warmth; broke loose with great bitterness on the Galenic cushion-pressers, who dared not to go out of doors except on an ass or in a carriage; and concluded his defence with the following noble sentiment: "Writings are understood by their letters, but nature through travel, and the different lands and provinces are the leaves of the code of nature."

Paracelsus manifests in many parts of his works the highest veneration for Hippocrates, who had pursued the very mode by which he himself sought the truth; but the unfounded theories of Galen, and the conceits with which the Arabs had surrounded him, were an abomination to him. This it is, and not his knowledge, which his opponents accused him of, and which he declaimed against his whole life through. "The charge of drunkenness," says Hemmann, "proceeds from the impure source of Oporinus, who lived with him some time in order to learn his secrets, but his object was defeated; and hence the evil reports of his disciples and the apothecaries." He himself says that these and the apothecaries have, more than any others, traduced him; the first, because he would not publish his secrets; and the second, because he wrote his recipes in the simple vernacular. "The apothecaries," he says, "are my enemies, because I will not empty their boxes. My recipes are simple, and do not consist of from forty to sixty ingredients, as those of the Galenic doctors; but it is my duty to heal the sick, and not to enrich the apothecaries."

In the essay on the power of the magnet, he says, "The magnet has long lain before all eyes, and no one has ever thought whether it was of any further use, or whether it possessed any other property, than that of attracting iron. The sordid doctors throw it in my face, that I will not follow the ancients; but in what should I follow them? All that they have said of the magnet amounts to nothing. Lay that which I have said of it in the balance, and judge. Had I blindly followed others, and had I not myself made experiments, I should in like manner know nothing more than what every peasant sees—that it attracts iron. But a wise man must enquire for himself, and it is thus that I have discovered that the magnet, besides this obvious and to every man visible power, that of attracting iron, possesses another and concealed power."

"In sickness you must lay the magnet in the centre from which the sickness proceeds. The magnet has two poles, an attracting and a repelling one (Paracelsus terms it the back and the belly). It is not a matter of indifference to which of these poles a man applies. For instance, on the falling sickness and every kind of epilepsy, where the attack affects more particularly the head, it is proper to lay four magnets on the lower part of the body, with the attracting pole turned upwards, and on the head only one with the reflecting pole downwards; and then you bring other means to their aid. This paragraph, says Paracelsus, is of more value than all that the Galenists have learned or have taught in the whole course of their lives. If, instead of their boastings, they had taken a magnet, they might have affected more than they ever would with all their learned swagger. He cured by this means defluxions of the eyes, ears, nose, and other members, as well as fistulas, cancers, and other ailments. Further, the magnet draws together ruptures, and cures them; it draws away jaundice and dropsy, as I have often experienced in my practice." In another place he says, "I find such secrets hidden in the magnet, that without it I could, in many cases, have effected nothing."

A great part of the system of Paracelsus is based on magnetism. In man there is a something sidereal, or a life

which emanates from the stars. Whether this is precisely physical or not, it may, in respect to the far greater body, be considered a spirit. This life stands in connection with the stars from which it has been drawn, and attracts their strength to it, like a magnet. This life he calls the "Magnes Microcosmi"—the little world, and explains through it many circumstances in nature. In the second book on the plague, he teaches that there lies an attractive power in man, which draws diseases out of chaos. In the fourth treatise on the plague, he asserts that the magnetic power is diffused throughout nature; that the human mummy draws the poisonous properties out of the moon, the stars, and other things towards itself; whilsi, on the other hand, the moon and the stars again attract poisonous exhalations to themselves, and impart them to others.

Man is taken out of the four elements, and is nourished by them; but not merely palpably so through the stomach, but also imperceptibly through the magnetic power, which resides in all nature, and by which every individual member draws its specific nourishment to itself.

The sun and the stars attract from us to themselves, and we from them again to us. Those secret influences have their positive office in the maintenance of the body.

Upon this theory of magnetism is based the sympathetic cure of disease. Paracelsus says on this head, that in the mummy, or so-called magnet, all physical power resides, and that a little dose draws everything homogeneous in the whole body to itself. One can in this way free oneself in the most wonderful manner from diseases which are the most difficult of cure, as gout, rheumatism, etc., when we convert ourselves, as it were, to iron; that is, when we apply a small part of the decayed mummy to another sound body. This draws immediately the whole of the disease, as the magnet does the iron, to itself; and the first becomes sound, the second receives the disease.

The celebrated Magisterium Magnetis is a tincture extracted from the magnet. In the fourth book, Archidoxarum, he boasts of this tincture that it is a specific; that it will draw every kind of disease out of the human body. He believed that this tincture even communicated its properties to the

vial in which it was kept, and that it could not only attract iron, but straws and other bodies. So far Hemmann or Paracelsus.

Very many beautiful and instructive things are contained in the books upon the nature of the stars (De Ente astrorum, lib. i.); on the nature of spirits (De Ente spirituali, lib. iv.); on the nature of God (De Ente Dei, lib. v.); the book on the plague, etc.

Paracelsus compares the body to wood, and the life to fire. But this comes, like the light, from the stars and from heaven: "firmamento et ex astris promanat." He styles magic the philosophy of Alchemy; the discoverer of the healing art, and the principles of it, the analysis of Medicine. But that is not like the magic, which man does not understand (Theophrasti Paracelsi Opera omnia, Genevæ, 1658, vol. i. pp. 634 and 698.)

He laid immense importance on the knowledge of the machinery of the stars. "We must know," he says, "that man has something magnetic in him, without which he cannot exist. But the magnetism is there on account of man, not man on account of the magnetism. This magnetic principle contains the magnetism of man, and comes from the stars, and nowhere else."

"Sciendum est, debere hominem habere Magnaue, sine quo vivere nequeat. Magnate enim propter hominem factum est, non homo propter Magnale. Hoc Magnale Magnale homines sustentat, hoc autem ex astris descendit et ex nullo alio."—L. c. p. 167.

In another place he says:—"Similem attractivam vim in se homo quoque conditam fert, quæ in uno gradu cum magnetica vi versatur. Jam ergo homo foris secus per vim illam ad se trahit circumstans sibi chaos. Hinc sequitur infectio æris in homine. Hinc intelligite, quod magnes est spiritualis in homine fit quærens hominem infectum, si uniatur foris cum chao. Sic sani per magneticam hanc attractionem ab ægris inficiuntur."—L. c. p. 411.

"A similar attractive power is born with men, which resembles a kind of magnetic power. Through this power man draws chaos to himself from without, and therefore follows the infection of the air by men."

He has in a very remarkable manner explained infection

as magnetic, and in the same way as Frederick Hufeland has done recently (On Sympathy, etc.)

"Therefore," he says, "you must understand that the magnet is that spirit of life in man which the infected man seeks, as both unite themselves with chaos from without. And thus the healthy are infected by the unhealthy through magnetic attraction. The fact may be shown by an example. When sound eyes look at bleared ones, the sound eyes attract the chaos of the diseased eyes to them, and the evil passes immediately over into the sound eyes."

We understand what was the opinion of Paracelsus on this head from the following words:—"I assert," he says, "decidedly and openly, what I have learned of the magnet from experience, that there lies in it a secret of so exalted a character, that without its means we cannot cure many diseases" (l. c. p. 194.)

It is, also, further remarkable that Paracelsus based the whole of his theory on the Bible, which he knew almost by rote. Therefore he denounced the teaching of his opponents in the bitterest terms, as erroneous doctrines. This severe language probably caused him so many mortal enemies. It is worth the while to hear his own words on this subject:—

"Ye of Paris, Padua, Montpellier, Salerno, Vienna, and Leipzig; ye are not teachers of the truth, but the confessors of lies (confessores mendaciorum.) Your philosophy is a lie. Would you know what magic is, then seek it in the Revelations (ex apocalypsi quærite rem.) This is precisely the trouble and misery of the world, that all your arts are founded on lies. It is true that ye cry all of you with one mouth, that your philosophy does not need the evidence of the Scriptures. As you cannot yourselves prove your teachings from the Bible and the Revelations, then let your farces have an end. The Bible is the true key and interpreter. John, not the less than Moses, Elias, Enoch, David, Solomon, Daniel, Jeremiah, and the rest of the prophets, was a magician, Cabbalist, and diviner. If now all, or even any of those I have named, were yet living, I do not doubt that you would make an example of them in your miserable slaughter-house, and would annihilate them there, and, if it were possible, the Creator of all things too" (l. c. p. 382.)

"Talismans," says Paracelsus, "are the boxes in which the heavenly influences are preserved!"

Farther, he speaks in "Philosophia fugaci," of the Cabbalah, and of magic rings, by which persons may be brought into a condition which enables them to know what is taking place two hundred miles off. In another book (Archidoxis magica) he speaks of talismans and sympathetic salves, with which wounds may be cured without touching them.

The most remarkable part of what Pfaff has selected from Paracelsus is found in the following passages :—

"Three spirits live in and actuate man ; three worlds cast their beams upon him ; but all three only as the image and echo of one and the same all-constructing and uniting principle of production. The first is the spirit of the elements ; the second the spirit of the stars ; the third is the Divine Spirit." Thus taught, in the sixteenth century, Paracelsus. In these three branches all human wisdom that leads to God develops itself. It comes forth in the forms of physiology, astrology, and theology. That pervading band of universal consciousness is united in the stars, and from it is all human wisdom named ; that is astronomy and nature, brought down hither from the stars ; Astronomy from above ; the wisdom and the work of those devoted to God ; Astronomy of the new Olympus ; the employment and the life of those inspired through faith.

The spirit of the elements rules the lower propensities of man. But as there is only one life, so there is only one in the stars as the copies in animal and human forms which they nourish. Thus is fixed in man, through the spirit of the elements, that general life of the earth in the deeper and more confined organisation. All created things are letters and books to describe the origin and descent of man. Thus, says Paracelsus, is the great world a domain of the little world ; therefore in the little are all the kinds of dragons, serpents, the race of vipers, adders, and the nature of wolves and sheep. Thus the human body is possessed of primeval stuff (earth-clod in the Scriptures), and as a portion of the earth has received into itself the starry influence, which itself nourishes the earthly body, by which it is able to enter into union with the astral spirits, as it were, into a marriage. Therefore, as man in himself may learn the elements, he must

also learn the sidereal, he must also learn the eternal. Three lights thus burn in man, and thus there are three species of learning, and in the three is man perfected. And although it is true that two lights are a darkness to the third, yet they are the lights of the world, in which man by the help of natural lights must wander.

The body comes from the elements, the spirit from the stars. All that the brain produces takes its inspiration from the stars. Although all musicians should die, yet the same schoolmaster, Heaven, is not dead, which would become a teacher anew. Many stars have not yet had their influence; therefore the discovery of arts is not yet come to an end. Man eats and drinks of the elements, for the sustenance of his blood and flesh; from the stars are the intellect and thoughts sustained in his spirit."

Another image is the image of the magnet:—"God has ordained that man has a magnet in himself; one, namely, of the elements; therefore he attracts them again to himself; one of the stars, out of which he again draws to himself the microcosmic sensient faculty of the stars."

"The whole world surrounds man, and is surrounded as a point is surrounded by a circle. Thus it follows that all things have their impulse in their centres, even as a pippin lies in an apple, and draws from it its nourishment; for it is surrounded by the apple, and is sustained by the apple, and from it is derived also its nourishment."

"Whether a fire burns or not may be discovered by water, much or little. Thus is man, in the midst of the world. He is received and surrounded as a pot which stands in the midst of a tripod; and as the pot and whatever is contained in it must do what the fire will,—boil, steam, etc., so is it with the body. In the same manner as fire passes through an iron stove, do the stars pass through man with all their properties, and go into him as the rain into the earth, which gives fruit out of that same rain. Now observe that the stars surround the whole earth, as a shell does the egg; through the shell comes the air, and penetrates to the centre of the world. As the fish suffer in the pond, when heat or cold enters it, so the vapour of the stars passes through man."

He speaks of the poisoning of the atmosphere, of the

exhaling of the planets into the air of the universe; but only one side of the sidereal power is here observed, that which we call the disturbing of the atmosphere, and which has a general influence on the physical condition of man at large, on cleanness, and medical perfection.

This doctrine of Paracelsus has certainly a very deep meaning; but we must not take it too literally, as people for the most part are too apt to do, and, therefore, immediately perceive an odour of corruption in this planetary influence.

"Time is the life of the stars; the circling and working together of them. Not alone through the sun does the earth measure out its time. All that returns in circulating time to the earth, to animals and to man, acknowledges the lordship of the stars. The particular life of earth must accord with the general life of higher worlds, for God in love has created us the sidereal body, and has given it sensibility, that we may feel and reveal the secrets of the stars.

The temporal and periodical, when interrupted, produce the monstrous, as is seen in disease; in this disturbance of fixed laws we find the phenomenon of sickness. Paracelsus attributes some kinds of sicknesses to a sensibility to planetary influences; in others the gift of prophecy to the same cause.

As the monstrous is an effect produced by opposition to the life of the stars and of individuals, there are also prognostications of that which nature further works out, of that which strives to put an end to this opposition. Paracelsus, therefore, warns astronomers thus: "And let no astronomer make a rule to himself, and measure the harmony of the heavens therewith. He who cannot fathom such a matter is as good an astronomer as a relic-box is a priest."

In dreams a man is like the plants, which have also the elementary and vital body, but possess not the spirit. In sleep the astral body is in freer motion; then it soars to its parents; it holds converse with the stars. And after death also it returns to the stars, and the earthy body descends then into the bosom of the earth. Dreams, forebodings, prescience, prognostications, and presentiments, are the gifts of the sidereal, and are not imparted to the elementary body.

"Now the cause and origin," says Paracelsus, "of this

divination is thus. That man is possessed of an astral body that unites with the outward stars, and they two confabulate together, when the astral does not trouble itself about the elementary body. As in sleep the elementary body rests, the sidereal continues its action; it has neither rest nor sleep; but when the elementary body predominates and overcomes, then rests the sidereal. But when the elementary rests, then come dreams, as the stars operate, and such are dreams and their revelations. And according as the stars are disposed, so are the dreams. For, as we have said, the stars give nothing to the avaricious and the self-conceited; for selfishness and conceit expel the operation of the firmament, and resist the stars."

In accordance with the whole of his views of nature, Paracelsus attributes to animals also presentiments; for they too have an astral body.

Paracelsus has written a whole book on the existence of fools. "Wisdom," he says, is also in fools, and breaks forth like a light through horn, dim and murky; or like a light through a fog." He recommends us to notice their declarations and to endeavour to comprehend them. Pfaff closes his essay with the following words:—

"So much from the writings and the spirit of a man who has taken the most comprehensive views of natural things; the bold creator of chemical medicines; the founder of courageous parties; victorious in controversy, belonging to those spirits who have created amongst us a new mode of thinking on the natural existence of things. What he scattered through his writings on the Philosopher's Stone, on Pigmies and Spirits of the Mines; on signs, on homunculi, on pictures, meteors, impressions, and the Elixir of Life, and which are employed by many to lower his estimation, cannot extinguish our grateful remembrance of his general works, nor our admiration of his free, bold exertions, and his intellectual life."

In the Strasburg edition, 1603, Paracelsus writes of the power and operation of the spirit. "It is possible," he says, "that my spirit, without the help of the body, and through a fiery will alone, and without a sword, can stab and wound others. It is also possible that I can bring the spirit of my adversary into an image, and then double

him up and lame him according to pleasure. You are to know that the exertion of the will is a great point in the art of medicine. Man can hang disease on man and beast through curses; but it does not take effect by means of strength of character, virgin wax, or the like: the imagination alone is the means of fulfilling the intention. Every imagination of man comes from the heart, for this is the sun of the microcosm; and out of the microcosm proceeds the imagination into the great world. Thus the imagination of man is a seed, which is material. Determined imagination is a beginning of all magical operations. Fixed thought is also a means to an end. I cannot turn my eye about with my hand, but the sternly fixed imagination turns it wherever it will. The imagination of another may be able to kill me. Imagination springs out of pleasure and desire; therefore envy and hatred follow; for desire is followed by the deed. A curse may be realised when it springs from the heart; thus the curses of fathers and mothers proceed from the heart. And when any one will lame or stab another, he must first in imagination thrust the weapon into himself; he must conceive the wound, and it will be given through the thought, as if it were done with the hands. The magical is a great concealed wisdom, and reason is a great public foolishness. No armour protects against magic, for it injures the inward spirit of life. Of this we may be assured, that, through faith and a powerful imagination only, we can bring any man's spirit into an image. There requires no conjuration and ceremonies; circle-making and incensing are mere humbug and juggling. The human spirit is so great a thing that no man can express it: as God himself is eternal and unchangeable, so also is the mind of man. If we rightly understood the mind of man nothing would be impossible to us on earth. The imagination is invigorated and perfected through faith, for it really happens that every doubt breaks the operation. Faith must confirm the imagination, for faith establishes the will. Because men do not perfectly imagine and believe, the result is that the arts are uncertain, while they might be perfectly certain."

BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT.

One of the worthiest and most able of the successors of Paracelsus was the great Van Helmont, who, on account of his vast knowledge, his acute judgment, and penetrating spirit, created a new epoch in medicine. In the history of magnetism he takes the very first rank, since he brought into this dark field a light more clear than any one before or since has done.

In order to make this thoroughly apparent and instructive, I will extract, with diligence and fidelity, from his works such of his doctrines as belong to this subject, (J. Bapt. van Helmont, opera omnia, Francos. 1682); and, in addition, avail myself of the excellent work of Deleuze (De l'opinion de Van Helmont sur la cause, la nature et les effets du Magnétisme, par Deleuze: Bibliothèque du Magn. Anim. t. i. p. 45; et t. ii. p. 198, Paris, 1877.) Deleuze says, that in the writings of Van Helmont he has found much common popular belief, tasteless opinions, mythic, illusory ideas, and dark and incomprehensible things, but at the same time great truths. If some person, therefore, would collect his works, explain them, and extract the facts on which he founds his doctrines, he would produce a great and highly remarkable work, and throw new light on the knowledge of magnetism.

"Van Helmont was a man of genius," says Deleuze, "who created epochs in the histories of medicine and physiology. He first turned aside out of the beaten highway of Galen and the Arabs, and showed the way of life. He first recognised the vast activity of the stomach, and its dominion over the other organs: he saw that the diaphragm was the central point of the living body. Whilst he contemplated the total of things, and enquired into the causes of their alternating influences on each other, he found in all bodies a general cause, an especial activity, which the Creator had impressed upon them, and through which one acted upon the other. This he denominated *Blas*. He was the first to give the name of GAS to aerial fluids. Without him it is probable that steel would have given no new impulse to science."

In treating of the magnetic cure of wounds, Van Helmont undertakes to answer two writers, Goclenius, professor in Marburg, who defended the cure of wounds by the discovered sympathetic salve of Paracelsus; the other, Father Robert, a Jesuit, who condemned all these cures, not because he denied them, but because he attributed them to the devil. Van Helmont says he was implored to decide on these matters, since they affected Paracelsus as their discoverer, and himself as his disciple. He says that he found Goclenius far too weak to be the defender of the magnetic cures from natural causes, and the priest far too young to decide upon a matter, and to declare it to be of the devil, since he had not shown a single spark of reason for his opinions. He feels himself bound to excuse Goclenius, though he had in vain laboured at a new discovery; but he complains of the priest. "For nature," he said, "has not chosen the priests as her interpreters, but has elected the physicians as her sons, and yet of them such only as understand the science of fire, and have enquired into the nature of peculiar qualities. The priests must first receive from us the fundamental knowledge, that they do not, as cobblers, fall upon the last. The theologian shall enquire after God, the naturalist after nature" (l. c. p. 705). I will now quote the most remarkable passages which this great master has written concerning the magnetic wonders (De magnetica vulner. curatione, p. 708, l. c.)

"Material nature," he says, "draws her forms through constant magnetism from above, and implores for them the favour of heaven: and as heaven, in like manner, draws something invisible from below, there is established a free and mutual intercourse, and the whole is contained in an individual."

This magnetism, because it predominates everywhere, has nothing new besides the name, and nothing contrary to common sense, except to those who ridicule everything, and attribute to the power of the devil what they do not understand. And what, then, is there superstitious in the belief in a sympathetic salve, except that its use was new, the people unaccustomed to it, and, therefore, the wonderful in it seemed to be the work of the devil?

He who considers magnetic cures to be of the devil, not be-

cause they are procured by forbidden means, and have a culpable object, but because they are effected by the magnetic power, must for the same reason believe that all magnetic phenomena whatever are sorcery, and the work of the devil.

"Magnetism is an unknown property of a heavenly nature; very much resembling the influence of the stars, and not at all restrained by any boundaries of space. He, therefore, who avails himself of a magnetic means undertakes a God-pleasing business, which has in both worlds, by one order and in equal degree, the same conductor. Therefore, even the relics have a greater power when they are carried about and touched; as it is necessary to carry the magnet, to rub it, or touch it that it, may attract" (p. 712.)

"That which Paracelsus has done is therefore far from being evil. For he has placed aloft magnetism, which was unknown to the ancients, as an actuality indispensable to the enquiry into things and a fundamental study of nature; has placed it aloft as the most enlightening and fruitful of sciences, when it had in all schools been laid aside as utterly barren. He is, therefore, to be considered the monarch who has dragged forth all the secrets of all his predecessors, and we must value him highly, if we will not, as ignorant judges, join with haters of all good deeds in slandering him.

"Every created being possesses his own celestial power, and is allied to heaven. Therefore, it is no wonder if the astral spirits of men show themselves after death still wandering about. The outward man is animal, and yet, notwithstanding, the true image of God. If, therefore, God acts through a hint or a word, man must be able to do the same, if he be God's true image. This is not alone the property of God—the devil, too, though the most abandoned of beings, moves by a mere will bodies from their place. This original power must, therefore, belong to the inner man, if he will represent the spirit of God, and not of a frivolous being. And if we call this a magic power, the uninstructed only can be terrified by the expression. But if you prefer it, you can call it a spiritual power, (spirituale robur vocitaveris). About the name I do not trouble myself; but I am accustomed to contemplate the thing itself as near as I can. There is, therefore, such a

magic power in the inner man. But as there exists a certain relationship between the inner and the outer man, this strength must be diffused through the whole man, only that it is more active in the soul than in the body" (l. c. p. 720).

"This magic power of man, which thus can operate externally, lies, as it were, hidden in the inner man. It sleeps and acts, without being awakened, like one drunken in us daily. This magical wisdom and strength thus sleeps, but by a mere suggestion is roused into activity, and becomes more living the more the outer man of the flesh and the darkness is repressed. While, however, that outward man reposes in sleep, dreams sometimes of a prophetic nature come, and God is on that account frequently nearer to man in sleep than in waking" (l. c. p. 722).

"Therefore, all our contemplations, prayers, watches and fastings, all the castigations of our bodies, tend to the repression of the power of the flesh, and to maintain that divine and living spirit-strength in activity; and, therefore, should we praise God, who only in the spirit, that is, in the innermost heart of man, can be worshipped; and this, I say, the Cabbalistic art effects; it brings back to the soul that magical yet natural strength which like a startled sleep had left it."

"This natural strength is through sin gone to sleep in us, and it is necessary that it should be awoke up again. This may be effected either through the illumination of the Holy Ghost, or man can, through Cabbalistic art, procure it for himself at pleasure. These may be called goldmakers, but their guide is the spirit of God himself."

"This strength, I have said, is also in the outer man; that is, in flesh and blood. Nay, not only in the outer man, but to a degree also in the animals, and perhaps in all other things, as all things in the universe stand in a relation to each other; or at least God is in all things, as the ancients have observed with a worthy correctness. It is necessary that the magic strength should be awakened in the outer as well as in the inner man; but the devil has power only to awake what is in the outer man: in the inner, in the bottom of the soul, is that kingdom of God to which no created thing has entrance" (p. 725).

"I have also farther taught that between the spiritual powers there is an interchange; and, finally, I have endeavoured to show that man rules the physical creatures through his natural magic, and can use the strength of other things.

"The magnetism of magnets, and of all other lifeless things, occurs through the natural feeling of accordance.

"Finally, magical power is, as it were, separated from the body, which is put in motion by the inner power of the soul: whence the mightiest events, the deepest impressions, and the most decisive effects proceed.

"I have hitherto avoided revealing the great secret, that the strength lies concealed in man, merely through the suggestion and power of the imagination to work outwardly, and to impress this strength on others, which then continues of itself, and operates on the remotest objects. Through this secret alone will all receive its true illumination,—all that has hitherto been brought together laboriously of the ideal being out of the spirit—all that has been said of the magnetism of all things—of the strength of the human soul—of the magic of man, and of his dominion over the physical world" (p. 731).

"When, therefore, this peculiar magical power of man is shown to be a natural one, it was hitherto an absurd thing to believe that the devil through its agency effected his own ends; that the devil in his fall had retained that magical function by which merely with a suggestion he could accomplish what he pleased, this being a natural gift of his own; and that this equally natural endowment of man was taken from him and conferred on the devil, the most despised of all creatures. Open then your eyes; the devil has hitherto in your excessive ignorance been exalted to great glory, while you, so to say, have offered to him the incense and dignity of fame, at the same time robbing yourselves of your natural advantage and giving it to him."

"I have also said the magical power of man sleeps, and needs to be awakened; which always remains true, if the object on which men will operate be not of itself already too much disposed to it; if its inner imaginative strength be not utterly opposed to the strength of the operator; or if the suffering part be not equally strong, or even stronger than the operative one" (p. 732).

"See, then, that is a Christian philosophy, and not the madness of the heathen, or idle dreams! Take heed in future, I say unto thee, that thou dost not compel me again to become a judge, and to decide that thou in thy decision wast too hasty."

These are all the words of Van Helmont himself, which I have literally translated, without making a single observation; they, indeed, being so clear of themselves that they by no means required it.

In another place he says:—"In the pit of the stomach there is a more powerful sensation than even in the eye, or in the fingers. The stomach often will not tolerate a hand to be laid upon it, because there is there the most acute and positive feeling, which at other times is only perceived in the fingers."

In the rest of his writings you find admirable thoughts, and excellent illustrations of magnetism, and particularly in his "De magna virtute rerum et verborum," and his book "De lampedæ vitæ."

Van Helmont sought the explanation of magnetic phenomena in some kind of sympathy, by which certain things and influences were transferred to others. As a proof of this sympathy in all things, he says that, amongst other things, it is shown by the fact that wine ferments, works, and is thrown into agitation in spring when the vine begins to blossom. But the question is whether this well-known fermentation is not rather to be attributed to the general requickening nature in all things which awakes a new life, and which is the most easily observable in active and readily fermenting fluids? Beer, for instance, displays a still more vivid fermentation, though it cannot be because the barley is then in bloom. The hops and the barley, which indeed do bloom, but not at that period, cannot, I think, be brought into the account.

Amongst the facts of sympathetic influence mentioned by Van Helmont, the following particularly deserve notice: "I know an herb," he says, "of an extraordinary nature. Warm it whilst thou crushest it in thy hand; then take the hand of another, and hold it till it is warm; and this person will have a great liking for thee for several days." He made this experiment

with a strange dog, on which the dog quitted its mistress and followed; him and this he showed before a number of witnesses. Another example related by him is of a lady with the gout, who had always an attack of the complaint whenever she sat down upon a seat on which her brother, who had been dead for five years, used to sit.

Van Helmont says, in his description of the nature of magnetism:—"The means by which this secret property enables one person to affect another mutually, is the MAGNALE MAGNUM, called the great magic play, though Paracelsus uses invariably the word MAGNALE. But this is not a physical substance, which we inspissate, measure, and weigh, but it is an ethereal spirit, pure, living, which pervades all things, and moves the mass of the universe."

"It gives wonderful revelations through certain ecstasies, which the inner man experiences; the outer man also, or the animal, may receive revelations, if the imagination be exalted. Many examples prove this.

"Before the fall of man, his soul had an inborn wisdom, and a prophetic gift of an extraordinary power. These capacities the soul still possesses; and if they are not visible, it is because of the many sensual obstructions which they encounter. Especially in sleep are men often enlightened by this supernatural light, since they are not then, as in the waking state, so much repressed by the attractions of sense.'

"That inward wisdom man has lost, to a certain degree, through the worldly knowledge which he acquired by eating the forbidden fruit; and he is now placed in the lower condition of being confined to the movements and guidance of the body. Paracelsus says on this head—'As they came out of Paradise, they were as they never had been before; and they then perceived what the world was. They then perceived the influence of the moon, of Mars, Jupiter, and every star in heaven.' But these magic powers again awoke, and man desired also that wisdom and the capacity for operating beyond himself. And in this consists pure primeval magic; not in superstitious practices and vain ceremonies, which the devil, never idle in destroying what is good, has introduced. The spirit is everywhere diffused; and the spirit is the medium of magnetism;

not the spirits of heaven and of hell, but the spirit of man, which is concealed in him as the fire is concealed in the flint. The human will makes itself master of a portion of its spirit of life, which becomes a connecting property between the corporeal and the incorporeal, and diffuses itself like the light."

Van Helmont, after he relates the fact that a pregnant woman, frightened by some circumstance, stamped this image of terror on the unborn child, explains this truth also according to his theory. "The imaginative power of a woman, vividly excited, produces an idea, which is the connecting medium between the body and spirit. This transfers itself to the being with which the woman stands in the most immediate relation, and impresses upon it that image which the most agitated herself."

Van Helmont asserts further, that many herbs acquire from the imagination of those who gather them an extraordinary power. Nay, he goes farther, and says that, through certain simple and easy manipulations, a man may, if he will, convert a common needle into a magnetic one, and that these same manipulations are ineffectual if they are not accompanied by the will. A hint that a man must most especially attend to the first preparation of the needle, if he will produce the phenomena of the attracting and repelling power in it, which it seems he understood better than we, perhaps, now-a-days give him credit for.

The writings of Van Helmont contain some extremely remarkable facts concerning the power of the will in the state of ecstasy, which Deleuze has collected into two chapters of the "Bibliothèque du Magn. animal."

"The will," says Van Helmont, (the human Blas, *blas humanum*) "is the first of all powers. For through the will of the Creator all things were made, and put in motion. In man the will is the fundamental cause of his movements. The will is the property of all spiritual beings, and displays itself in them the more actively the more they are freed from matter; the strength of their activity demonstrates the purity of spirits.

"The infinite power of the will in the Creator of all things is also firmly fixed in the created being, and is more or less obstructed by matter. The ideas thus clothed

with physical nature operate also in a natural, that is, physical manner, on the living creature, through the means of the life-activity. They operate more or less, according to the will of the operator, and their activity may also be repelled by the will of those acted upon. A magician will thus operate more strongly on a weak nature than on a strong one, because the power of operating through the will has bounds, and others can oppose it more or less according to their strength."

Van Helmont corroborates still further the mutual influence of men on animals, and *vice versâ*, by stating that men by looking steadfastly at them (oculis intentis) for a quarter of an hour may cause their death; which Rousseau confirms from his own experience in Egypt and the East, as having killed several toads in this manner. But when he at last tried this at Lyons, the toad, finding it could not escape from his eye, turned round, blew itself up, and stared at him so fiercely, without moving its eyes, that a weakness came over him even to fainting, and he was for some time thought to be dead. He was recovered, however, by treacle and the powder of vipers.

It is also very remarkable what Van Helmont says of the phenomena which appear in certain men of themselves, or through an artistic treatment.

He first relates a singular story of one of his sleep-walking school-comrades, who every night took the key, unlocked the garden door, and walked in the garden. Van Helmont hid the key, but the sleep-walker fetched it from the concealed place without any difficulty.

He relates an extraordinary example in his own person of the transference of a sense to the pit of the stomach; which is the more extraordinary, as he had a perfect remembrance of what took place after being in a complete state of clairvoyance.

In order to make a medical experiment on poisonous plants, Van Helmont prepared the root of aconite, and tasted it with the point of the tongue, without swallowing any of it. He himself says:—"Immediately my head seemed tied tightly with a string, and soon after there happened to me a singular circumstance such as I had never before experienced. I observed with astonishment that I

no longer felt and thought with the head, but with the region of the stomach, as if consciousness had now taken up its seat in the stomach. Terrified by this unusual phenomenon, I asked myself and inquired into myself carefully; but I only became the more convinced that my power of perception was become greater and more comprehensive. This intellectual clearness was associated with great pleasure. I did not sleep, nor did I dream; I was perfectly sober; and my health was perfect. I had occasionally had ecstasies, but these had nothing in common with this condition of the stomach in which it thought and felt, and almost excluded all co-operation of the head. In the meantime my friends were troubled with the fear that I might go mad. But my faith in God, and my submission to His will, soon dissipated this fear. This state continued for two hours, after which I had some dizziness. I afterwards frequently tasted of the aconite, but I never again could reproduce these sensations" (Van Helmont, Demens idea.)

From this extraordinary phenomenon, Van Helmont concludes that the soul is not necessarily fettered to one organ or another of the body, and that it can, like a permeating light, diffuse itself through all, without having any medium necessary. "The sun-tissue in the region of the stomach," he says, "is the chief seat and essential organ of the soul. There is the genuine seat of feeling, as in the head is that of memory. The proper reflection, the comparison of the past and the future, the inquiry into circumstances,—these are the functions of the head; but the rays are sent by the soul from the centre, the region of the stomach. The isolated recognitions of the future, and that which is independent of time and place, belong solely and alone to the central hearth of the region of the stomach.

"Notwithstanding this, however, the feeling soul is not enclosed in the stomach as in a bag, or as the corn in an ear; she has only there her chief seat. And thence proceed the light and warmth which diffuse themselves through the whole body; from thence the power of life which prevails in all the organs."

After this crisis produced by the aconite, his consciousness received a totally new activity, and the time of sleep, as he himself says, was no longer lost to him. "Since then,"

he says, "I have dreams which enlighten me, and in which my spirit rejoices in its capacities and my judgment in its strength. This caused that, in the words of the Psalmist, I conceived how 'night unto night shows wisdom.'"

I now give, finally, what Van Helmont says of the inward light of the soul:—"When God created the human soul, he imparted to her essential and original knowledge. The soul is the mirror of the universe, and stands in relationship to all living things. She is illuminated by an inward light; but the tempest of passions, the multitude of sensual impressions, the dissipations, darken this light, whose glory only diffuses itself when it burns alone, and all is peace and harmony within us. When we know ourselves to be separated from all outward influences, and desire only to be guided by this universal light, then only do we find in ourselves pure and certain knowledge. In this state of concentration, the soul analyses all objects on which her attention rests. She can unite herself with them, penetrate through their substance, penetrating even to God himself, and feeling Him in the most important truths."

From all these observations, and from many other passages in his writings, it is clear that Van Helmont regards the science of medicine in a magnetic light, and practised it as such. His presence was frequently sufficient, according to his statement, to cure the sick. Through his will he operated not only on men, but even imparted through it a peculiar strength to medicines, and relied more on divine help which supported his spirit, without having sometimes recourse to any physical means.

He believed that human wisdom, which consisted merely in uncertain controversies, and an eternal nourishing of pride, was insufficient to afford help to suffering humanity; that all medical knowledge whatever was far indeed from that which God conferred on those whom he had chosen as the instruments of his mercy for the working out the healing of pains and disasters. He believed that we may properly use the means which the experience of many ages has taught us; and above all things should love actuate all our endeavours.

The description of the qualities of a physician is truly

the picture of a genuine magnetic and biblical doctor, but of which we, alas, have only a few examples.

"The physician chosen of God," he says (Van Helmont, Tumulis pestis), "is accompanied by many signs and wonders for the schools. He will give the honour to God, as he employs his gifts to the assuaging the sufferings of his neighbour. Compassion will be his guide. His heart will possess truth, and his intellect science. Love will be his sister; and the truth of the Lord will illumine his path. He will invoke the grace of God, and he will not be overcome by the desire of gain. For the Lord is rich and bountiful, and pays a hundredfold in heaped measure. He will make his labour fruitful, and he will clothe his hands with blessings. He will fill his mouth with comfort, and His word will be a trumpet before which diseases will fly. His footsteps will bring prosperity, and sickness will flee before his face, as snow melts in a summer morn. Health will follow him. These are the testimonies of the Lord to those healers whom he has chosen,—this is the blessedness of those who pursue the way of kindness; and the Holy Spirit will, moreover, enlighten them as the Comforter."

HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, OF RETTESHEIM.

Besides the chief disciples of Van Helmont, the principal advancers of the doctrines of Paracelsus in Germany were the following: John Reuchlin, who rested his theosophic doctrines pre-eminently on the Bible, and, therefore, wrote his most remarkable work, on the Power of the Word (De verbo mirifico, etc.) John Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, Leonhard Thurneysser, of Thurn, a popular astrologer and magician at more than one German court; Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Rettesheim. This last had written a remarkable book (De occulta philosophia), in which not only the doctrines of the Cabbalists but also peculiar and most excellent ideas of his own are contained, which, notwithstanding some absurdities, must be highly valuable in magnetic science, and of which, therefore, I shall quote a few. Agrippa occupied himself prin-

cipally with the three Paracelsian words—the sidereal, the elementary, and the spiritual.

I will here give a condensed epitome of his theory from Sprengel's History of Medicine. "As in the original world all things are in all, so in the physical world is equally every one and one in all (l. c. lib. i. c. 8). Out of every body proceed images, indivisible substances, which diffuse themselves through infinite space. Therefore bodies can operate on others at the most remote distances, and, on that account, a man is in a condition to impart his thoughts to another man who is hundreds of miles away" (Sprengel's History of Medicine, part 2nd, p. 267.)

"Matter is dead and inert, and without power to act; it receives strength and form from the ideas, that is, from nature, which have of themselves no bodies and no extension, but come from God into matter. Everything, however, according to Plato and the Platonists, is of divine origin (e mente divini quid), and on that account God is contained in all things. The stars consist equally of the elements of earthly bodies, and, therefore, the ideas (powers, nature) attract each other. The powers have their foundation first in the ideas, in the spiritual, then in the harmony of the heavens, and, finally, in the elements of bodies, which are in accordance with the sidereal ideas. The operations of this world have their foundation partly in the substantial forms of bodies, partly in the powers of heaven, partly in spiritual things, and, ultimately, in the primal forms of the original image. Influences only go forth through the help of the spirit; but this spirit is diffused through the whole universe, and is in full accord with the human spirit. Through the sympathy of similar, and the antipathy of dissimilar things, all creation hangs together; the things of a particular world within itself, as well as with the congenial things of another world."

Agrippa speaks in a very extraordinary manner of the moral means which a man must employ in order to procure the necessary insights and knowledge.

"The magician who will acquire supernatural powers must possess faith, love, and hope.

"In all things," he says further, "there is a secret power concealed, and thence come the miraculous powers of magic."

As an example, he introduces the magnet which attracts iron to it, and yet a diamond can deprive this magnet of its strength. "In every stone and plant there is a wonderful power and activity, but much greater and more wonderful is that of the stars."

He gives another example of the secret magical power, in everything consorting with its like, and in its appropriating and assimilating all things to itself.

"For everything living and acting, so soon as it becomes living, does not endeavour to go backwards, but forwards; that is, does not assimilate itself to the lower, but endeavours to assimilate the lower to itself, as is obviously shown by animals, which do not convert their food into stone or plant, but convert the herb into flesh, and, moreover, into sensitive flesh" (in carnem sensibilem).

He speaks thus of the influence of the stars:—"It is clear that all the low are subject to the higher; that is, the earthly depends on the stellar; but both are in a manner made kindred (quodammodo sibi invicem insunt). As the highest in the lowest, and the lowest in the highest, so there is in heaven the earthly and on the earth the heavenly; in both, however, clothed in their own manner. Thus we say that there are here sun-life and moon-life, (responding to the sun and moon) in which the sun and the moon especially reveal their strength." He gives examples of this in various things, even in the human body and its different intestines.

From these agreements of the stars, and of their mutual properties, he deduces, as a direct consequence, the particular agreement of individual things here, as the act of increasing or diminishing the effect of congenial things on each other in the earth." "If thou wistest from any particular part of the world to receive the power of a particular star, thou must use the means which stand in a particular relation to this star, and thou wilt experience its influence (Agrippa, c. 33, 34). If thou wilt, for example, draw the power of the sun to thee, use what is of a solar nature, metals, stones, or animals, but always, and best of all, such things as stand in a higher rank."

This doctrine of the power of the word is given at considerable length. He also ascribes to numbers a particular

activity, which he carries sometimes not merely to an unwise but even to an absurd extent. Finally, he asserts, in order to demonstrate the mutual influence of stars and of all things, that he believes the heavens and the heavenly bodies to be ensouled, since from no purely material body can action proceed. You see that Agrippa has, in general, very just ideas; but following these ideas far too passionately, he loses himself in particulars, and in a labyrinth of fables, at the same time that his total separation of spirit from matter, which he supposes to be utterly dead, is by no means philosophical.

ROBERT FLUDD.

In England, Robert Fludd was the most distinguished of the disciples of Paracelsus.

I do not take Fludd to be properly one of those consecrated theosophists, who endeavour to draw all wisdom from the eternal fountain of light: but, notwithstanding this, he was a very profound enquirer, as his book proves, ("Philosophia mosaica, in qua sapientia et scientia creatonis explicantur, auctore Rob. Fludd, Gondæ, 1638,) in which the great aim is to explain creation on principles of natural philosophy. As he enters in it upon the subject of magnetic cures, we will take note of some of his views.

He considers all things under certain modifications to proceed from one primæval being. The soul is a portion of this primæval being, which he calls "principium universale catholicum." Thence comes the kinship of all souls who have all their origin in this original soul as their central point.

His inquiries into the nature of sympathies and antipathies, and into the power of the magnet, are extensive. He explains the action of these in this manner, that the emanations of this fine spirit take various directions. In sympathy the emanations proceed from the centre to the circumference; in antipathy from the circumference to the centre. The power and influence of the stars is with him a chief doctrine, and that every body has its

particular star. The pole-star is that expressly appointed to the magnet.

Man, as a little world, is endowed with a magnetic power (magnetica virtus microcosmica). This power, however, is subjected to the same laws as is the power on the large scale of the universe. In the emotions of joy the heart expands, and sends its spirit from the centre to the circumference. In hatred it contracts, as in antipathy, and holds back its spirits. Man, like the earth, has his poles. Fludd adopts two main streams, the northern and the southern. Man, as the little world, is also divided by his perpendicular line into two equal parts. This line forms in the middle the equator; therefore, he says, man should place himself with his face to the east and his back to the west.

When two men approach each other, their magnetism is either active or passive; that is, positive or negative. If the emanations which they send out are broken or thrown back, there arises antipathy, or *Magnetismus negativus:* but when the emanations pass through each other from both sides, then there is positive magnetism, for the rays proceed from the centre to the circumference. In this case they not only affect sicknesses but also moral sentiments. This magnetism or sympathy is found not only amongst animals, but also in plants and in animals.

As even bodies, such as the earth and the magnet, which appear to be dead and inert substances, have their emanations and their poles, so much the more must these exist in living things, and above all in man. He gives many examples of sympathy and antipathy amongst animals and plants; speaks of talismans, and loses himself in a labyrinth of superstitions; speaks of spirits, of devils and their exorcism; so that with his noblest views are mixed common superstitions of the vulgar.

M. MAXWELL.

This is a Scotch physician, who asserted so clearly the doctrine of magnetism, that you often hear from him

the very words of Mesmer. He was well acquainted with his predecessors, and exerted himself to bring their ideas into a system, and therewith to build up a firm platform of science. On this account he flattered himself that he had raised magnetic medicine out of chaos.

His doctrines are stated with admirable brevity and perspicuity in a little volume. His work first appeared at Heidelberg. Another edition appeared at Frankfort (Medicina magnetica, Libri III., in quibus tam theoria quam praxis continetur; opus novum admirabile, Francof. 1679, 16). His magnetic theory, which much resembles that of Mesmer, may be briefly stated.

"That which men call the world-soul is a life, as fire, spiritual, fleet, light and ethereal as light itself. It is a life-spirit everywhere, and everywhere the same; and this is the common bond of all quarters of the earth, and lives through and in all." Adest in mundo quid commune omnibus mextis, in quo ipsa permanent, etc.

This spirit maintains all things in their peculiar condition: all matter is destitute of action, except as it is ensouled by this spirit.

"If thou canst avail thyself of this spirit, and heap it up in particular bodies, thou wilt receive no trifling benefit from it, for therein consists all the mystery of magic. This spirit is found in nature free from all fetters; and he who understands how to unite it with a harmonising body possesses a treasure which exceeds all riches."

"According to the variety of natural directions and capabilities, an experienced artist can impart it to all bodies and to every man in a surprising manner"—Aphorism 38.

"He who knows how to operate on men by this universal spirit, can heal, and this at any distance that he pleases"—Aphorism 69.

Maxwell believed that this universal spirit was to be found in light, and this, therefore, was his universal medium. Such an one there must be, and it is no other than the life-spirit condensed on some particular object.

"He who can invigorate the particular spirit through the universal one, might continue his life to eternity if the stars were not hostile"—Aphorism 70. "He who knows this universal life-spirit and its application can prevent all in-

juries. Therefore the physicians should see how much they might affect by it in the art of healing"—Aphorism 22.

"There is a linking together of spirits, or of emanations, even when they are far separated from each other. But what is this linking together? It is an incessant outpouring of the rays of one body into another."

"In the meantime it is not without danger to treat of this. Many abominable abuses of this may take place:" which, according to his opinion, would be immensely mischievous. Let us hear himself. (Conf. XIII. cap. conclus. 12.)

"But I will not allure to forbidden things; if thou shouldst find anything in my writings which is dangerous do not make it known. As I have brought forward the wonders of this art, and its great advantages, I cannot, at the same time, be silent on its disadvantages, of which a pernicious use may be made. For to turn the mind from such things requires, besides a commanding will, a strong power and the combination of many circumstances. But the ignorant people do not understand this, and therefore they calumniate the truth, and declare it to be lies, or the work of the devil."

In reply to the charge of being eccentric, and of desiring to establish a new doctrine, he says:—"That I have quitted the track of the multitude of philosophers, I acknowledge; for I admit either none at all, or at most a very small portion, of school philosophy. He who only is acquainted with the ordinary philosophy of the schools, and as a physician, with Galen, I pray to desist from the reading of my treatise, for he is neither in a condition to judge of it, nor even to understand it. It departs too far from his custom.

"What can I expect from severe and ignorant judges?

"Our teaching is founded on a genuine and unquestionable experience, from which, as from a very liberal fountain, the most beautiful stream flows"—(cap. vii. conclus. 6).

"We will, therefore, instigated by love and for the public good, give the cure of six of the most difficult complaints, and which the mob of physicians declare to be incurable. These are—Insanity, epilepsy, impotence, dropsy, lameness, and continued as well as intermittent fever,"—(l. c. in præfatione.)

Finally, he says in another place,—"Have we not in past ages seen the whole world, as it were, moved into furious hostility against this means of cure? Was it not, by the loud expression of certain experience, which yet must be held even sacred and unquestioned, declared to be sorcery, devilish, and deemed crime and folly?"—(Preface.)

I believe we may conclude from these few passages that Maxwell well understood and was familiar with the practice of magnetism; and that his views upon it so entirely agreed with ours, that the magnetic physician of the present time may adopt his expressions as their own.

Graham was another Scottish physician of Edinburgh, who was not so much a teacher of magic and a defender of magnetism as that he was the introducer of a peculiar bed of state for the healing of diseases; and which may probably be regarded as a very excellent magnetic means, as we have already seen that amongst the ancients there were similar beds placed in the temples for that purpose. He was also said to have discovered a magnetic water and powder. I take from the already mentioned Anti-magnetism the description of this bed:—

"He termed his house the temple of Hygeia, in which he united the useful and agreeable. Everywhere prevailed the highest splendour. In the front court itself, our eye-witness declares that art, discovery, and wealth, had actually exhausted themselves. On the walls of the apartments electric fires made rainbow glories, star-beams gushed out, and transparent glasses of all colours were brought together with infinite taste and discrimination. All this, says the eye-witness, is exciting to the imagination in the highest degree.

His grand means of cure, combined with a spare diet and a bottle of medicine, was his magnetic, elastic bed. This stood in a splendid chamber, to which a cylinder was introduced from an adjoining apartment, and through it was conveyed the healing stream into the sleeping room, as well as all sorts of fragrant but strengthening medicines and Eastern perfumes through glass tubes. The heavenly bed itself rested on six transparent pillars; the bed-clothes, of purple and sky-blue satin, were spread over mattresses,

wet through with Arabian and Oriental odoriferous waters, in the taste of the Persian Court. The room in which it stood he called the Sanctum Sanctorum.

He showed the bed to nobody, not even to those to whom he showed all the rest: "For who," he said, "could resist the pleasure and intoxication that this enchanting place excited?" To all this must be added the melodious tones of the harmonicon, of soft flutes, pleasant voices, and a large organ. He said truly that nothing had restored to shattered nerves their vigour so amazingly as this heavenly bed. He had this bed in London; and any one who wished to make use of it must apply to him by letter, and send enclosed £50 sterling; on which he received an admission ticket.

VALENTINE GRATERAKES was an Irishman, born in the county of Waterford in 1628. In the year 1662 he dreamed that he possessed the gift of curing goitre by merely laying on his hand. At first he paid no attention; but as he dreamed the same thing again many times, he first made the experiment on his wife, and it succeeded to admiration. He tried it on others, and with the same result. In 1665 he began to use his hand for the cure of all diseases without exception. In 1666 he went to London, where he was summoned by the Court to Whitehall. There he tried his healing power on many persons. But the courtiers endeavoured in all manner of ways to ridicule and insult him, because he did not disdain to cure animals also. He was no longer able to support it, and at length removed to a house near the capital, where he touched and cured diseases.

As his cures were of a kind so wholly magnetic, as no man had so publicly performed such before, and as he produced the same crises and phenomena as the magnetic physicians now produce, we will briefly notice the history of his cures. They may be seen treated more at large in the writings of Pechlin (Observationes phys. med. lib. iii. c. 2, 1691), and in the monthly publications of Berlin (1786), and also in Deleuze's "Critical History of Animal Magnetism."

Pechlin says, "Amongst the most astonishing cures which history records, are those of an Irish gentleman in London, Oxford, and other cities of England and Ireland.

He himself published in London in 1666 a full account of them. 'Val. Graterakes, Esq., of Waterford, in the kingdom of Ireland, famous for curing several diseases and distempers by the stroak of his hand only: London, 1660.'"

Pechlin believes that no doubt whatever can be entertained of the reality of his cures, as they are related in his own work; and they are, therefore, worthy of being translated into all languages. Pechlin caused a number of letters and testimonies to be printed, which place the veracity and the character of Graterakes in the clearest light. In the first place, Joh. Glanville, the author of "Scepsis Scientifica," in which he treated all learning and human science as open to doubt, and who was also a chaplain to Charles II., says in a letter that Graterakes was a simple, amiable, and pious man, a stranger to all deceit. The same testimony was given to him by George Rust, Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. The bishop says that he was three weeks at his house, where he had an opportunity of observing his sound morals, and the great number of his cures of the sick. Through the simple laying on of his hands he drove the pains to the extremities of the limbs. Many times the effect was very rapid and as if by magic. If the pains did not immediately give way, he repeated his rubbings, and always drove them from the nobler parts to the less noble, and finally into the limbs.

The Bishop relates still further:—"I can as eye-witness assert that Graterakes cured dizziness, very bad diseases of the eyes and ears, old ulcers, goitre, epilepsy, glandular swellings, scirrhous indurations, and cancerous swellings. I have seen swellings disperse in five days that were many years old, but I do not believe by supernatural means; nor did his practice exhibit anything sacred. The cure was sometimes very protracted, and the diseases only gave way through repeated exertions; some altogether resisted his endeavours."

It appeared to the bishop that something healing, something balsamic, flowed from him. Graterakes himself was persuaded that his power was an especial gift of God. He healed even epidemic complaints by his touch, and on that account he believed it his duty to devote himself to the cure of diseases.

To the bishop's may be added the testimonies of two physicians, Faireklow and Astel, who very assiduously inquired into the reality of his cures.

"I was struck," says Faireklow, "with his gentleness and kindness to the unhappy, and by the effects which he produced by his hand."

Astel says,—"I saw Graterakes in a moment remove most violent pains merely by his hand. I saw him drive a pain from the shoulder to the feet. If the pains in the head or the intestines remained fixed, the endeavour to remove them was frequently followed by the most dreadful crises, which even seemed to bring the patient's life into danger; but by degrees they disappeared into the limbs, and then altogether. I saw a scrofulous child of twelve years with such swellings that it could not move, and he dissipated merely with his hand the greatest part of them. One of the largest, however, he opened, and so healed it with his spittle." Finally, Astel says that he saw a number of other cures, and repeats the testimonies of Rust and Faireklow on the character of Graterakes.

The celebrated Robert Boyle, President of the Royal Society of London, says:—"Many physicians, noblemen, clergymen, etc., testify to the truth of Graterakes' cures, which he published in London. The chief diseases which he cured were blindness, deafness, paralysis, dropsy, ulcers, swellings, and all kinds of fevers." Finally, it is said that "he laid his hand on the part affected, and so moved the disease downwards."

The celebrated innkeeper, Richter, of Stoyen in Silesia, was some years ago a second Graterakes.

Amongst the Italians Baptista Porta, Cordanus, Campanella, and Athanasius Kircher deserve to be mentioned.

The first has contributed most eminently to convince the world of the superstition and groundlessness of sorcery, and the supernatural doings of devils; and to shew that such uncommon phenomena are partly the work of nature, and partly the tricks and delusions of self-interest, and has thereby rendered important services to magnetism.

In his book on Natural Magic (Magia naturalis, Lugduni, 1569), he says:—There is a universal World-spirit, which

unites all with all; which produces and purifies our souls, and thus renders them capable of magic arts. Many circumstances and changes can be explained by sympathy and antipathy; but which proceed from this world-spirit. Sympathy depends on the attraction of kindred things; and antipathy on the repulsion of dissimilar things. You find in Porta's work especially, fine observations on harmony, sympathy, etc.

Cardanus, also, that extraordinary eccentric, deserves to be mentioned, partly on account of opinions agreeing with magnetism, and partly as a remarkable magnetic phenomenon, because, through his dreams and visions, which he procured at will, he could put himself into the clearest state of ecstasy, in which, according to his own assurances, he saw and heard things that lay far in futurity. His father, Facius Cardanus, had before had an ethereal familiar spirit, which showed him what he was to do (Cardanus de verum varietate, lib. v. c. 93.) His collected works were published at Lyons in 1663, in two folio volumes, and he himself was provided with a familiar spirit like Socrates, Plotinus, Sinesius, Dion, and Flavius Josephus.

Thomas Campenella has made himself very famous through his doctrines and through his book—"De sensu rerum et magia." Whilst he undertook in these writings to teach magic, and explain it by natural causes and effects, he was accused of sorcery, and cast into prison, and brought to trial for suspected heresy.

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER.

The most celebrated of all was Father Kircher, a man of very sagacious spirit, of the most extensive learning, and comprehensive knowledge; who through his numberless experiments and enquiries in natural philosophy, through his many travels, through his impartiality, brought the spirit of his age into strong excitement, and endeavoured to purify the study of nature from superstition, credulity, and erroneous views.

Magnetism was in his time already a subject which engaged the attention of all the learned in an extraordinary

manner. It must be confessed that it was still the enigmatical play of mineral magnetism more than any other, but which, through its phenomena, and the cures connected with it, led to futher enquiries, and men now began to attribute unknown causes and effects to magnetical powers. Every one endeavoured, in his own way, to explain the facts, and the theory of magnetism was continually more confirmed, while the most singular opinions for and against it were brought forward.

This occasioned also Father Kircher, as one of the most zealous and able natural philosophers of the time, to institute a number of experiments, and thereby to establish still more firmly the science of magnetism. He wrote a great work under the title, "Athanasii Kircheri Magnes, sive de arte magnetici, opus tripartitum, Coloniæ, 1643," which is not merely a treatise and a master-piece of natural philosophy, but which also contains a vast deal of high importance to magnetism in its more extended sense. I will quote some of the most remarkable passages.

In the introduction he declaims warmly against the exaggerations, the dreams, and extravagant fancies, by which some, without any personal experience, carried away by the marvels of magnetism, and supporting themselves on uncertain or false conclusions, unsettle all schools with intolerable and shocking fictions. This might perhaps lead to the supposition that Kircher was no especial friend of magnetism. But he exerted himself only to reconcile the wonders which had taken place, with the current ideas and the known laws of nature; and meant thereby to say, that we ought not to denounce unexplained, and for the most part, unknown things, with such loud outcries and with wide-open mouths. He meant also to say, that, if people would not or could not make clear and positive experiments themselves, they should be silent, that they might not propagate lies and false conclusions.

What just ideas Kircher had of magnetism, appears from his exposition of the philosophy of magnetism. "Magnetism," he says, "is thus named because all the wonderful operations of nature become more apparent in the radiations of the magnet; therefore, these effects are only so called from their resemblance to the magnetic radiations. That is to say, the

idea of the demonstration of activity, and the nature of the powers which operate upon each other through mutual emanations, is called magnetism."

According to Kircher all is magnetic, but not all a magnet; for he contested Gilbert's opinion, that the earth is a great magnet. By magnetism, a whole is to be understood, whose parts are bound together and conducted by the attractive and repulsive powers which resemble those of the magnet. He speaks of a magnetism of plants, of animals, of metals, of the elements, of the sun, the moon, and the sea. Mineral magnetism he styled Zoomagnetism. He then speaks of the magnetism of particular fishes, and of electrical bodies; of the magnetism of medical substances; of the imagination, of music, and of love.

He then goes through the three principal kingdoms of nature, and presents many examples of magnetism, or sympathy and antipathy, amongst plants, animals, and even amongst minerals.

From these examples take one of each kind: hostility, that is, antipathy, is apparent even amongst animals. Thus, for example, the vine has a decided hatred to cabbage, and where it perceives it in the neighbourhood, it turns itself away as from a mortal enemy, while, on the contrary, it bends itself towards the olive. The cabbage, again, hates the swinebread (Cyclamen) to such a degree that if they are brought together, they both wither. The sympathy of the two sexes in plants is very striking, so much so that the one is ruined without the other. The country people know very well that they must be placed together; and Pliny has beautifully described this—"Tunc osculo illa manum blande demulcens amorem confitetur, sese illis desiderio stimulatam, hujus vesaniæ remedio affert; quo amor diluatur." Thus the wild figs in Calabria never ripen, although they hang in great quantities, except the male and female trees unite, when they quickly ripen their fruit, and become so firmly attached to each other that they cannot again be separated. For the rest, the love of the ranunculus to the water-lily, of rue to the fig, of the vine to the elm and olive, are universally known.

Kircher farther enumerates a number of plants which have an especial sympathy for the sun and moon, and regu-

larly turn towards them. The acacia, he says, in the vicinity of Rome, is so fond of the sun, that immediately on its rising it unfolds its leaves, and on its setting it closes them so firmly that you might put juniper prickles on them. Many flowers grow till the sun turns back again in Cancer; then continually decline in strength, and at its greatest distance, die.

Kircher (lib. iii. p. 643) speaks of a kind of wolfsmilk (Tithymallus) which the whole day follows the sun even when it is obscured by fog; and Prosper Albinus (De plantis Ægyptiacis, c. 10) relates the same of the Tamarind in the wilderness of St. Macarius, where no other plant grows. He gives many examples of the closing and unclosing of leaves by day and night.

Kircher also gives examples of plants which actually repel and attract, and especially that in Mexico there is a kind of plant very much resembling the pomegranate, the tender shoots of which, cut in pieces, repel each other with the greatest antipathy.

The sympathy amongst animals is very striking, for, in the first place, they will only live on certain spots; in the second place, amongst certain animals; and thirdly, even amongst these have regard to certain qualities.

"The instinct of animals, by which they seek out the salutary and avoid the pernicious, is no other than the propensity amongst plants to good, and antipathy to evil, and whose immediate atmosphere operates beneficially or otherwise; so that from similarity, love, attraction, and sympathy, are produced, and from dissimilarity, hate, repulsion, and antipathy.

Of the sympathy and antipathy of animals, he says further: "Who has taught the hare to fear the hound, and not the much larger stag; who the hen to fear the eagle, and not the peacock or ostrich? Who has taught the parrot and the magpie the art of speaking? Who the dogshead (Cynocephalus) music; bees the art of mensuration; the swallow the art of building, and the spider that of weaving? Who has instructed the hippopotamus in the art of phlebotomy? Who has made known to the swallow the liverwort against blindness; who the aperient quality of the anagallis to fowls and to various water-birds? Only that

inspiration of nature, which is nothing else than the material, or rather the hidden understanding, or the operation of the imagination. If the animals thus know themselves and their circumstances, why should we deny to men the knowledge of powers and of effects from their causes ?"

Finally, he refers to an extraordinary kind of attraction amongst animals. The marten runs with the wildest howling and outcries into the open mouth of the great poisonous toad (Bufo). The great American snake attracts by its breath the deer, as a magnet does iron, and crushes it, and licks it over with saliva, in order that he may more easily swallow it. He then alludes to the electrical fishes, as the torpedo, Rana piscatrix. The greenling (Galgulus sive Icterus) cures the jaundice merely by the patient looking at it.

Of the sympathy of the mineral kingdom, he relates, amongst other things, the observation of Alpinus (Prosper Alpinus de medicina Ægypt. lib. i. c. 6,) that a piece of earth taken out of the Nile, dried, and carefully kept, never changed during the whole year, till on the 17th of June it became all at once heavier; from which circumstances it was inferred that the Nile rose then.

He also speaks of Selenite (l. c. p. 946) which had a speck on its surface, which according to the changes of the moon increased or decreased. A similar stone was in the possession of Pope Leo X., which changed the blue colour into white according to the quarter of the moon. Also, Cardanus speaks of a stone which he calls a Helite gem, which belongs to the Pope Clemens VIII. This had a gold-coloured speck which changed its place according to the rise and setting of the sun.

Especially striking is the magnetism of music. Here we see how, through the instrumentality of the nerves, the soul and the passions are put in motion. The harmonicon is preferable for this purpose to all other instruments, of one of which he gives a description, which deserves now to be imitated. This consists of five simple glasses, supplied with different liquors, which touch each other. In the one is brandy, in another wine, in another oil, and in another water. In order to play upon them you must wet the finger and rub it on the edge of the glasses. It is very remarkable that Mesmer used this very harmonicon for magnetic cures. In the mode

of explaining these phenomena, Kircher has also much in common with Mesmer; and he speaks of the streaming of all things together. "Præterea cum omnes res agant effluxum quendam," etc.

Kircher treats of the magnetism of the imaginative power, and amongst other subjects he particularly introduces pregnant women:—"The Arabs," he says, "and particularly Avicenna and his disciples, believe in such a power of the imagination, that it not only has influence over the body, but can move and change external substances without any intermediate body. Even the animals possess more or less of this power, and, indeed, the more they have of it, the nobler they appear. Truly a strong and very striking power of imagination does not belong to all. The influence of a strong will on others is so much the stronger when the three following circumstances combine:—1st. Nobility of soul; 2nd. Strong motive power of the imagination; and 3rdly. The absence of a resistant power (subjectum non repugnans.) In this manner some cure the least healable of diseases, and are cognizant of future and absent events. I have already quoted the passage where he says that a free mind destitute of all worldly sensuality arrives at the clearest vision of all things. But that the imagination can do something may be seen in those persons who, whenever they think of the fire and punishment of hell, fall into a violent perspiration. In women, too, the power of the imagination is greater than in men, and especially when they are pregnant."

Finally, the magnetism of love is the originator and maintainer of all things under God. Arts and sciences emanate from it, The artist knows it, as well as the athlete, the landsman, the musician, the astrologer, the diviner, and the theologian. Love in its ordinary sense, he says, is a kind of fever: "Amor febris species."

His opinions respecting the magnetism of the earth, of plants, and stars, are very interesting, as well as on the accordance and mutual movements of the heaven and the earth, the latter of which, however, he imagines to stand still, and the sun to go round it. He says that the earlier philosophers never denied this accordance, but have perceived that the sun binds all things to himself, and also imparts

this uniting power to other things, which probably no one except the stone-blind will deny.

Finally, what Kircher says of the antidotes against poisonous animals, and which he corroborates from his own experience, deserves to be quoted. The sting or bite of a venomous creature can be most effectually cured by an application of part of the very animal from which the mischief has proceeded. For instance, the bite of a viper is cured by eating the flesh of the viper. The scorpion cures the bite of the scorpion, as he had himself witnessed in Germany. The great poisonous toad cured the plague-boil, being previously dried in the sun, and then laid upon it.

From this it follows, of course, that the true antidote of hydrophobia is in the animal whose bite produces the disease, which Lemnius also asserts (Levinus Lemnius de occultis naturæ miraculis), who recommends to take some hairs, or to eat some part of the same animal. Some years ago a Swiss physician tried it, and especially recommended drinking the blood of the mad dog.

TENZEL WIRDIG.

Tenzel Wirdig was a professor of Rastock, and in 1673 published a book which created a great sensation—"Tenzelius Wirdig, Nova medicina spirituum." He went farther than all his predecessors, asserting that in nature and in bodies there was more life, movement, and magnetism, than men had hitherto commonly supposed. With great address, and great learning, he demonstrated that the whole of nature was ensouled, and extended the theory of Kepler still wider than he had done himself, though he asserted the earth to be a large animal.

There is, according to him, an accordance between the souls of all the bodies on the earth, in the stars of heaven, and, where they are of congenial nature, an attraction, and a repugnance and a constant strife between those which are of an opposite nature. "Out of this relationship of sympathy and antipathy arises a constant movement in the

whole world, and in all its parts, and an uninterrupted communion between heaven and earth, which produces universal harmony. The stars whose emanations consist merely of fire and spirits, have an undeniable influence on earthly bodies; and their influence on man demonstrates itself by life, movement, and warmth, those things without which he cannot live. The influence of the stars is the strongest at birth. The new-born child inhales this influence, and on whose first breath frequently his whole constitution depends, nay even his whole life."

The relation between spirits of sympathy and antipathy, whether they be of the earth or of heaven, is what Wirdig calls magnetism: "Magnetism is the accordance of spirits."

As the whole world is ensouled, so is it also subjected to magnetism; for everything approximates to its like, and removes from that which is unlike, as the magnet does. Everything lives and exists through magnetism, and everything perishes through magnetism. He extends this sympathy into all things; speaks of the sympathy amongst men in general; between persons of the same sex; between the mother and child; of the sympathy of the different parts of the body; of the blood, etc. He gives an instance of one person influencing another at a great distance whence illness was produced. This in modern times has frequently been confirmed, and is stated by Hufeland in his work on magic, published in Berlin in 1817. He also gives the account of a nose which had been cut from the back of a porter, but which when the porter died, died too, and fell off from its artificial position,—a relation confirmed by Van Helmont, Campanella, and Servius. A piece of skin taken from a living head had the hair turn grey at the same time as that on the head from which it was taken.

Of the many learned men of whom more might be said here, I must at least give the names.

Amongst the most distinguished disciples of Paracelsus, the defenders of a magico-theosophical science were in France,—Jacob Gohory, Joseph du Chesne, and especially the learned philosopher Peter Poiret Naudé, in his Apologie pour tous les grandes personages qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de magie, Haye, 1679. Gaffarel, Rueil Phara-

mond; Ernst Burggraf (Balneum Dianæ magnet. prescorphilos. claris. Logduni 1600.) Bartholin, Sir Kelham Digby, Santanelli (Philosophia recondita, Coloniæ, 1723.) Edward Medeira in "Novæ philosoph. et medic. qualit. occult. Uyssipone, 1650.) Thomas Bartholin, in his treatise on the transference of diseases; Andreas Tenzel (Medicina diastatica), or the art of healing which operates at a distance magnetic-sympathetic cures of many diseases, in which man may use magically, animals, plants, and metals. Leipsic and Hoff, 1753. Kräutermann, the curious and simple magical physician, who taught and demonstrated how man not only *ex triplici regno* may prepare remarkable medicines, but also by sympathy and antipathy, by transference, by amulets, and natural magic, can happily cure diseases, or in other words by reputed witchcraft, with excellent recipes, which have been published four different times. Arnstadt, 1737.

To these must be added the theosophist Rosicrucians, Oswald, Croll, Gerhard Dorn, Michael Toxites, Heinrich Kunnath, Ægid Guthmann, Julius Sperber, Valentine Weigel, etc., who may all be found in Brucker's Critical History of Philosophy, vol. iv. p. 644, 750. It is known, too, that Henry More was also a defender of the Cabbalistic philosophy. Opposed to these stand a multitude of antagonists; amongst whom Libavius and Jennert are the most distinguished. The opinions of other philosophers who have treated of magic and magnetism belong also to this place; particularly De Loques, who wrote a treatise on the magnetic power of the blood, 1664. Farther, the great Descartes was a teacher of the magnetic doctrine. For he asserted that all space is filled with a fluid matter, which he held to be elementary, and the foundation and fountain of all life, which encloses all globes and keeps them in motion. The Cartesian vortexes are well known, and have more in common with the magnet streams of Mesmer than people suppose who have not carefully examined the subject.

Even Newton, whom men are accustomed to call the light of the world, belongs to the catalogue of magnetic teachers. Preeminently is his doctrine of attraction and of universal space, which he, and still more his defender, Samuel Clarke, termed the Divine sensorium, a magnetic doctrine. But

this is still more seen in the third book of his Fundamental Principles of Natural Philosophy, where it is said—"Here the question is of a very subtle spirit which penetrates through all, even the hardest bodies, and which is concealed in their substance. Through the strength and activity of this spirit, bodies attract each other, and adhere together when brought into contact. Through it electrical bodies operate at the remotest distances, as well as near at hand, attracting and repelling; through this spirit the light also flows and is refracted and reflected, and warms bodies. All senses are excited by this spirit, and through it the animals move their limbs. But these things cannot be explained in few words, and we have not yet sufficient experience to determine fully the laws by which this universal spirit operates."

These magnetic doctrines struck, as we have seen, deep root in many countries after Paracelsus; deeper in France, and deepest, perhaps, of all, in Germany. But in general in the last century people began to give up their faith in them. There came a pause till about the year seventy, when they became again vigorously agitated. Gassner, Cagliostro, and Swedenborg, diffused afresh, by their conjurations and their spirit-seeing, a panic-terror, and Mesmer, who indeed had little to do with spirits, by his discovery of the cure of diseases by animal magnetism, completely turned people's heads.

Gassner, a clergyman from the country of Bludenz, in Vorarlberg, healed many diseases through exorcism. In the year 1758 he was the clergyman of Klösterle, where, by his exorcisms, he became so celebrated, that he drew a vast number of people to him. The flocking of the sick from Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Swabia, is said to have been so great, that the number of invalids was frequently more than a thousand, and they were, many of them, obliged to live under tents. The Austrian government gave its assistance, and Gassner now went under the patronage of the Bishop to Regensburg, where he continued to work wonders, till, finally, Mesmer, on being asked by the Elector of Bavaria, declared that Gassner's cures and crises, which he so rapidly, and wholly to the astonishment of the spectators, produced, consisted in nothing more than in magnetic-spiritual excitement, of which he gave convincing proofs in the presence of

the Elector. Eschenmayer, in Keiser's Archives, treats at length of Gassner's method of cure.

Gassner's mode of proceeding was as follows:—He wore a scarlet cloak, and on his neck a silver chain. He usually had in his room a window on his left hand, and a crucifix on his right. With his face turned towards the patient, he touched the ailing part, and commanded that the disease should manifest itself; which was generally the case. He made this both cease and depart by a simple command. By calling on the name of Jesus, and through the faith of the patient, he drove out the devil and the disease. But every one that desired to be healed must believe, and through faith any clergyman may cure devilish diseases, spasms, fainting, madness, etc., or free the possessed. Gassner availed himself sometimes of magnetic manipulations: he touched the affected part, covered it with his hand, and rubbed therewith vigorously both head and neck. Gassner spoke chiefly Latin in his operations, and the devil is said often to have understood him perfectly. Physical susceptibility, with willing faith and positive physical activity, through the command of the Word was thus the magical cure with him.

There were, in the year seventy, a multitude of writings both for and against Gassner's operations. These appeared principally in Augsburg, and amongst them two are particularly worthy of notice; the first, under the title of "Impartial Thoughts, or something for the Physicians on the mode of cure, by Herr Gassner in Elwangen, published by Dr. Schisel, and printed in Sulzbach, 1775." The other, "The Observations of an Impartial Physician on Herr Lavater's Grounds of Enquiry into the Gassner Cures, with an appendix on Convulsions, 1775;" probably by the same author.

Dr. Schisel relates that with a highly respectable company, he himself travelled to Elwangen, and there saw himself the wonderful cures the fame of which had been spread far and wide by so many accounts both in newspapers and separate printed articles. "Some," he says, "describe him as a holy and prophetic man; others accuse him of being a fantastic fellow, a charlatan, and impostor. Some extol him as a great mathematician; others denounce him as a dealer in the black art; some attribute his cures to the magnet, or to elec-

trical power; others to sympathy and the power of imagination; and, on the other hand, a respectable party, overcome by the might of faith, attributed the whole to the omnipotent force of the name of Jesus."

Schisel writes further, that he gave himself all possible trouble to notice everything which might in the most distant manner affect the proceedings of the celebrated Herr Gassner. Schisel, indeed, seems to have been the man, from his quiet power of observation, his impartial judgment, and thorough medical education, which qualifications are all evident in his book, to give a true account of the cures of Gassner, while he notices all the circumstances, objections, and opinions, which had been brought forward or which presented themselves there. He relates that Elwangen must have grown rich through the numbers of people who thronged thither, though Gassner took nothing for his trouble, and that the Elector on that account tolerated the long-continued concourse of people; that in March 1553 many hundred patients arrived daily; that the apothecary gained more in one day than he otherwise would in a quarter of a year from the oil, eye-water, a universal powder made of Blessed Thistle, (Carduus benedictus) and the incenses, etc., which Gassner ordered. The printers laboured, with all their workmen, day and night at their presses, to furnish sufficient pamphlets, prayers, and pictures, for the eager horde of admirers. The goldsmiths and braziers were unwearied in preparing all kinds of Agnus Dei, crosses, hearts, and rings; even the beggars had their harvest, and as for bakers and hotel-keepers, it is easy to understand what they must have gained.

He then describes the room of Herr Gassner, his costume, and his proceeding with the sick:—"On a table stood a crucifix, and at the table sat Herr Gassner on a seat, with his right side turned towards the crucifix, and his face towards the patient, and towards the spectators also. On his shoulders hung a blue red-flowered cloak; the rest of his costume was clean, simple, and modest. A fragment of the cross of the Redeemer hung on his breast from a silver chain; a half-silken sash girded his loins. He was forty-eight years of age, of a very lively countenance, cheerful in conversation, serious in command, patient in teaching, amiable towards every one, zealous for the honour

of God, compassionate towards the oppressed, joyful with those of strong faith, acute in research, prophetic in symptoms and quiet indications; an excellent theologian, a fine philosopher, an admirable physiognomist, and I wished that he might possess as good an acquaintance with medical physiology as he showed himself to have a discrimination with surgical cases. He is in no degree a politician; he is an enemy of sadness; forgiving to his enemies, and perfectly regardless of the flatteries of men. For twenty years he carried on this heroic conflict against the powers of hell, thirteen of these in quietness, but seven publicly, and of these last he had now passed six months victoriously in Elwangen.

"Thus armed he undertook in this room all his public proceedings, which he continued daily, from early morning till late at night; nay, often till one or two o'clock in the morning. The more physicians there are around him, the bolder he was in causing the different diseases to show themselves; nay, he called upon the unknown physicians themselves. Scarcely do those who are seeking help kneel before him, when he enquires respecting their native country and their complaints; then his instruction begins in a concise manner, which relates to the steadfastness of faith, and the omnipotent power of the sacred name of Jesus. Then he seizes both hands of the kneeling one, and commands with a loud and proud voice the alleged disease to appear. He now seizes the affected part,—that is, in the gout, the foot; in paralysis, the disabled limb and joint; in headache, the head and neck; in those troubled with flatulence, he lays his hand and cloak on the stomach; in the narrow-chested, on the heart; in hemorrhoidal complaints, on the back-bone; in the rheumatic and epileptic he not only lays hold on each arm, but alternately places both hands, and the hands and cloak together, over the whole head.

"In many cases the disease appears immediately on being commanded, but in many he is obliged to repeat the command often, and occasionally ten times, before the attack shows itself; in some, but the fewest in number, the command and laying on of hands have no effect.

"The first class he terms the good and strong-faithed; the second those of hesitating and feeble faith; the last

either naturally diseased, or pretendedly so, and unbelieving. All these attacks retreat by degrees, each according to its kind, either very quickly on his command, but sometimes not till the tenth or twentieth time, from limb to limb. In some the attacks appeared repressed but not extinguished; in others the commencement of a wearing sickness, with fever and spitting of blood; in others intumescence even to suffocation and with violent pains; others gout and convulsions.

"When he has now convinced the spectator, and thinks that he has sufficiently strengthened the faith and confidence of the sufferer, the patient must expel the attack himself by the simple thought of 'Depart from me in the name of Jesus Christ!' And in this consists the whole method of cure and confirmation which Gassner employs in all kinds of sickness which we call unnatural. Through these he calls forth all the passions. Now anger is apparent, now patience, now joy, now sorrow, now hate, now love, now confusion, now reason,—each carried to the highest pitch. Now this one is blind, now he sees, and again is deprived of sight, etc.

"All take their leave of him, filled with help and consolation, so soon as he has given them his blessing, which he thus administers:—"He lays the cloak on the head of the patient; grasps the forehead and neck with both hands firmly; speaks silently a very earnest prayer; signs the brow, mouth, and breast of the convalescent with the sign of the cross; and extends to the Catholics the fragment of the cross to kiss; orders, according to the form of the sickness, the proper medicines at the apothecary's, the oil, water, powder, and herbs, which are consecrated by him every day; exhorts every one to steadfastness in faith, and permits no one, except those who are affected with defects born with them, to depart without clean hands and countenances full of pleasure.

"He excludes no single sickness, no kind of fever, not even any epidemic disorder. May not the science of medicine, therefore, partly fear that it will soon be superseded by this moral theory?

"We may now inquire what diseases Gassner calls natural, and what unnatural? For instance, a broken bone, a

maimed limb, or a rupture, are complaints with natural causes; but all such as are produced either by want of, or by a superfluity of the natural conditions of the body, are curable,—as the cataract, which he cures to the astonishment of every one. We may give another demonstration. Two lame persons appear. One has the *tendo Achillis* or a nerve injured. He is healed, indeed, but the foot remains crooked. This is a natural lameness. The pious crooked man has no hope of assistance from Herr Gassner. The second has a similar shortness of the foot, but the cause of which was gout, wasting of the limb, or paralysis. This is unnatural lameness; and will be cured by Herr Gassner as quickly as the name of it is here written."

"Here you have now the portrait of this new wonder-physician, of our great Herr Gassner,"—sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat. "How does it please you? Have you anything to object to the original, or to the picture?"

The author now puts to the physicians and to the academicians the question whether Gassner actually cured these diseases as related, and whether in his mode of cure there be a hidden magnetic, sympathetic, or magic power? How does he heal, and what circumstances attend the cures? This alone concerns the doctors. "The clergy may settle with him witch-trials, and whether the devil in so many ways can injure men. Whether the accusers of Herr Gassner, 'ex lege diffamari,' deserve punishment, or whether Herr Gassner ought to be considered guilty as a deceiver, is a question for the lawyers and criminal judges." He then proceeds to answer these questions, with the admission "that he," like many of his learned brethren, is somewhat incredulous, and often tolerably stiff-necked. "For," says he, "it would not be creditable if I should take a thing for granted without cause, enquiry, or conviction." To the first question, whether all those diseases were healed, he answers,—"Yes, I have seen it, with many persons of different religions, and particularly with two most experienced and upright physicians, one a Catholic and one a Protestant. With them I attended nearly all, both public and private opportunities, as eye-witness, and with the most

perfect conviction. How! what will you say? A physician? Fie! for shame!' Yes, I, a physician, and one, indeed, who has written a whole treatise on gout, sought from Herr Gassner help against the hell-torture. Well, do not imagine that on that account I have ceased for a moment to be a physician; for I confess it now candidly, that I rather intended to test Herr Gassner than hoped to derive any cure from him. But a man that sees will not deny that it is day when the sun burns his neck; and a courageous physician will believe that he is ill when he feels pain. All those present, and the aforesaid physicians, fully testify that which we saw, and I myself, to my astonishment, experienced.

"He who will not believe that Herr Gassner cures all kinds of diseases,—he who rejects the evidence of such impartial and overwhelming witnesses, I must either send as one dangerously ill to the water-cure, or, if that does not succeed, to the mad-house; or as a non-natural sufferer to the curative powers of Herr Gassner. But *he* requires believing patients!"

He now proceeds, in the tone of the opposing doctors, that, indeed, every physician has, according to his own statement, cured every kind of disease: some by electricity, and some by other means, by sympathy and imagination. Many also have enquired whether Herr Gassner's crucifix, or the chain on his neck, or his half-silken sash, be not electric? Whether a magnet be not concealed in his cloak, or his hands be stroked with one, or be even anointed with a sympathic ointment!

After he has circumstantially shown that none of these accusations will hold good, he comes to the conclusion—"that Herr Gassner performed all his cures merely by the glorified name of Jesus Christ, and the laying on of his hands and his cloak. But he gives the people oil, eye-water, and the like: he counsels them to use such things after the cure has taken place. He has, however, in order to make the blind see, no eye-water, nor oil to put in motion a paralysed limb; much less, powder and fumigations to drive out the devil. He merely touches the joints of the lame; he rubs the ears and glands of the deaf; he touches

with his fingers the eyelids of the blind; he draws the pains forth under his hands by a commanding strong voice. He commands them with the same power, with an earnest and authoritative voice, to come out and depart, and it takes place. Where, then, is the sympathy, where the electricity, where the magnet, and all philosophical acuteness?"

"Yes; but why then does he not cure all by the same means?"

"Ask your own consciences; enquire into the mode of life and the mode of thinking of your uncured friends, whether they come within the conditions required by Herr Gassner, and possess the three kinds of faith which we mentioned in the opening of this account of Gassner, and you may yourselves answer the question.

"Are you silent? You will then first open your thoughts to me, when you have experienced what has been the permanence of the Gassner mode of cure.

"Herr Gassner demands as a security against a relapse into the sickness, like St. Peter, a constant and perpetual conflict. Wherefore? Because the attacks of our invisible enemy are never ceasing. He prescribes to every one how he can maintain himself in health without his aid; and I assure you on honour sincerely, that I have known many, very many, who have cured themselves of violent illness without going to or having seen Herr Gassner, but merely by following his book by my advice, and who still daily derive benefit from it. And I have never known one person who has relapsed into the old non-natural sickness who has not first deviated from the prescribed rules of Herr Gassner, or wholly abandoned them? Who, then, was to blame?"

Joseph Balsamo, called Count Cagliostro, born in 1743 at Palermo, is generally classed amongst the magicians. There exists, however, no particular doctrine of his; he led with his wife a rambling life through all the countries of Europe. He is accused, at least in the writings, life, and acts of Joseph Balsamo, the so-called Count Cagliostro, from the documents produced against him on his trial at Rome in

1790, and Zurich 1791, of having practised all kind of impositions, of gold-making, and of possessing the secret of prolonging life; that he secretly taught the Cabbalah and cabbalistic arts; that he pretended to call up and exorcise spirits, and actually did frequently foretel future things; and that in small, secret companies, and chiefly by means of a little boy, whom he took aside with him into a separate room, in order to fit him for divining.

It is farther stated, that in the order of Freemasons he assumed the character of an apostle of the Egyptian freemasonry; and that he had heretically attached himself to all sorts of religions. The same charges are brought against him by the Countess von der Recke, in a book on the life and opinions of Cagliostro. From all these accounts, we may set down Cagliostro as an accomplished adventurer, whose magic consisted in this, that he with the boy, or the so-called orphan, or doves, made his experiments in magnetism. For it says in the documents of the trial, pp. 82, 90, etc.,—"This child had to kneel before a small table, on which a can of water and some lighted candles stood. He now instructed the boy to look into the water-can, and so commenced his conjuration; laid his hand on the head of the boy, and in this position addressed a prayer to God for a successful issue of the experiment.

"The child was now clairvoyant, and said at first that he saw something white, then that he saw a child or angel, etc., and after this spoke of all sorts of future things. He availed himself also of an orphan maiden at Mitau, who being already of a marriageable age, could not, of course, be considered as simple and innocent as a small boy. The questions which he put to the orphan girl did not confine themselves to the angel, but extended to the discovery of secrets and future events, when he frequently made his experiments without the can of water, and merely placed the orphan behind a screen. He also, it is not known whether the more thoroughly to convince the spectators or to throw dust in their eyes, laid his hand on other individuals, and transferred to them a portion of his own power. He worked, it says at page 93, through the usual ceremonies, and all was wonderfully corroborated through the appearance of the angel. At page 134 it says, "In what manner does the

sanctifying vision come? In three ways. First, when God makes himself visible, as to the patriarchs; secondly, through the appearance of angels; and, finally, through artistic practices and inward inspiration."

Cagliostro expressly declared before the Inquisition that he had never had anything to do with the devil; and if, he said, "I am a sinner, I trust that a merciful God will forgive me." He declared very distinctly also, p. 146, "that he believed his Egyptian system had nothing whatever to do with the church of Rome, and especially in what related to the employment of the orphans." Cagliostro in 1791 was condemned in full council of the Inquisition for many crimes, and as deserving of the severest punishments awarded to heretics, teachers of error, archheretics, masters and adherents of superstitious magic, and out of especial grace was committed to perpetual imprisonment, instead of suffering death. He died in prison in 1795, at St. Leo in the states of the Church.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

Swedenborg, regarded in more than one point of view, belongs to the history of magic, not because he was himself a magician at all, but because he belongs to magnetism, being a truly remarkable example of a high degree of self-development of the inner sense—of a religious clairvoyance; and also in relation to his philosophy of nature.

The name of Swedenborg is a bugbear to the so-called learned world, which runs from mouth to mouth shrieking, it knows not why. For people take no trouble to know Swedenborg really, or to hear the accused; and if any one has occasionally deigned to ride full gallop, extra-post, through Swedenborg's voluminous writings, he understands, as a stranger from this world, nothing of the spirit-language of the prophet; it is a gibberish to him; and he quits the land in haste, leaving it unknown and deserted behind him, without suspecting the existence of the precious stones and treasures which lie there, or of looking amongst them with diligence and close inspection.

And if in the writings of Swedenborg the seeing of spirits is not to be entirely freed from the charge of phantasy, and if enthusiasm and exaltation are not to be denied, there is still so much that is profound and noble in his works on God and Man, on the Phenomena of Nature, and their harmony with the spiritual, that he must unquestionably be deemed worthy of ranking with the greatest spirits of history: I find it therefore proper to introduce here a concise account of his life and writings, and their influence on our subject.

I take the whole from a book which bears the title: Emanuel Swedenborg's Theological Works; on his theory of God, of the world, heaven, hell, the spiritual world, and the future life. A selection from his collected works. Leipsic, 1789: and immediately from the translation of Swedenborg's writings by Hofacker.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born at Upsala, in Sweden, 29th of January, 1688. His father was bishop of Skara. On account of his distinguished talents, diligence, and acquirements, Swedenborg was appointed in his youth to a prominent post in a provincial college; and distinguished himself in it by his uprightness and disinterestedness. Very soon afterwards, he showed himself by his numerous and profound writings on mineralogy, natural philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, etc., to be one of the most learned and thinking men of his age, and his extensive and frequent travels through the principal counties of Europe at the same time extended his knowledge and his fame. On account of his virtue and learning, esteemed by every one as a man of high worth and blameless morals, Swedenborg somewhere about the year 1740 renounced all worldly intercourse and renown, and devoted himself entirely to inquiries into the spiritual world From this period to that of his death, on the 29th of March, 1772, in London, Swedenborg wrote many works on the spiritual world, and all in the Latin tongue. His writings are based on the solid foundations of the Bible, whose mysterious revelations he laboured to make clear. His diction and doctrine in his works are spiritual, deep, and richly metaphorical, and, therefore, not understood by the world, for they are inward, and treat of the world of spirits and of eternity. For to

them all this is "a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." Job, x. 22.

His observations on heaven, hell, and the spirit-world, of their forms and space, of the spirits, of angels and devils, with whom he often conversed of hidden things, which endeavouring to express figuratively and intelligibly to our senses he described as bodily, material, and wholly contrary to the current opinions, without once remembering (in order to prevent misconception) to remind the reader that these must be spiritually understood. These observations have drawn upon him the great majority of his opponents and mortal enemies. It is not my concern to treat these observations either as dreams or pictures of the imagination, or as deep visions, and at the same time there is a probability or truth in them, a matured philosophy and true magic, which I feel bound to bring forward, in order thence to extract knowledge for us the living, and to award to the dead the honour to which he is justly entitled.

But as I cannot go very far into these matters, I will extract some passages from the book before mentioned, and from its chapters on God, on Creation, on Man and his life on the earth; and the rest of Swedenborg's works which may be studied with advantage, are the following:—1st. Dædalus Hyperboreus, or inquiries and observations on mathematical and physical subjects. 2nd. Prodromus principiorum rerum naturalium, etc., 1721. 3rd. Opera philosoph. et mineralia, 3 tom. in-folio, 1734. 4th. Prodromus philos. ratiocinantes, de infinito, de causa creationis, et de mechanicismo operationis animæ et corporis, 1733. 5th. Regnum animale, 1745. 6th. Arcana cœlestia, 8 tom. 7th. De telluribus in mundo solari, London, 1758. 8th. De commercio animæ et corporis, 1769. 9th. De miraculis divinis et magicis, etc. 10th. Then his many works on the spiritual world, de cultu et amore Dei, de cœlo et inferno, de nova Hierosolyma, deliciæ sapientiæ, etc., nearly all of which were published in London. The more modern works on Swedenborg's writings which may be recommended are principally, The Spirit of Emanuel Swedenborg's Philosophy, with a catechetical review, and a complete register of contents, published by Dr. Vorherr. Munich, 1832. Ludwig

Hofacker has already published various excellent translations of Swedenborg's writings, as, 1st. Heaven and its wonderful phenomena, and Hell, as seen and heard. Tübingen, 1830. 2nd. The Intercourse between the Soul and the Body. 3rd. The New Church of the Lord, according to intelligence out of Heaven. Both of the same year. And Swedenborg's Divine Revelations, by Dr. F. Imman. Tafel of Tübingen; already since 1823 seven volumes.

FROM THE CHAPTER ON GOD AND THE CREATION.

"There is only one God, who, as uncreated and infinite, can alone say of himself—'I am he who is.' God is man. To the angels he appears only in human form; and men on earth bear his image; therefore he said—'Let us make man in our own image.' Properly, the Lord only is man; and amongst all those that he has created those are especially men who retain his divine influence. God is wisdom and love. In heaven the divine love and wisdom reveal themselves in the form of a spiritual sun, which is not God, but an emanation of the godhead. The warmth of this sun is love, and its light is wisdom. Wisdom is the breath of the divine power, and a ray of the glory of the Almighty.

"God, as Love, does not stand alone, because love does not embrace itself, but others; therefore he made creatures. From love he created the world by his wisdom; immediately through the spiritual sun, and mediately through the natural sun, which is the instrument of the first.

"The spiritual alone is the living; the natural is dead; consequently the one must be created, the other uncreated. The spiritual sun has its spiritual atmosphere, which is the receptacle of the divine light. Through the medium of this atmosphere the spiritual sun produces spiritual circumstances. The outward circles of this atmosphere produced our natural sun, which in like manner has its atmosphere. These atmospheres, or active natures, decrease by degrees in activity and power of conception, and at last constitute

masses, the parts of which are held together by pressure. This, then, is that which on earth we call matter.

"All substances bear the impress of the infinite. Matter has, though it comes from God, nothing divine, but it probably has from the spirit-sun, that which in it is divine, and has retained it in the transference, namely, life, or a striving after reproduction. It strives towards this good —it strives from habit; and the habit passes once into form through a continuous series of operations. The habit of creation or of the created consists also in forms; and these represent an image of divine creation. Of these forms there are three kinds—minerals, plants, and animals.

"In these forms three steps are observable, which represent creations; for the sun mediately, through warmth and light, produces masses known under the name of minerals, and gives to each its distinguishing form. This progression is observed in plants, as the seed by development produces a stalk, which bears fruit.

"The forms of the animal world are produced in the same manner. The seed is the cause in the mother, or the egg, which here supplies the place of the earth. The seed in the case of the fœtus is the root, and the animal produced from the egg is, at the time of its capability of reproducing, comparable to the growth of the plant at the period when it begins to bear fruit.

"This progression is observable also in the organic form of man. These living and producing actions of the three kingdoms do not proceed from natural warmth, the natural light and atmosphere, for these are dead, but from those of the spiritual world. But from these actions we recognise the unity and similarity of the laws of all being. This natural creation is a mere correspondence, a copy, a symbol of the spiritual creation, as the only true one. The first is only present to remind us of the second.

"All these are intended to place before us the infinite wisdom and love of God; they are meant to show us that the objects which he has created are the immeasurable and incalculable forms of his thoughts and representations.

"God knows no succession of time. His power, his works, all that is and can be, according to the divine order-

ing, is constantly present to him; and we can form no idea of the creation of the world till we withdraw ourselves from the ideas of time and space. If we do this, then we comprehend that the greatest and smallest part of space are by no means different to each other, and the representation of the creation of the world will be like that which we have of the creation of each individual creature.

"The unconfined, the infinite, has its seat in the spiritual sun, as in its first emanation; so that these things exist in unlimited number in the created world. And it thence comes that in the world we scarcely find two creatures alike; for God is infinite, and contains an infinite number of things in himself. From this proceeds the natural sun, the fire-sea, which has the spiritual sun for its prototype; and, still more, the vast variety of material existences in this world, and of spiritual beings in the spiritual world.

FROM THE CHAPTER ON MAN.

"As the being of God consists of love, it follows that love is the life of men, and wisdom the nature or the existence of this love. Love is the soul, life is the spirit, or the inner man, who consists of two powers—understanding and will. The life of man consists in his love; and as his love is constituted so is his life.

"The body is a provided covering; for the spiritual strives to clothe itself with the natural as with a garb. The body, which is merely the obeying portion, constitutes the outward, natural or physical man. The bodily life of man consists in the agreement of the will with the heart, and of the understanding with the lungs; in fact, thought, as the action of the understanding, puts in motion the organs of speech. The outer man, or the body, is the instrument or means by which the soul in this world feels in a physical manner. There are consequently two men—a spiritual and a natural or an inward and outward; but both are united by mutual agreement. Man was so made that he can by means of his inward being be in the spirit-world, and by means of his outward being in the natural world.

"Spiritual light and spiritual warmth proceed from God into the soul of man, and thence into the bodily senses, into word and deed. The susceptibility to this influence is always in proportion to the amount of love and wisdom in man, and proceeds by degrees or gradations.

"In the spirit of man there are three gradations—the heavenly, the spiritual, and the natural; love, wisdom, and the application of the same; will, understanding, and action. The three grades of the human spirit harmonize with each other through agreement, and open themselves through the influence of heaven from the first to the last; that is, as soon as a man begins to do good, he opens to it the body, the next step opens the second, and the third which receives the influence of the Lord.

"Man steps by his birth into the natural grade, which he runs through. The first grade does not, indeed, open to him the second, but it prepares him for it through the acquisition of knowledge, with which the love of applying it germinates; that is, the love of your neighbour, the knowledge of our mutual necessities, etc. This spiritual grade increases by the knowledge of the true and good, conducts to the heavenly love of application, to a practical love of God, which opens the third grade.

"The natural spirit embraces and contains the two higher grades of the human soul, and reacts upon them when these grades are not opened. The outer man resists the inner; the flesh, says Paul, strives against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. By means of the natural grade the natural man can lift up the power of his understanding to the heavenly light, and recognise perfectly spiritual things. But he can only so far lift up his will or his love to God, as he uses that which reason prescribes to him, because the two higher grades are contained in the application.

"Man is not man on account of his body and his countenance, but because he has will and reason, and through them the power of intercourse with God. The perfect man is spiritual; for him, body, sense, and the world, are but guide-posts, which direct him back to the originator. His action consists in the active love which a man exercises; for he does what he loves; his speech is the expression of his wisdom, the children and forms of love. His work is the

exercise of his thoughts, which proceed from love; for what a man loves, he retains in remembrance.

"This is the description of the inner man, which is actually in heaven and in intercourse with heavenly spirits, even while his earthly life continues. This last is to a certain degree no proper life, for the true man only begins to live, according to the testimony of the ancients, after his death.

"The spiritual receives the influence of God; the bodily, on the contrary, is perishable by hereditary law, which we have inherited with our bodies from our fathers. The spiritual bases itself on our love to God and to our neighbour; the natural, on the contrary, on the love to itself and to earthly things.

"They who permit themselves to be overcome by sensual appetites resemble the animals, and continue in that grade, while there are two higher ones which they close against themselves. He, therefore, is merely an animal, when the understanding is subjected to the will and to the senses. This outward man has frequently only outward thoughts; he ponders and judges with ardour and cunning, because his thoughts are very near to his speech, and are chiefly contained in it. His understanding rests wholly on his sensations and his memory. This man may be learned, because knowledge and science are contained in his natural grade; but if he do not direct his faculties towards heaven, and if his science have not God for its object, the other grades remain closed against him, and the learned man, proud man as he is, judging according to his senses, only resembles the animals, and does not possess the truth nor know the good. All this is testified by the examples of many learned men, who, with all their science, are the greatest enemies of God and their own souls.

"The outward is usually false and hypocritical, because, in the true meaning of the word, he is double, and has the two parts of his being separate. The spiritual man is necessarily upright and true, because he is simple and single; in him the spiritual has drawn towards it the natural, and appropriated it.

"The learned man, who regards everything in reference to

himself and to the senses, makes himself like the animal, and has light only in the animal instinct. The outward is sufficient for human wisdom, but not for that of God, as that which comes alone from Him. This last is the only higher science which in the eyes of God has any value; but it alone is of true value to man. What advantage to him are physics, or the eloquence of other men? None. The happiness of life consists in this, that we love God and our neighbour. The rude but religious man is often more enlightened than the most celebrated academicians of Europe, because he is an inner and spiritual man. He possesses love and faith, which alone ennoble the earth; he possesses the good and the true, in which is contained the sum of God and of all created beings."

How man is the beginning and topstone of creation Swedenborg expresses in this manner:—"Man has, besides this, something which the angels have not; as he is not only in the spiritual world through his inward nature, but in the physical world through his outward nature. This outward world of nature expresses all that lies in the region of thought and imagination, which are outward and according to nature, in general knowledge and science, with their joys and attractions, so far as they belong to the world, and then, also, the farther enjoyment which belongs to the sensuous system of his body, and, beyond this, sense itself, speech and action: all these complete the last in which divine influence encloses itself; for this does not stand still in a half career, but penetrates to the last. Thus there lies in man the terminating line of the divine plan, and because he is the terminating line he is also the foundation, and fundamentally firm; and as there is nothing free from bonds, so it follows that there is such a bond between heaven and the human race; that the one determines itself through the other, and that the human race without the heaven is a chain without a hook, but the heaven without the human race would be a house without a foundation. It is man to which the whole divine plan refers, and from the creation to this time he is the divine plan in exposition. In the degree, however, in which man lives according to the divine plan, he appears in another life a more perfect and also a more beautiful being."

FROM THE CHAPTER ON FAITH.

"Faith consists in the conviction that we shall be happy through faith and good works. We receive this when we turn to the Lord; when we study the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and order our lives according to them. Faith without love is no faith; and love without faith is no love. If you do good, you believe; if you do evil, you doubt, or believe nothing at all.

"The Lord, faith, and love, are one; as are the will, the understanding, and the life in man; if you separate them, they fall and are annihilated, as a broken pearl falls into the dust. The Lord infuses faith and love into the understanding and will of man: thus faith and love are the Lord: how could he divide himself?

"Love and faith are also in good works. Love is the desire of good; good works are the completion of the good; and this completion has its foundation in the object which agrees with love and wisdom, or with faith. Without good works, faith and love are a cobweb of the brain, while the man consisting of the three grades is a whole, and in all that he does must be as a whole, otherwise he does nothing well. If the conduct be not according to religion, then a man's religion is not pure; the good and true do not dwell in his will and understanding, consequently he has neither the love nor the faith which flow from them; he is not in the church, and has no religion.

"Faith and love are necessary to the doing of good. Love alone brings forth no good work; and still less faith alone. There is but one true and upright faith, of which we have spoken; there is a spurious faith, which departs from the truth through sin, pride, and heresy; and a hypocritical faith, which is nothing at all, because the hypocrite is merely an outward, sensual, and fleshly man. His propensities are that which he is himself; the good which he appears to do comes not from love, and is not genuine goodness."

FROM THE CHAPTER ON THE PLAN OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

AND ON THE CORRESPONDENCES.

"The universe is an image of God, and was made for use. Providence is the government of the Lord in heaven and on earth. It extends itself over all things, because there is only one fountain of life, namely, the Lord, whose power supports all that exists.

"The influence of the Lord is according to a plan, and is invisible, as is Providence, by which men are not constrained to believe, and thus to lose their freedom. The influence of the Lord passes over from the spiritual to the natural, and from the inward to the outward. The Lord confers his influence on the good and the bad, but the latter converts the good into evil, and the true into the false; for so is the creature or its will fashioned.

"In order to comprehend the origin and progress of this influence, we must first know that that which proceeds from the Lord is the divine sphere which surrounds us, and fills the spiritual and natural world. All that proceeds from an object, and surrounds and clothes it, is called its sphere.

"As all that is spiritual knows neither time nor space, it therefore follows that the general sphere or the divine one has extended itself from the first moment of creation to the last. This divine emanation, which passed over from the spiritual to the natural, penetrates actively and rapidly through the whole created world, to the last grade of it, where it is yet to be found, and produces and maintains all that is animal, vegetable, and mineral. Man is continually surrounded by a sphere of his favourite propensities; these unite themselves to the natural sphere of his body, so that together they form one. The natural sphere surrounds every body of nature, and all the objects of the three kingdoms. Thus it allies itself to the spiritual world. This is the foundation of sympathy and antipathy, of union and separation, according to which there are amongst spirits presence and absence.

"The angel said to me that the sphere surrounded men

more lightly on the back than on the breast, where it was thicker and stronger. This sphere of influence, peculiar to man, operates also in general and in particular around him by means of the will, the understanding, and the practice.

"The sphere proceeding from God, which surrounds man and constitutes his strength, while it thereby operates on his neighbour and on the whole creation, is a sphere of peace and innocence; for the Lord is peace and innocence. Then only is man consequently able to make his influence effectual on his fellow man, when peace and innocence rule in his heart, and he himself is in union with heaven. This spiritual union is connected with the natural by a benevolent man through the touch and the laying on of hands, by which the influence of the inner man is quickened, prepared, and imparted. The body communicates with others which are about it through the body, and the spiritual influence diffuses itself chiefly through the hands, because these are the most outward or *ultimum* of man; and through him, as in the whole of nature, the first is contained in the last, as the cause in the effect. The whole soul and the whole body are contained in the hands as a medium of influence. Thus our Lord healed the sick by laying on of hands, on which account so many were healed by the touch; and thence from the remotest times the consecration of priests and of all holy things was effected by laying on of hands. According to the etymology of the word, hands denote power. Man believes that his thoughts and his will proceed from within him, whereas all this flows into him. If he considered things in their true form, he would ascribe evil to hell, and good to the Lord; he would by the Lord's grace recognise good and evil within himself, and be happy. Pride alone has denied the influence of God, and destroyed the human race."

In the work "Heaven and Hell," Swedenborg speaks of influences and reciprocities—Correspondences. "The action of correspondence is perceptible in a man's countenance. In a countenance that has not learned hypocrisy, all emotions are represented naturally according to their true form; whence the face is called the mirror of the soul. In the same way, what belongs to the understanding is represented in the speech, and what belongs to the will in the movements. Every expression in the face, in the speech, in

the movements, is called correspondence. By correspondence man communicates with heaven, and he can thus communicate with the angels if he possess the science of correspondence by means of thought. In order that communication may exist between heaven and man, the word is composed of nothing but correspondences, for everything in the word is correspondent, the whole and the parts; therefore he can learn secrets, of which he perceives nothing in the literal sense; for in the word, there is, besides the literal meaning, a spiritual meaning,—one of the world, the other of heaven." Swedenborg had his visions and communications with the angels and spirits by means of correspondence in the spiritual sense. "Angels speak from the spiritual world, according to inward thought; from wisdom, their speech flows in a tranquil stream, gently and uninterruptedly,—they speak only in vowels; the heavenly angels in A and O, the spiritual ones in E and I, for the vowels give tone to the speech, and by the tone the emotion is expressed: the interruptions, on the other hand, correspond with creations of the mind: therefore we prefer, if the subject is lofty, for instance of heaven or God, even in human speech, the vowels U and O, etc. Man, however, is united with heaven by means of the word, and forms thus the link between heaven and earth, between the divine and the natural."

"But when angels speak spiritually with me from heaven, they speak just as intelligibly as the man by my side. But if they turn away from man, he hears nothing more whatever, even if they speak close to his ear. It is also remarkable that several angels can speak to a man; they send down a spirit inclined to man, and he thus hears them united."

In another place he says—"There are also spirits called natural or corporeal spirits; these have no connection with thought, like the others, but they enter the body, possess all the senses, speak with the mouth, and act with the limbs, for they know not but that everything in that man is their own. These are the spirits by which men are possessed. They were, however, sent by the Lord to hell; whence in our days there are no more such possessed ones in existence."

Swedenborg's further doctrines and visions of Harmonies, that is to say, of heaven with man, and with all objects of nature; of the harmony and correspondence of all things

with each other; of Heaven, of Hell, and of the world of spirits; of the various states of man after death, etc.,—are very characteristic, important, and powerful. His contemplations of the enlightened inward eye refer less to every-day associations and objects of life, (although he not unfrequently predicted future occurrences,) because his mind was only directed to the highest spiritual subjects, in which indeed he had attained an uncommon degree of inward wakefulness, but is therefore not understood or known, because he described his sights so spiritually and unusually by language. His chapter on the immensity of heaven attracted me more especially, because it contains a conversation of spirits and angels about the planetary system. The planets are naturally inhabited as well as the planet Earth, but the inhabitants differ according to the various individual formation of the planets. These visions on the inhabitants of the planets agree most remarkably, and almost without exception, with the indications of a clairvoyant whom I treated magnetically. I do not think that she knew Swedenborg; to which, however, I attach little importance. The two seers perceived Mars in quite a different manner. The magnetic seer only found images of fright and horror. Swedenborg, on the other hand, describes them as the best of all spirits of the planetary system. Their gentle, tender, zephyr-like language, is more perfect, purer and richer in thought, and nearer to the language of the angels, than others. These people associate together, and judge each other by the physiognomy, which amongst them is always the expression of the thoughts. They honour the Lord as sole God, who appears sometimes on their earth.

Of the inhabitants of Venus he says,—"They are of two kinds; some are gentle and benevolent, others wild, cruel and of gigantic stature. The latter rob and plunder, and live by this means; the former have so great a degree of gentleness and kindness that they are always beloved by the good; thus they often see the Lord appear in their own form on their earth." It is remarkable that this description of Venus agrees so well with the old fable, and with the opinions and experience we have of Venus.

"The inhabitants of the Moon are small, like children of six or seven years old; at the same time they have the

strength of men like ourselves. Their voice rolls like thunder, and the sound proceeds from the belly, because the moon is in quite a different atmosphere from the other planets." (According to Gruithuisen, the moon has a very pure atmosphere, five times thinner than that of the earth; therefore the lungs must have a five times greater proportion to the body,—whence the loudness of the voice, which would really be almost like the rolling of thunder.

Swedenborg was mentally transplanted into a great multitude of other Star-Worlds, which he describes as following each other in different circles or rows, with their varied internal arrangements, forms, dwellings, and connections, in exactly the same words, expressions, and descriptions, (in a spiritual sense) as if he were describing some known part of our own earth, which certainly often requires a strong faith, and appears singular to our unaccustomed ears.

The so-called Martin Philosophers, who in the end of the last century made so much noise both in France and Germany, and whose whole doctrine is for the greater part one of magic, require here especial mention. They formed a society of philosophers, named after its master, who is the originator of a work bearing the title "On Error and Truth" (Des erreurs et de la verité, Edinburgh, 1775; or, Error and Truth, &c.: from the French of Matth. Claudius, Breslau, 1782.) In this, and another work published by the society itself, (Tableau naturel des rapports qui existent entre Dieu, l'homme et l'univers, Edinburgh, 1782) are contained the Martin doctrines; and these agree, as regards theology and natural philosophy, with the doctrines of the older Kabbalah, and with Christian theosophic mysticism. They speak of a brilliant and exalted original type of man, of his fall, in which they support themselves on various secret supplies of older and more recent secret doctrines.

Their ethics are a Christian Essaismus, which takes as a basis that the mind of man must be freed from all impurities, and enlivened by a higher light, in order to attain its original glory. Their natural philosophy is a doctrine of magic which supposes a certain insight into hermetical art, or a knowledge of natural phenomena, whilst they inculcate this as the necessary basis of all higher perceptions,

and blame those who seek only the spiritual without perception of the natural, "like persons who float over the ground that they should tread with their feet." But, because they think that visible nature must be studied in a totally different manner from what it usually is, in order to attain true light, and the real fundamental truth of everything visible, they blame even the common system of teaching in natural sciences, which is only guided by the physical appearance, is only fixed by matter, and thereby loses sight of the true spiritual enjoyment of man: by natural knowledge the mind of man must rather be prepared to guide him into the secrets of the vast connection between the visible and invisible.

They take for granted an invisible world, containing various spiritual beings who have a connection with man, which he, by piety and other virtues, can greatly increase. At the same time, notwithstanding all Swedenborgian resemblances, their belief on this head is founded, not on a mere acceptance of the Swedenborgian doctrines and visions, but rests on principles which were taught long before the time of this celebrated ghost-seer. They are still more disinclined to the secret Paracelsic alchemy, because, though not rejecting the knowledge of natural phenomena, they find no satisfaction in the dead visible matter.

JACOB BÖHME.

The poor diminutive shoemaker of Görlitz (born 1775), the despised mystic, the still unknown and misunderstood Jacob Böhme, who besides Christianity learned a little writing of his parents, will he not soon be a great man? as during his apprenticeship was prophesied to him by the strange man who appeared to him, in these words: "Jacob, thou art little, but wilt become great, and quite another man, so that the world will be astonished at thee." Certainly Böhme is often called the German philosopher, but more frequently the theosophic enthusiast, the dreamy mystic, who because he is foolish is understood by no one. To me Böhme appears the arch magician in the true sense, and

shall therefore have the last, and also the highest, place. For Jacob Böhme is truly a German, and a Christian philosopher, in whose writings might be contained the key for opening up the secrets of magic, a task which we have allotted especially to the German nation.

By a careful study of Böhme's works, and by entering into the spirit which pervades them, I feel convinced that no searcher of whatever profession has looked deeper into life and the mind of men, nor come nearer to the truth, than the truly Christian philosopher, the mystical magician, Jacob Böhme. Böhme's principle is—The beginning of all wisdom is the fear of God. "The knowledge by reason is very well in its place," says Böhme, "but is wanting in the right beginning and aim; it even falls into denying the possibility of knowing God,—nay, denying even the existence of God. The natural man of reason understands nothing of the secret of the kingdom of God, for he is out of and not in, God, as is proved by the learned reasoners who strive after God's essence and will, and know it not, because they do not hear God's word in the centre of their souls" (Sendbrief, xxxv. 5). Böhme's philosophic views are contained in voluminous writings, and in an intentionally mystic language (because he, at the beginning at least, wrote down his ideas merely for himself without any further views): they extend to everything, to God, to nature, and spirit, in which man at all times, but in vain, and with doubts and struggles, seeks his salvation. Has Böhme found this truth alone and wholly? Whoever would maintain this would say too much; for even Böhme amuses himself with beautiful many-coloured pictures, which fancy erects as parables, and which do not always imply a complete reality. Böhme acknowledges his weakness and powerlessness to understand aright the mystery of God; he is disturbed by doubts, and evidently does not always reach the goal of truth. But Böhme incontestably shows most clearly that man possesses the power of attaining a higher insight and sphere of action of the God-created economy of life. Böhme understands, in my opinion, the machinery of inner and outer life, true magic, better than any who have treated this inexhaustible subject. And yet Böhme is a completely unlearned prophet, not manufactured by the art of scholastic wisdom.

Whether Böhme knew previous or contemporary mystics is uncertain; it appears that he did not even know Tauler, but was well acquainted with his predecessor Paracelsus, whose spirit found in him a worthy echo. Böhme, however, did not confine himself to the natural philosophy of Paracelsus, but rather wove it into his sublime theosophic contemplations.

The important truths which Böhme declares, concerning God, man, and nature, he can only have drawn from his internal magical contemplations, in which he was inspired and enlightened by God. The Christian philosophising Böhme himself says: "That man is capable of a higher truly satisfactory knowledge, because he is created in the image of God, and the all-present God is constantly near him." But at the same time he emphatically remarks that man nevertheless is wanting in the divine knowledge, on account of his obstinacy and sinfulness, as also by the hindrances of the world and the devil. It is therefore necessary that man should leave in his pilgrimage his own individuality, and even all self-willed research, and should only seek the grace of God through Christ. The only true way of seeing God in his word, his essence and his will, and of recognising the signatures of the natural world, is this,—that man be at unity with himself, and abandon everything in his own will, which he has or is, and become as nothing to himself; he must become poorer than a bird in the air, which has at least its nest. Man shall have none, for he shall emigrate from the world; that is, he must give up his self-will and power" (Myster. Mag.) "Follow my counsel, abandon your own will to the spirit of God, and as you find your will in his, so will he manifest himself in your will. What you then seek, he is in it—nothing is hidden from him, and you see by his light" (Forty questions). "As soon as man through Christ attains amity with God (for without Christ he will not attain it) he gains in Christ a true, essential knowledge of God and of the world, as far as God considers such suited to each. For as soon as the growth of the new man begins, there is also a new perception. As clearly as the outward man sees the outer world, so clearly does the new man perceive the divine world in which he lives,

and is no longer led blindfold, nor is truth confined to ideas."

That Jacob Böhme himself really participated in such knowledge after having the profound feeling of the impotence of his own reason, and when in sadness at the great depth and darkness of this world, and at the strife of the elements and creatures, his whole soul appealed in great alarm to God, in order to struggle without relaxation with the love and mercy of God, is shown emphatically in the Aurora: "Then God enlightened me with his spirit, that I might understand his will, and get rid of my sorrow; then the spirit penetrated me, and now, since my spirit, after hard struggles, has broken through the gates of hell to the innermost origin of godhead, and been there received with love, it has seen everything, and recognised God in all creatures, even in plant and grass; and thus immediately with strong impulse my will was formed to describe the nature of God."

There are many editions of Böhme's writings—even extracts and so-called anthologies; but they have remained partly according to the original text in the mystic dress of the author, and are therefore too diffuse and unintelligible to most persons who have not made a deep study of them; and besides that, the extracts are partial and incomplete. We are still wanting in a systematic selection from the collected works of Jacob Böhme, of which the contents, on all matters taken from the dispersed and unequal works, should be as much as possible literally true to the original, and yet intelligible; and this is a principal reason why Böhme is so little understood, and why the world is not yet astonished at him. Dr. Julius Hamberger has undertaken to supply this want, being about to publish "The Doctrines of the German philosopher Jacob Böhme represented according to systematic extracts from his collected works, and accompanied by explanatory notices." Dr. Hamberger has been so kind as to allow me to see and make use of the already complete manuscript; and as I thus use it, literally extracting some parts which concern our subject, the reader will have a sample of this new and very carefully arranged, and highly meritorious work, to which I wish to draw especial attention. Hamberger places at every section the principal

sentence, which he then explains with Böhme's own words from his writings, and then follow his own remarks, indicated by an asterisk, thus—*.

Of the writings of Jacob Böhme, and the manner of succeeding in understanding them, Dr. Hamberger says introductorily: "The author wrote with divine inspiration from living contemplation; but it cost him hard battles, and it was not always possible to reduce what he saw into words and ideas. He afterwards acquired a more tranquil, collected style.

"I say it before God, and testify it before his judgment," are Böhme's words, "that I do not know myself what I shall write; but as I write the spirit dictates it to me in such wonderful discernment, that I frequently do not know whether I am in this world according to the spirit. And the more I seek the more I find—deeper and deeper; so that I often think my sinful person too mean for such exalted mysteries. Whereupon the spirit erects my standard, and says to me: See, therein shalt thou live for ever, why dost thou alarm thyself? (Sendbriefe, 2, 10). I might certainly write more gracefully and intelligibly, but the burning fire often urges me too hastily, so that hand and pen must follow, and it goes then like a shower of rain,—what it strikes it strikes. Were it possible to understand and describe everything, it would be much more deeply grounded; as, however, this cannot be, more than one book will be made, in order that what was not intelligible in one writing may be found in another" (Sendb. 10, 45).

"After the gates of knowledge were opened to me, I was compelled to commence working at this, like a child that goes to school. In the interior I certainly saw the truth, as it were at a great depth, but to disentangle it was impossible. From time to time it opened to me like a plant, but it was twelve years before I could bring it out."

* The author, by reason of his human sinfulness, had not always his high power of perception with equal clearness. When God's spirit left him, he did not understand his own writings.

"As the soul has its source in nature, and its good and evil in nature, and man has cast himself through sin into

the wildness of nature, so that the soul is daily and hourly soiled by sins, its perceptions can be only partial" (Aur. Vorr. 100). "As long as God holds his hand over me, I perfectly understand that which I have written, but as soon as he conceals himself I no longer know my own work, and am a stranger to the work of my own hands: whence I perceive how impossible it is to discover God's secrets without his spirit" (Sendb. 10, 29).

"Whoever will apply himself to these papers, will read and search them, must be warned not to undertake this by outward, sharp speculation and reflection. By this means he would remain on the outer, ideal ground, and would attain only an outward glimmer of it" (Clav. Vorr. 1).

* However difficult parts of these writings may be, yet by the enlightening of the divine spirit, for which one must pray earnestly to God, everything, the most inward and the most superficial of things, will become intelligible.

"True discernment no one can give to another; each must have it direct from God. Assistance may be given by one to another, but not understanding. Thus the author's writings furnish only here and there a glimmering of knowledge; but if one is acknowledged worthy by God to have the light kindled in one's soul, he will then understand the unspeakable words of God" (Sendb. 55, 8—12).

"Everyone speaks according as his life is influenced by God; and no one can bring us to knowledge but the spirit from God, who on the day of Pentecost turned all nations' languages into one in the apostles' mouth, so that the apostles' tongues understood the languages of all people, though they only spoke with one tongue, but the auditors' minds and hearts were opened by God, so that they all understood the same language, each one in his own. Thus alone through God is it possible that one spirit should understand another. Hence I fear that in many parts of my writings I am difficult to understand; but in God I am easily understood by the reader, if his soul is founded in God, from whose knowledge alone I write" (Sendb. 4, 20, 21).

OF MAGIC, OR OF THE SPIRIT AND ESSENCE OF THINGS IN THEIR FORMATION.

In the formation of creatures, their own spirit is assisting.

"The spirit is originally a magic source of fire, and yearns for being; that is, for form. This then creates desire, which is the spirit's corporealness, by which the spirit is called a creature" (Sendb. 47, 5).

* Everything real is also active in its own way. Now the idea, in as far as it only exists in the divine understanding, has not yet in itself any reality; when, however, God brings it over from this state of complete unreality, by creation to actual, corporeal, or essential reality, there results, by means of the separation of the powers contained in it, a kind of medium between the mere spiritual and unreal, and between the corporeal or completely real being, which our author calls the Life essence, and introduces above, not under this name indeed, but describes very clearly and definitely according to its nature. By means of this essence creatures are certainly active in their own corporeal formation, as we find is the case still with the development of every natural product, and as we perceive in the creation of every true work of art.

Between the mere idea of the true work of art, and its corporeal formation, lies the stirring, active spirit of it, which shall attract itself as its body. Many a one is capable of the idea of a work of art, but the true realisation-requiring image will not become fully alive in him, or remain alive in him, and thus it falls short of a successful production. Hence it appears that the essence is to be distinguished from the mere idea. But it could never attain to essence without magic, by which we must acknowledge, even in a material point of view, the transition from the mere possibility to reality. The relation of the idea to the essence is the same as mere nature, or what the author calls Mysterium magnum, to magic; but over both stands, and over both presides, the magician, that is, the free-acting will.

OF GOD AND HIS MANIFESTATION: ADAM'S ORIGINAL STATE.

God has from all eternity manifested himself in being, and the cause of this manifestation lies first of all in the will of the Trinity and in the yearnings of the eternal wisdom.

"If, then, a mystery has existed from eternity, its manifestation must now be considered by us. Of eternity we can only speak as of a spirit, for it has been all mere spirit. But it has also elected itself from all eternity in the essence" (Menschwerd, 1, 2, 1).

"Whatever is calm and without essence in itself, has no obscurity in it, but is a still, clear light, joy or essence. That, then, is eternity without anything, and is called God before all else. As, however, God will not exist without essence, he includes in himself a will, and that will is desire" (Dreif. Leben. ii. 75—77).

"The whole divine essence is in constant and eternal birth, like the mind of man, but immutable. As in the human mind thoughts are always being born, and out of thoughts, will and desire, and out of the will and desire the word, in which the hands assist that it may increase in substance, so is the case with the eternal birth" (Drei Princ. ix. 32).

"The will is first thin as a nonentity; therefore it desires, and will become something, that it may be manifest in itself. Mere nothingness causes the will to have desires, and desire is an imagination. For when the will sees itself in the mirror of wisdom, it imagines out of groundlessness into itself, and makes itself in imagination a foundation for itself" (Menschw. xi. 2, 1.)

"The virgin of wisdom, God's companion in his honour and joy, becomes full of yearning after God's wonders, which lie in herself. But by means of this longing are produced in her the eternal essences; these attract the holy power, and thus it becomes with her a fixed being. Yet in this she takes nothing for herself; her appropriativeness only exists

in the holy spirit; she moves only before God, to reveal God's wonders" (Drei Princ. xiv. 87, 88.)

* Although a question here arises of a yearning of eternal wisdom, it is not therefore indicated as personal. In all outward nature there is also a yearning, as all phenomena in it show reciprocal attraction. Such yearning suits her, because in her innermost essence she is lively, spiritual. Thus we must consider the eternal wisdom as a spirit, but not a person.

Whereas Adam formerly belonged to the divine world and to eternity, he sank now, because the image of God began to fade in him, into terrestrial life, and thus into powerlessness and sleep.

"It is easily to be understood by a sensible man, that there could be no sleep in Adam, as long as he existed in God's image; for he was then such an image as we shall be in the resurrection. Then we shall not require the elements, neither the sun nor the stars, nor even sleep, but our eyes will remain open to contemplate eternally the glory of God" (Drei Princ. xii. 17).

"The image of God does not sleep; that which is eternal knows no time. But by sleep was time revealed to man; he slept away the angelic world, and awoke in the outer world" (Myst. xix. 14).

"When Adam was overcome, the essence wherein the beautiful virgin had dwelt became earthly, weary, powerless, and weak. The powerful mother of the essence, from which she drew her power without any sleep or rest, disappeared in Adam" (Drei Princ. iii. 8).

"Thus Adam fell to magic, and his glory was gone, for sleep signifies death and a victory. The kingdom of the earth had conquered him, and wanted to govern him" (Menschw. i. 5, 8).

"When the desire of the spirit of this world had conquered, he sank again into sleep. Then his heavenly body became flesh and blood, and his great strength stiff bones. Then the virgin entered the life of shadows, into heavenly Ether, into the principle of strength" (Drei Princ. xiii. 2.)

* For the better explanation of our author's doctrine of Adam's sleep, we must compare the following clauses on ter-

restrial sleep in general. "The living creatures," says Böhme, (Drei Princ., xii. 22, 23) "such as men, animals, and birds, have the essence in themselves, for they are an extract of the quality of the stars and elements, and this essence is always kindled by the sun and the stars, whereupon the essence kindles the body. Thus, when the sun sets, and his splendour is no longer visible, the essence becomes weak, as it needs kindling by the sun's power; and because the essence becomes feeble, the strength in the blood, which is itself the essence, becomes impotent, and sinks into soft repose, dead and overcome." What is here said of the kindling of the essence,—that is, of the awakening of the power of life by the action of the sun—applies in a manner also to Adam. The divine spirit-life could only exist in him by the power of the divine sun of grace, and must necessarily disappear on his voluntary desertion of it.

As this powerlessness should serve for Adam's salvation, there was given him, in order to preserve him from sinking further still, in place of the retreated heavenly virgin, the terrestrial woman.

"As Adam went from God into personality, God allowed him to fall into impotence: else with his personality, he had become in the fire-night even a devil" (Stief. ii. 363). "When the devil saw that desire was in Adam, he acted still more on the nitre in Adam and knit his frame together more firmly. It was then time that the Creator should make him a wife, who afterwards certainly originated sin, and ate of the false fruit. But if Adam had eaten of the fruit before the woman was made of him, it would have been worse still" (Aur. xvii. 21, 22.)

The woman was taken from all the strength of Adam, but, according to the essence, formed from a rib which then had not been degraded to a stiff bone.

"Eve was not extracted (from Adam) as a mere spirit, but was complete in being. We must say, that Adam's side was opened, and the woman, Adam's spirit, appeared of flesh and bone" (Drei Princ. xiii. 14). "Reason says—If Eve be formed only out of a rib of Adam, she must be much smaller than Adam. It is not so, however, for the Fiat, as sharp attraction,

(or as the first form of nature) extracted from all essences and qualities, and from every power of Adam, and only no more members in the essence" (Drei Princ. xiii. 18). "Adam's body had not yet become hard bone. That only took place when Eve ate the apple, and gave Adam of it. Decay and temporal death already existed in it as distemper and mortal sickness, but the bones and ribs were still power and strength, and Eve was formed from the power and strength, from which, later, the stiff rib should first exist" (Ebend. xiii. 13).

* Böhme says here with reference to the body of Adam, that before the fall it was still free from earthly stiffness, because then death had no power over it. He thus removes beforehand the so often repeated rationalist assertion, that the creation of the woman out of a rib of Adam must be looked upon as a pure impossibility.

Eve was not miscreated, but lived still with Adam in Paradise; the pure divine likeness was no longer, however, to be found in either.

"Eve was not miscreated, but quite lovely; but the signs of destruction were already about her, and she could be no more than the wife of Adam. But both were still in Paradise; and had they not eaten of the tree, but turned their imaginations to God, they had remained in Paradise" (Drei Princ. xiii. 36).

"Adam and Eve had the torment of Paradise, but mixed with temporal disease. They were naked and were possessed of bodily organization, but they knew them not, and were not ashamed, for the spirit of the great world had yet no dominion over them till they ate of the earthly fruit" (Mensch. i. 6, 15).

"No one can say that Eve before the contact with Adam was a pure, chaste virgin; for as soon as Adam awoke from sleep he saw her standing by him, and soon imagined in her, and took her to him and said, 'This is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone; she shall be called woman, because she is taken from the man. And in the same way also Eve imagined soon in her Adam, and one looked with love on the other." (Vierz. Frag. xxxvi. 6, 7.)

* We must no doubt distinguish, in Paradise, as in Heaven itself, higher and lower regions; so that although

Adam and Eve may have been in Paradise, they could only have had an inferior region of it for their dwelling.

OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Before the sun and stars were kindled, nature was still as if in the power of death, wanting the formations of the living, increasing strength which proceeded from herself.

" Until the third day of the kindling of the anger of God in this world, nature was in anxiety, and an obscure valley, and in death ; but on the third day, when the light of the stars was kindled in the waters of life, life broke through death, and commenced the new birth (Aur. xxiv. 41).

" In the earth above all, is the harsh quality ; this contracts the saline particles, and fixes the Earth so that she is a corporeal being, and forms also in her all bodies, such as stones, ores, and all roots. Now when this is formed, it has still no life to enable it to grow and spread itself out. But when the heat of the sun acts on the globe, all kinds of forms flourish and grow in the earth" (Aur. viii. 41, 42).

* Böhme, it is true, declares the Aurora to be the least perfect among his works; notwithstanding which it is remarkable that here, in contradiction to the Bible, he assumes that the firmament was created as early as the third day. This assumption does not agree even with his own doctrine of the seven forms of nature, which reoccurs, according to his express declaration, in the history of creation, inasmuch as with the appearance of the firmament the real entrance of the light of God into natural life obtains; in the same way as even with divine life, wisdom only becomes visible in the fourth form of nature. Böhme has been misled here, as appears by his explanations, (Aur. xxiv. 42), by the erroneously accepted analogy of the resurrection of the Saviour, which certainly did take place on the third day.

But now God's eternal light has penetrated the darkness of this world, and kindled heat in the firmament, or in heaven ; and thus from fire proceeded light, namely, the sun and the starry sky (firmament).

Herewith, however, the divine wisdom is not manifest in

a completely pure, and therefore not changeless manner, but always as in a clear mirror, and hence the devil is sent back into his darkness.

"On the fourth day God of his infinite wisdom created in the visible world the sun and the stars. Here for the first time we can only appreciate the divinity and the external wisdom of God as in a clear mirror. But the being visible to the eye is not God himself, but only a goddess in the third principle, who at last returns to her ether and has an end" (Drei Princ. 8, 13).

"God made a firmament which is called heaven, between the outer and inner birth—between the clear godhead and depraved nature, which one must break through to reach God. It is said of this firmament (Job, xv. 15) that even the heavens are not clean before God; but on the last day shall wrath be swept from them" (Aur. 20, 41, 46).

"At the creation another light was kindled for this (by Lucifer destroyed) world—namely, the sun; and thus the glory of the devil withdrawn from him. He was then shut up in darkness as a prisoner between the kingdom of God and this world, so that he has no longer to command in this world except by the Turba (*i. e.* where a confusion of powers takes place), or where the fury and wrath of God is awakened" (Mensch. 1, 2, 8).

* The removal of Lucifer, which is here in question, must necessarily be treated dynamically; the more prominent the power of light and order was, the more insignificant became the Turba—the confusion of powers—the more must the power of him be confined, who, in fact, can only develope himself in Turba.

The sun came by the soul of the world from all stars; but it also developes anew the life of all stars.

"In the soul of the outer world (and by the same), God has created and chosen a king, or, as I might express it figuratively, a god of nature with six counsellors, as his helps—namely, the sun with the other six planets, which are declared out of the seven qualities from the *loco* of the sun. This sun takes its brilliancy from the essence of the world of fire and light, and stands like an open point, opposite to the fire-world" (Myst. 13, 16, 17).

"In the centre of death, *i. e.* in the body or bodily being

of the earth, has God excited the essence, its glory, brilliancy and light, in which consists its life; but to the depth over the centre he has given the sun, which is an essence of fire, and whose power extends beyond (and over) nature, from which he receives his brightness. The life of the whole wheel of stars is the same, and all stars are his children; not in the sense that they have his essence, but that their life in the beginning has originated in his centre" (Dreif. Leben, 4, 27).

"The sun is the heart of all the powers of this world, and is conglomerated from all the powers of the stars, and in return kindles and enlivens all stars and all powers of this world" (Ebend. 7, 40).

"It is not to be understood when the sun is called the centre of the stars, that all the stars originated in the spot *Solis*. But he is (the sun) the centre of the powers of the stars, and the cause of their movement in the essence. He opens his powers and imparts power to them as their heart" (Myst. 11, 32).

* As the divine wisdom only exists through the Trinity, and *vice versâ*, the Trinity only through divine wisdom, so in the same manner is the existence of the stars dependent on that of the sun, and that of the sun on the stars, but in such manner that as the Trinity is in relation to wisdom, so is the sun in relation to the stars as the higher and more masculine power. A similar relation obtains with regard to the sun itself and on the world-soul, through which, as our author says, "the sun is awakened and born," but which in another place he describes as "an outflow of the strength of the sun and the stars." In a certain way, the soul of the world is of course dependent on the sun, but she is worthy of a higher dignity than the sun, as our author immediately subjects her to the divine ideal world. "God," he says (Sign. 8, 3), "has placed a single master, as his officer, over all things—namely, the soul of the great world. But over this he has put an image of his equal (evidently the ideal world), who models before the officer what he has to do. That is the understanding; God's own power, by which he governs the officer." Without such a world-soul, which Böhme also calls the sidereal spirit, or the star spirit, or the *spiritus mundi*, the single objects of

nature would not form a true whole, nor would so many phenomena and relations in the world, as, for instance, the regular motion of the stars, the right proportion between the origin and the decay of various objects in the world, be intelligible. But the difference between this world-soul and the ideal world is evident; the latter has its life and being in God himself, and is uncreated; but the world-soul, on the other hand, is of creative nature, and differing from God. In the ideal world lie the directions for the mode of action of the world-soul: thus the former appears commanding, the latter obeying, etc.

In conjunction with the seven forms of nature, and corresponding with them, issued especially the seven planets through the sun.

"In the same way that the sun is the heart of life, and a source of all spirits in the body of this world, is Saturn the commencement of all corporealness and comprehensibleness. Thus he does not derive his beginning and his origin from the sun, but his source is the earnest, harsh, and severe anxiety of the whole body of this world" (Aur. 26, 1—3).

"When the light was kindled, there resulted from the conquered power and harshness,—Mercury (Dei Princ. 8, 24). Mercury is an agitator, a sounder, a musician, but has not yet the right life, whose primitive condition is in fire. Thus he desires the terrific and stormy being which opens up fire; and this is Mars" (Dreif. Leben, 9, 78).

"When the sun was kindled, the terrible fire-fright arose out of the *loco* of the sun, like a cruel, violent lightning; and from that proceeded Mars. He now stands as a fury, a blusterer, and a mover of the whole body of this world, so that from him all life takes its source" (Aur. 25, 72, 75, 79).

"But as soon as the spirits of motion and of life had arisen from the *loco* of the sun by the kindling of the water, gentleness penetrated as the ground of the water, infected under itself with the power of light, in the manner of humility, and from this resulted the planet Venus" (Ebend. 26, 19, 32, 33).

"When the fire-impetus was imprisoned by light, the latter penetrated, in its own power, as a gentle heaving life,

still further into the depth, till it reached the hard, cold seat of nature. There it remained stationary; and out of the same power proceeded the planet Jupiter" (Ebend. 25, 76, 80–82).

"The seventh form is Luna, in which lay the qualities of all these seven forms. She is also the bodily essence of the other forms, who all, through *Solem*, cast their desires into her. What Sol is and does in himself spiritually, that is and does Luna in herself bodily" (Sign. 9, 24).

* From the quotations here furnished on the origin of the planets, it is seen that Saturn answers to the first, Mercury to the second, Mars to the third, Venus to the fifth, and Jupiter to the sixth, natural body. The author brings them forward thus emphatically in the work, "Tables of the Three Principles." Table 2. Here we find how the moon is given as the seventh, and sun as the fourth corresponding form. It will readily be admitted, however, that Böhme could only be satisfied with such a construction, because in his time the other planets (only become known in our days) were not discovered. Another construction based on these new discoveries, or rather only an attempt at such, is given in "God and his Revelation," S. 170 and 182 ff.

After the firmament existed, the sidereal life was called forth by it; *i e.* there arose by it living beings like stars of the different elements.

"The firmament of heaven is made out of the middle of the water: this birth penetrates through the outward torpid birth, through death, and bears here sidereal life; such as animals, and men, birds, fishes, and reptiles" (Aur. 20, 60, 61).

"When God had opened its stars and the four elements, there were creatures in all the four elements; as birds in the constellation of the air, fishes in the constellation of the water, animals and four-footed creatures on the constellation of the earth, spirits in the constellation of fire" (Myst. 14, 1, 2).

We have seen above, that our author maintains that the earth has "the same qualities as the space above the earth." Hence we can understand why he could speak, not only of the constellation of heaven, but even of living creatures, "as of the constellations of the elements." But that such

should only appear on the fifth day, *i. e.* after the creation of the firmament, whereas by the action of the still unendowed firmament even plants could flourish, is natural. In animals are revealed the first signs of a spiritual life, or at least a decided presentiment of it; but the spiritual life can everywhere appear only with and by the completion of physical existence. This is the case not only with creatures, but we maintain it, as is fully proved in the second and third division, even with the life of the Eternal. It is thus easy to see that the active strength characteristic of the stars, or their spiritual life, could only be revealed, after they had issued from the chaos of the firmament, in which they had been previously swallowed up, and had gained their appropriated corporealness. In the "spirits in the constellation of fire," which besides the other living beings have come into existence under the action of the star-world, we are not to understand angels or devils; as Böhme himself says (Myst. 8 12): "As in the divine revelation one step follows the other down to the uttermost, so it is with the angels or spirits; all are not holy which dwell in the elements." We read further (v. 8, ff), "whilst spirits live in the power of the holy world, others in the outer world govern the powers of the stars and the four elements, like kingdoms and princedoms, as every country has its princely guardian angel, with its legions," etc. Paracelsus maintained a similar doctrine; and the Holy Scriptures seem to indicate the same thing (Compare Joh. 5, 4.)

These creatures received their spirit from the constellations, or rather from the spirit of this world, but their body from the earth. In this manner was produced, according to the preponderance of the fiery or watery form, the contrast of the two sexes.

"From the matrix of nature, God, by means of the fiat of his word, allowed all things to issue on the fifth day according to their properties,—fishes in the water, birds in the air, and the other animals on the earth. They received their physical being from the firmness of the earth, but their spirit from the *spiritus mundi*" (Gnadenw. 5, 20).

"All creatures are formed out of the lower and out of the upper life. Earth's matrix gave the body, and the constellation the spirit" (Dreif. Leben, 11, 7). "As the star-

spirit, or the spirit in the power of fire, was mingled by its yearnings with the watery spirit, there proceeded from one and the same essence two sexes, one (the masculine) in a fiery, the other (the feminine) in a watery form" (Drei. Princ. 8, 43).

THE SUN AS CENTRE OF NATURAL LIFE.

God effects this beneficent ministry especially through the sun, which, as a true image of the divine heart of love, governs the whole visible world, and restrains the fury of the dark world.

"The godhead, the divine light, is the centre of all life, and thus in the revelation of God the sun is the centre of all life" (Signat. 4, 17). "God the Father creates love from his heart; and thus the sun also indicates his heart. It is the outer world, the figure of the eternal heart of God, which gives strength to all existence and life" (Sign. 4, 39).

"God gave light to the outer world by the breath of his power, through the beams of his light, and governs with sun and moon in this world's being. All stars take their light and their splendour from the outpoured brilliancy of his light; and God adorns the earth by this light with beautiful plants and flowers, and thus gives joy with it to everything that lives and grows" (Gebot, 47).

"This world has a special god of nature, namely, the sun. But he takes his existence from the fire of God, and this again from the light of God. Thus the sun gives the power to the elements, and these to the creatures and productions of the earth" (Sechs theos. Punkte, 4, 13).

"The abyss of hell is in this world; the sun is the only cause of water; and thus the space above the earth appears lovely, pleasing, soft, and delightful" (Dreif. Leben, 6, 6, 3, 64). Everything powerful of the holy world's essence lies concealed in the wrath and the curse of God, in the properties of the world of darkness; but it becomes green by the power of the sun, and by the light of outer nature, by the curse and wrath" (Myst. 21, 8).

* Besides the great dignity and importance which Böhme assigns to the sun, he also decidedly adopts the doctrine that he does not run round the world. "The sun," he says (Aur. 25, 60), "has his own royal locus, and does not stir from the spot where he was created, although some are of opinion that he runs night and day round the globe."

As the sun governs the whole terrestrial world, he must, according to his essence and power, be present everywhere in it.

"The sun is not far from the water, for water has the sun's properties and essence; else water would not give the reflection of the sun. Although the sun is a body, it is also in the water, but not visibly. Nay, we see that the whole world would be mere sun, and locus of the sun, if God would kindle and reveal it, for all being in this world receives the rays of the sun" (Sechs theos. Punkte, 6, 10).

"If God were to kindle light by heat, the whole world would be mere sun; for the power in which the sun stands is everywhere, and before the time of the sun it was everywhere in the locus of this world as light as the sun is, not, however, as insupportable, but in a mild and gentle way" (Aur. 25, 63, 64).

* Formerly, our author maintains, "the whole world was as light as now only is the sun." Before her destruction, he means, there existed not that separation, that keeping-apart in the world, which by the penetration of the power of death must make itself visible in her. There existed already, then, all the details that we now remark in her; but the power of the full, unchecked life of every single being was participated in by all, so that all enjoyed such a fulness of life, and all lived in each other, none out of the other, only the higher included the lower, whilst the latter existed in the former. This manner of its being exists no more; but the separation could not in any way be an absolute one; and thus they are still powerfully united, and the strength of all is still contained in each individual. In this avowedly incomplete union and classification, as it exists in the lower world, we become aware of a real excitation of the one merely powerful force, through the other actual one, as, for instance, the sun in the water by the sun in the firmament. But once, at the end of time, will the splendour

o' the sun, reinstated in its true essence, penetrate everything, and all the world become as light and clear as it was formerly. The separation in which the spirits of nature now stand shall be done away with, and the earth be taken up again into the ruling sun, from which, in consequence of the general destruction, she was repelled. "The earth," says our author (Myst. 10, 60, 62), "is in its place in the centre of the sun, but now no longer. Her king has fallen, and a curse now rests on her. But God has not rejected for ever the holy being, but merely the wickedness which was mixed up in it. So when once the crystal earth shall appear, what we have said will be fulfilled,—that her place is in the centre of the sun."

Even the firmaments are governed by the sun, and receive powers from him, which they then communicate to terrestrial things.

"The sun is the centre of the constellations, and the earth the centre of the elements. These two are opposite each other, like spirit and body, or like man and wife, in which it perfects its being, that is the moon, which is the wife of all the stars, but especially of the sun" (Myst. 11, 31). "As the stars, full of desire, attract the sun's power unto them, so also the sun penetrates powerfully into the stars, and thus they have their brightness from the power of the sun. But then the stars cast their kindled power, like a fruit, into the elements" (Gnadenw. 2, 26).

* When Böhme fixes the earth as the centre of the elements, we are not of course to understand the outward earth, which is only to be looked upon as a product of the elements, but her inner essence, from which the elements, as well as the exterior earth herself, proceed, as may be found more exactly explained in "God and his Revelations," p. 186, ff.

OF THE POWERS OF THE CONSTELLATIONS.

Since the stars have their origin simultaneously in the world of light and in the world of darkness, not only good comes from them, but also that evil which is found in the terrestrial world.

"Good and evil are revealed in the constellations; for the wrathful, fiery power of eternal nature, as well as the power of the holy spiritual world, is revealed in them as an exhaled essence. Thus there are many dark stars, which we do not see, as well as many light ones which we see" (Myst. 10, 36).

"The evil like the good in all things comes entirely from the stars; as the creatures on earth are in their properties, so also are the stars" (Aur. 2, 2).

"Everything that lives and floats is awakened and brought to life by the stars; for these are not only fire and water, but they are hard and soft, sour and sweet, bitter and dark, —they possess, in fact, all powers of nature, and everything that is in the earth" (Dreif. Leben, 7, 48).

"The constellation is the cause of all wit; also of all order and government in the world; it is that which awakens to growth all plants and metals and trees. For everything lies in the earth which the constellation possesses; and the constellation kindles the earth, and all is one spirit together" (Ebend. 7, 48).

* As the spirit of this world in general acts on the earth as on mankind through the constellations, we need not be astonished at the great importance our author attaches to them, as he derives from them all outward art, all temporal order, etc.

"In comparison with the earth and the elements, the constellations stand as the higher, living, and at the same time masculine power."

"The stars are a *quinta essentia*, a fifth form of the elements and of their life (extending beyond the four elements") (Dreif. Leben, 7, 45).

"The starry heaven rules in all creatures, as in its own dominions; it is as the man, and the matrix or watery form is as the wife, who bears what the heaven makes" (Drei Princ. 7, 33).

"The upper desires the lower, and the lower the upper. The hunger of the upper is great to the world, and the world hungers for the upper. Thus both are towards each other as body and soul, or as man and wife" (Gnadenw. 5, 15).

OF THE LIFE OF THE EARTH AND OF THE FOUR ELEMENTS.

It must, however, be said of the earth that she has a life. That is proved by her productions, as well as by her longing after the sun, by means of which she is constantly turned.

"If thou beholdest the earth and the stones, thou must say that there is life in them, else neither gold nor silver would grow in them, neither herb nor grass" (Aur. 19, 57).

"Every being longs after the other,—the upper after the lower, and the lower after the upper; for they are separated from each other. Thus the earth is full of hunger after the constellation, and after the *spiritus mundi*, so that she has no rest" (Clav. 110).

"The earth turns herself round, for she has in her both fires, the hot and the cold fire, and the lowest in her will always come up towards the sun, because from him alone she receives spirit and strength. On that account she turns; the fire (*i. e.* the desire after light) turns her, for it wishes to be kindled and to have a life of its own. But as it must nevertheless remain in death, it has always the longing after the higher life, and attracts it, and opens its centre constantly for the sun's essence and fire" (Dreif. Leben. 11, 5).

* The spiritual contemplation of nature which prevails here forms a strong contrast to the more usual notion that the movement of the earth, of the planets, etc., is nothing more than a mechanical trick. But one might even here be too easily tempted to attribute an enthusiastic imagination to our author, to ward off which we refer to Aur. zu, § 19 and § 113. Moreover Böhme declares the constant turning of the stars and the earth to be only a consequence of the general destruction of nature through Lucifer's crime. "The army of Lucifer," he says, in Aur. 15, 17, 53, "kindled the nitre of the stars and the earth, and half killed and destroyed it, so that they are forced by this conflagration of

wrath to whirl round in all celerity till the day of judgment."

The four elements are in reality only properties of the true fifth element, which remains concealed behind the outer elements.

"What we now call four elements are not elements, but only properties of the true element" (Myst. 104).

"The real element stands concealed behind the outer burning elements" (Drei. Princ. 14, 54).

"The *quinta essentia* is paradisical life in the heavenly world, and shut up in the outer world (*i. e.* not fixed or retained by her, only not visible)" (Clavis specialis).

"Fire, air, water, and earth proceeded out of the centre of nature, and before the conflagration existed, in one being. But since the conflagration they show themselves in four forms, which are called four elements; but they are still in each other as one, and, in truth, only one exists. There are not four elements in heaven, but one, yet all four forms lie concealed in that one" (Dreif. Leben, 5, 105).

From this celestial ground the outward, terrestrial elements proceeded; and first fire, then air, then water, and last the earth element, was here distinguished.

As the elements proceeded from an original unity, they long eagerly for each other, but are also involved at the same time in strife and adversity.

"The four elements are only properties of the one divided element; therefore is such great anguish and desire among them. Internally, they have only one single basis; therefore one must long after the other, and seek that inner basis in the other" (Clav. 106).

"After the element which has only one will produced four elements, which now govern in one body, adversity and strife commenced among them. Heat is now opposed to cold, fire to water, air to earth; each is the death and destruction of the other" (Sign. 15, 4).

* Böhme does not intend to maintain, either here or elsewhere, that the quadrupleness of the elements is abolished in the heavenly region. Of a certainty, even the lower forms of nature must exist in the eternal, and especially so; that the higher ones may reveal themselves in full glory

therefore the different elements exist equally even in heavenly nature, but not in their division, neither in mutual restraint, but rather in harmony, and adapted to their reciprocal glorification. "As long," says our author, emphatically (Gnadenwahl, 6, 4), "as these four—fire, light, air, and water—separate from each other, the Eternal is not there; but when they endure the companionship of each other, and do not fly asunder, then the Eternal is present."

In the products of the earth, as, for instance, in so many minerals, the true essence appears enclosed in death, but from others, especially the valuable metals and precious stones, it shines out upon us in some degree.

"It appears strange to the understanding, when it considers the earth with its hard stones and its rough, harsh existence, and sees how great rocks and stones are formed, of which a part are of no use, or are only a hindrance to the creatures of the world" (Myst. x. 1).

"The terrestrial torment destroyed the heavenly, and became a Turba to the latter, as the Fiat made earth and stones out of the eternal essence" (Menschw. i. 9, 8).

"But we find in the earth another essence, which has community with the heavenly, especially in the precious metals" (Sechs theos. Punkte, vi. 6, 2.)

"Gold approaches to the divine essence or celestial corporealness, as we should perceive if we could dissolve its dead body and make it a living spirit, which is only possible by the movement of God" (Sign. iii. 39).

"As regards the precious stones, such as carbuncles, rubies, emeralds, delphinite, onyx, and such, they have their origin where the lightning of light and love has arisen (comp. § 31). This lightning is born in gentleness, and is the very centre of the source-spirits; therefore these stones are so sweet and lovely and withal so strong" (Aur. xviii. 17).

OF THE NATURE OF MAN AFTER THE FALL.

As God himself from eternity bears the focus of light in himself, so there exists in the soul the desire of penetrating into the second principle, and of living on the light of God.

"The soul is in its substance a magic source of fire and of the nature of God the father,—a great desire after light."

"But if the soul, as was the case with Adam, does not abandon its will to God, the divine Idea in it, although not destroyed, is rendered inactive.

"One must not think that man's heavenly being is become a nonentity. It has remained to him, but was as a nonentity in his life. It was concealed in God, and was incomprehensible to man without life" (Myst. xx. 28).

"The soul's essence out of the unfathomable will is not dead; she will destroy nothing, but remains eternally a free will. But she has lost the holy essence in which God's light and fire of love burned; neither is she become a nonentity, although to the creature soul both a nonentity and insensitive; but the holy power, *i. e.*, the spirit of God, in which was the active life, concealed itself" (Gnadenw. vii. 11).

* God has not left the soul, but the soul God, as Böhme emphatically says. "God," he says, (Gnadenw. vii. 12) "did not withdraw himself from the soul, but the science of the free will withdrew itself from God, in the same way as the sun does not withdraw himself from the thistle, but the thistle from the sun." Only through itself, and completely without and against the divine will, has the soul lost the light of the eternal, which formerly could be active in her, and by whose light she was penetrated. The godlike essence of man is not even completely lost by the fall, but is only gone back out of the state of actual being into a state of mere potentiality, in which sense our author compares it with an extinguished taper, which evidently has the flame in it as a power, but only as such. "If the light of the divine principle," says he (Myst. xx. 27), "is extinguished, the being in which it burned and shone is as

dead and as a nonentity. It is like a taper, which so long as it burns in a dark place makes the whole room light; but if extinguished, it leaves no trace behind, and the power comes to nothing."

If the soul allow the true light and life in her to be thus extinguished, it is natural, that their wrathful and hostile power will be felt.

"As God's word or heart takes its origin in the life of majesty, in the eternal fire-essence of the Father, thus also the image of the soul. The true image of God dwells in the light of the soul-fire, and this light must derive its ardent being from God's fountains of love, from his majesty, through her imagination and inspiration! But if the soul does not do this, but imagines in herself awful forms of the fiery torment, and not of the fountain of love, and in the light of God, the results in her will be sharpness and bitterness (comp. § 71 and § 72), her own torment, and thus the image of God will be swallowed up in wrath."

Thus has man by his fall attracted God's wrath, opened to himself the kingdom of hell, and forms to himself hellish figures.

"When man had lost the pure and clear image, the soul stood only in the property of the father, *i. e.* in eternal nature, which, apart from the light of God, is wrath and a destroying fire" (Tinct. i. 285).

"By means of the fall there was, in God's anger, opened in man a gate of the dark world, namely hell, the pit of the devil; and thus was also opened in him the realm of fancy" (Gnadenw. vii. 7).

"If we are to speak of the soul's substance, and of the essences, we must say that she is the very rudest part of man, fiery, harsh, bitter, and rough. If she entirely loses the virginity of divine strength given to her, from which the light of God is born in the soul, she becomes a devil" (Drei Princ. xiii. 30).

"After man had established himself in his own inclinations, and had turned his will from God, he began to form earthly and hellish figures; such as curses, oaths, lies, and such like."

"We, poor children of Eve, must feel great pain, grief, and misery in us, when the wrath reaches us, leads and

torments us, so that we live no longer as the children of God in love amongst each other, but persecute, abuse, slander, and calumniate one another, with envy, hatred, murder, and poison, and always wish each other only evil" (Tinct. i. 4). "What wicked men in this world do in their wickedness and falseness, is done in the world of darkness by the devils" (Sechs, theos. Punkte, ix. 18).

"One man torments another, and is, therefore, the devil of the other" (Dreif. Leben, xvii. 10).

* When Böhme says that man in consequence of the fall has incurred the anger and wrath of God, and that his soul is only the Father's properties, which are a consuming fire, this must evidently not be understood of God's nature itself, but only from the reflected divine properties contained in man. In God himself, a separation of the principles is utterly incomprehensible. With such a supposition the eternity and immutability of the highest would be straightway destroyed. But as far as the said destruction takes place in man, the light of the eternal glory must of course fall in a perverted, troublesome manner on him, and thus indeed make itself felt by him as a consuming fire, and the endless love appear to him as wrath and anger.

But God has preserved him that he should not so easily become a devil, and especially by permitting him to enter into the outward terrestrial life.

"God placed the soul in flesh and blood, that she might not be so susceptible of the wrathful essence. Thus she can meanwhile enjoy the reflection of the sun, and rejoice in the sidereal essence" (Sechs theos. Punkte, vii. 19). "It was not without reason that God breathed into Adam's nostrils the outer spirit, the outer life. Adam might also like Lucifer have become a devil, but the outward mirror prevented it" (Vierz. Fragen, xvi. 11). "Many a soul would in her wickedness become a devil in an hour, if the outward life did not prevent it, so that the soul cannot quite inflame herself" (Ebend. xvi. 12).

"If we consider ourselves as a whole, we find the outer spirit very useful. Many souls would be destroyed if the animal spirit did not keep the fire a prisoner, and represent to the fire-spirit, mundane, animal work and joy, in which

she can take pleasure until he can again behold in her his noble image, and she again incline to him" (Ebend. xvi. 10).

"If the mother of this world were destroyed, as she will be in due course, the soul would have been in everlasting death, in darkness. The beautiful creature would have been taken prisoner by the kingdom of hell, and triumphed over by it" (Dreif. Leben, viii. 38).

* The danger to man of sinking down completely into a diabolic manifestation is diminished by the materialisation of his body, by which his knowledge as well as his power of action is so much decreased. By his entrance into terrestrial life and its conditions he was preserved from the most abject degeneration. The perverseness of his inclinations can appear less here. The world to which he now belongs preserves him from the contemplations of a glory which in his uncleanness he could not bear, and which if he had been exposed to would rather have incited him to a decided struggle. In this world he will not at once attain the consciousness of his inward perversity, which he was only prevented from conquering because it would then appear actually unconquerable. In the same terrestrial sphere much is permitted to him, even given him as a duty, which in itself cannot remain in harmony with the highest task of his life and being, but whereby almost imperceptibly, and under particular influence of the grace of God, there arise higher aspirations in him, which qualify him by degrees for admission into a higher order of things. (Compare "God and his Revelations," § 207, 213, and 225 ff.)

As the soul of man allowed itself to be taken captive by the spirit of this world, and to have its essence infused into her, terrestrial properties must develop themselves in her.

"The poor soul of Adam was taken prisoner by the spirit and principle of this world, and has taken the essence of this world into her" (Dreif. Leben, viii. 37).

"Into whatever the imagination of the spirit enters, such it becomes through the impress of the spiritual desire. Therefore God forbade Adam, while still in Paradise, to eat in imagination of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, else he would fall into misfortunes and death, and die to the heavenly kingdom, as indeed happened" (Taufe, i. 1, 22).

"The earthly property which was formerly swallowed up in Paradise, became revealed itself by means of the soul's desire, and thence heat and cold, and the poison of adversity, were dominant agents, so that the beautiful heaven- and Paradise-image disappeared" (Stiefel, xi. 83).

"Everything, when brought among its kindred, be it bad or good, rejoices in its properties and begins to amalgamate. Let anyone, for instance, take a little poison, this poison will eagerly ally itself to the poison which already exists in the body, strengthen itself by it, and so possess the body."

* All things, Böhme maintains in Myst. Mag. xi. 13, 14, contain a poison, namely, the power of the lower forms of nature. But in its proper state this poison is kept down, so that it must only serve life, and not be at eternity with it. Thus, for instance, the human being bears in a healthy state the power of all diseases,—nay, even the power of worms, which at last destroy his body. In the same manner was the power of the earthly life contained in the man of Paradise, but he existed not by means of the glory with which he was clothed by God. The possibility was not given him to excite the power in himself in a merely outward manner, but it might take place through the action of the human imagination, as was the case through the devil. Man abandoned himself to this influence, and thus the earthly being, by which he was only entertained, as it found conformity in him, became really active. "Sin," says Böhme, "in this sense (Vierz. frag. xv. 4) come from the imagination. The spirit enters a thing and is infected by it. Thus the Turba of the thing enters the spirit and destroys the image of God, and finds the wrathful fire in the soul, and mixes itself with it by means of the thing introduced into the spirit."

Hence the body of the first man, which was a spiritual, divine one, became by the enjoyment of the forbidden fruit an earthly, material one.

"God had given man a body, a pure, essential power, after the fashion of the soul, and which, compared with the coarse, earthly essence, might be considered as a spiritual body" (Myst. xvi. 3, 4).

"The body of the first human pair was of divine fashion; but as soon as they ate of the earthly fruit in their bodies, the

temperature was destroyed, and the earthly body revealed in all its properties" (Gnadenw. vii. 5).

Thus man lost eternal life, and consequently fell into death.

"We cannot say of man that in the beginning he was enclosed in time; he was rather enclosed in Paradise, in eternity. God created him in his own image. But when he fell the end of time seized him" (Gnadenw. vii. 51).

"As time has a beginning and end, and the will and desire have submitted themselves to the temporal leader, the body dies and passes away" (Sign. v. 9).

"After the fall man lived only to time with his outward body; the precious gold of the divine corporealness which should tinge (permeate and bless) the outer body, had disappeared" (Ebend. v. 8).

Thus the powers of animal life have so gained footing in man, that he became to himself an animal according to his outer being.

"Man was not like the animals created of good and evil (*i. e.* of the mere earthly essence). Had he only not eaten of bad and good, the fire of wrath had not been in him; but now he is possessed of an animal body" (Aur. xviii. 109).

"Before sin, the divine image had penetrated and clothed the outer man with divine strength, and the animal was not revealed. But when the image separated from the divine essence, the poor soul, divested of the first principle, surrounded with the animal, stood out quite naked and uncovered" (Myst. xxi. 15).

"When Adam and Eve had eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, they were immediately ashamed that in their tender body so great an animal had been called forth, with its common flesh, hard bones, and animal propensities. The animal essence had swallowed up the divine in them; that essence, which they before did not know as existing in themselves, was now dominant in them" (Ebend. xxiii. 1).

Even the senses of man became earthly and brutish, so that he could no longer perceive God and divine things.

"When man issued from Paradise into a second, inferior birth, into the spirit of this world, into the suns, stars, and elements-quality the paradisical vision was extinguished in him" (Drei Princ. xiv. 2).

"After the fall man became an animal-being, so that Heaven and Paradise and the Godhead became a mystery to him" (Menschw. i. 2, 14).

"The serpent said to Eve, 'Thou shalt not die, but thy eyes shall be opened, and thou wilt be like God.' Her earthly eyes were opened, but the heavenly ones closed" (Stief. i. 44).

* Geographical considerations are not the cause of our no longer seeing the paradisical and divine world; the cause is that like can only be perceived by like, or similar by similar: thus the divine must now remain invisible to us, because we have lost the divine sense. "If man's eyes were only opened," says Böhme, (Aur. ix. 48), "he would perceive everywhere God in his heaven, for heaven is in the innermost birth. Hence when Stephen saw heaven open and the Lord Jesus on the right hand of God, it was not necessary that his spirit should have soared into the upper heaven, but that it should be permeated by the inner birth, and then heaven is on all sides."

* No less was the human will and mind struck by the spirit of this world, and thus held fast by one or other element, as the power of temperament shows.

If sin had not entered, man, who as the image of God possessed creative power in himself, would have been able, without the present union of sexes, to have produced his equals out of himself.

"All men are only the one man Adam. God created only him, and left procreation to man, in order that he should abandon his will entirely to God, and with God bear other men out of himself in equality" (Myst. lxxi. 31).

"Adam was a full image of God, man and woman, and yet neither of the two, but (like) a chaste virgin. He had the desire of fire and light, the mother of love and of wrath in him, and the fire in him loved the light as its instigation and beneficence, and in the same way light loved fire as its life, as God the Father loves the Son, and the Son the Father in such nature" (Stief. xi. 351, 352).

Adam was man and woman, but not in the sense of an exact woman, but a pure, chaste virgin. That is, he had the essence of fire and the essence-spirit of water

in him, and loved himself and God. He could only be so originally by his will, and out of his being, without pain and without sorrow" (Dreif. Leben, xi. 24).

"Had man withstood the trial, his descendants would have been born one from another in the same way that Adam originally was,—man, and the image of God. For that which proceeds from the Eternal, has an eternal manner of birth" (Ebend. xviii. 7).

RESUME.

The phenomena which are included under the name Animal Magnetism, present so many points of interest, that they have of late years attracted universal attention. Not only are learned men engaged in endeavouring to understand all that is problematical in them, according to their comprehensiveness and worth, and to find the proper point of view from which they are to be regarded, but even the popular mind is attracted towards them, in the expectation of deriving either amusement or instruction from their mysteries.

Magnetism possesses properties which are not only practically useful as regards health and the relations of life, but also in respect to the highest interests of mankind.

We have, in the foregoing pages, looked at Animal Magnetism in its relations to other phenomena of life, and as connected with the sciences, and throughout its historical career; so that sound deductions may be drawn. Hence the reader who has accompanied us will have been placed at a point of view from whence he may discover that many wonderful stories can be explained and connected most naturally with well-known facts; he will have been enabled to form an unfettered judgment regarding circumstances which superstition has deified, scepticism rejected as folly, or blind belief accepted as miracles. Lastly, having compared together historical facts, it is possible that he may have discovered traces of a more extended universe than that of the senses or of worldly experience, and that in human

nature lie the germs of powers which are occasionally met with in this earthly home, but which here are never perfectly developed.

By Animal Magnetism we understand those peculiar physical and psychological phenomena which are produced in others principally for the cure of diseases, by a conscious mechanical influence. The mutual impression produced by living beings upon each other is merely a modified universal law of mutual impression, which has been designated natural magnetism; for this reason Mesmer, its discoverer, called this artificial manner of producing it, by analogous reasoning, magnetism. "By these means, we discover in Animal Magnetism a new medical science, or the art of healing and prevention of disease, not through a substance but by a power; a movement which, like sound in the air, like light in the ether, appears to be endowed with a surpassing mobility. It is called Animal Magnetism, because the animal part of man is the medium, the conducting body of this penetrating magnetism, and is more particularly active in that particular which distinguishes our animal from the vegetable organisations, namely, in the direction of our senses, and the higher faculties of man."*

Magnetism has also been called Life-magnetism, on account of its universal influence on human beings, and Mesmerism from its discoverer, which is perhaps the best designation for this new curative system founded on his theories. Kluge and others call it Animal Magnetism, in contra-distinction to universal vegetable and mineral magnetism. The word magnetism in itself says too little, and is too indefinite; universal magnetism says too much; and Tellurism is merely an individual idea adopted by Kieser.

Although Animal Magnetism only gives but an indistinct idea, yet it is not difficult to find explanations through it for many well-known phenomena. Its analogy with mineral magnetism is expressed by Mesmer in the following words (p. 18):—

"Just as the properties of the magnet may by certain

* Mesmerism; or, the System of Mutual Influence, Theory and Uses of Animal Magnetism as an Universal Healing Medium, &c.; by Dr. F. A. Mesmer; edited by Dr. Karl Christian Wolfart. Berlin, 1814, pp. 18, 19. Explanations of Mesmerism, by Dr. Wolfart, p. 147.

processes be called into action in iron and steel, and be so strengthened that they are able to represent a true magnet, so have I discovered the means of strengthening the actual magnetism of any individual being to such a degree, that phenomena are produced which are analogous to those of the magnet. Just as natural heat may be raised by certain processes so far that fire is the consequence, so is natural magnetism a description of invisible fire, which, by a continued series of movements, is enabled to impart itself in an immeasurable degree to other animate or inanimate bodies; and this fire, in relation to its application as a curative agent, is that which I call Animal Magnetism, which, as will be seen, may become an immediate remedy,—may strengthen the activity of the muscular fibre, regulate the functions depending on it, and by such means infuse harmony in the internal parts and members of the human body."

A peculiar description of iron-stone is called magnet, or loadstone, and possesses the remarkable property of attracting and retaining iron and steel; an influence which, if the bodies are light and easily moved, shows itself at a considerable distance, and is not weakened even if another substance is placed between the magnet and the attracted body; that is to say, the interspersed substance not being iron, or of a ferruginous nature. A magnet will operate in this manner through paper, wood, glass, &c. Such a magnet has generally two points, called poles, which show most strongly this attraction for iron; and at the same time, if the magnet is suspended, it invariably turns towards the north and south—with a certain variation, however.

This last property of the magnet is caused by the earth's magnetic pole, and was the origin of the discovery of the compass. Between these two poles there is an opposite attraction, so that the south pole of one magnet is attracted by the north pole of another, and at the same time is repelled by the south pole of the same. It is particularly remarkable that the power of a magnet is strengthened if it is made to support an increasing series of weights. Lastly, the magnetic power may be artificially given to any iron by rubbing it with a loadstone. The magnet is also

deflected towards the centre of the earth. In a much smaller degree is the magnetic power observable in other substances; as nickel, cobalt, serpentine, porphyry.

The magnet has also been called Siderit; and according to Lucretius, (de rerum natura, lib. vi. v. 908) derived its name among the Greeks from the country of the Magnesians, or Magnesia, in Thessaly, where it is frequently met with. Pliny derives the name from a shepherd, Magnes, who was tending his sheep in Mount Ida, and is said to have discovered the stone by its fastening itself to his iron-bound staff (Historia natur. lib. xxxvi. c. 17). Others have called it Heraclion—the stone of Hercules—from its frequency near the city of Heraclea. The word is first met with in the Orphean poetry, where we find—

"The warlike Mars loves the magnet."
"μαγνῆτιν δ' ἐξοχ' ἐφίλησεν θούριος Ἄρης."

We may also discover in Homer, Pythagoras, Epicureus, and Aristotle, that they were not unacquainted with it; and according to Athanasius Kircher (Magnes, sive de arte magnetica, Coloniæ, 1643), it was known even in the earliest ages in Asia, Egypt, and Greece. He also states, that among the Hieroglyphics "magnetic pictures" are represented, particularly in the temples of Serapis and the Sun. The polarity, however, of the magnet was certainly not known in the early ages; and the compass is first mentioned in 1180 in France, in the poems of Hugues Bercy and John of Metun (Recherches de la France, par Pasquier, lib. v. c. 25). According to Zonaras and Photius (Lexica Græca), a certain Eusebius is said to have navigated by aid of the "*Batylus*," a stone belonging to the Oracles. Whether it was the native loadstone or artificial magnet is not related. Albertus Magnus is certainly of the opinion that Aristotle knew of the polarity of the magnet; but no passage with any such reference can now be discovered in his works. Others maintain, that the small iron arrow belonging to Solomon of Crete, and which showed the hours, was a magnet; and again, others believe that it was first introduced from China by Paulus Venetus in 1200. It is also said that Vasco de Gama on rounding the Cape of Good

Hope discovered some natives, who navigated by means of a needle; but more probably it was the Neapolitan Giaa, or Gioja, who was the first discoverer of the compass in the 13th century (Kircher). Later, the French, English, and Belgians all claimed the discovery (Attempted Chronological History of Magnetism, by F. W. A. Murhart, Cassel, 1797). These remarkable properties of the magnet gave rise, even in the earliest times, to many different opinions, views, and theories of celebrated men, which are to be found in Pliny, Lucretius, and, later, in Gilbert (de Magnete, &c., de magno magnete telluris physiologia nova, Londini, 1600). Plato believed the magnetic attractions to be of divine origin, and Thales says that every loadstone bas a soul. But not alone were theories formed, but also experiments and discoveries made, which very soon led to the belief that an universal power of nature existed, which probably might be the general basis of matter. The first who watched the phenomena of magnetism more narrowly, made many new experiments, and founded a totally new and comprehensive theory which was connected with the universal law of nature, was Gilbert. According to him, the whole earth is a magnetic substance, as well as the sun, moon, and all other heavenly bodies. Euler also maintains, in a treatise for the Parisian Academy, that the earth is generally magnetic, and not simply provided with a central magnetic core, as Halley supposed. Descartes, Apinus, Brugman, Bernoulli, and others, touched upon this likewise in their works. Euler's theory was afterwards extended by Kepler (Harmonia mundi), and Stevin, and more particularly Paracelsus, to the whole universe, so that all operations of nature and its whole connection was declared to be magnetic (Archidoxis magica; de Ente astrorum; Tractatus de magnete, philosophia fugax). He speaks of *magnete magno*, of magnetic power, of magnetic secrets, even of a magic influence by the will upon other men.

"Magic is a great sudden wisdom, as reason is openly a great folly." He also applied magnets in many diseases.

The most faithful follower of Paracelsus, Baptista van Helmont, soon amplified his teachings, and almost spoke in the very words of Mesmer, when he admitted that magic, or an unknown power in man, needs only to

be roused to usefulness in him, as it is a natural gift. He says :—"It is foolish to believe that it is through the devil (who only thrives where ignorance abounds) that one man may by his will influence others, even at a distance. Magnetism is present everywhere, and has nothing new but the name ; neither does it present any feature contrary to reason, excepting to those who scoff at everything, or ascribe all they are unable to comprehend to the power of the devil" (Van Helmont de magneticavulnerum curatione). Also, Opera omnia, Frankfort, 1682. Similar views are to be found in Maxwell (Medicina Magnetica, libri tres, in quibus tam theoria quam praxis continetur) ; Burggraf (Balneum Dianæ magneticum, 1600) ; Robert Fludd (Philosophia mosaica, etc, 1638).

The magnet had been applied much earlier in various diseases. Pliny, Galen, Dioscorides, and Avicenna, have ascribed a power to the magnet of thinning and improving the slugglish juices of the human body, more particularly in disorders of the abdomen, and hypochondriasis. A magnet worn suspended round the neck is said to be an excellent remedy against convulsions and affections of the nerves. Ætius, Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Borel, and Meker, have recorded many very remarkable cases of cure by loadstones ; for instance, Ætius, a case of gout (Tradunt, detentum magnetum manu chiragricorum dolores sedare, æque convulsis opitulatur, etc.), Paracelsus one of hemorrhage. The oldest and most singular cures by the magnet on record are contained in the following works,—Joh. Jac. Schweighardi, ars magnetica s. disquisitio de natura, viribus et prodigiosis effectibus magnetis, Herbiss. 1631.—Wepfer de secretis, Basil. 1667.—Borelli, Hist. et observ. physico-med. Cent. vi.—Acta eruditor. Lips. 1707. —Talbot, in Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. iv. —Göttinger gelehrte Anz. 1763, S. 252.—Gazette Sanitaire, 1661, No. 23.—T. Zwingeri Scrutinium magnetis physico-medic. Basil. 1697.—J. G. Pasch, Abhandlung von den Zähnen, Wien, 1776.—Ch. Weber, Die Wirkung der künstlichen Magnete in seltenen Augenkrankheiten, Hannover, 1767.—Heinsius, Beiträge zu Versuchen mit künstlichen Magneten, Leipzig, 1776.—Max. Hell, Unpartheiischer Bericht über die sonderbaren Wirkungen künst-

lichen Magnete, Wien, 1775.—Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Médec. sur les propriétés médicales de l'aimant, Paris, 1777, T. H.—E. G. Baldinger, Narratio historica de magnetis viribus ad morbos sanandos, Gotting. 1778.—Unzer, Beschreibung der mit dem künstlichen Magnet angestellten Versuche, Altona, 1778.—J. G. Reichel Respond. Christ. Ludwig dissertat. de Magnetismo in corpore humano, Lipsiæ, 1772.—Audry de Thouret, Observat. et recherches sur l'usage de l'aimant en médecine; ou, Mémoire sur le Magnét. Animal, Paris, 1782.—J. G. Bolten, Nachricht von einem mit dem künstlichen Magnet gemachten Versuch in einer Nervenkrankheit, Hamburg, 1775. Also, many later works on the preparation and application of the artificial magnet, by Weber, Deinmann, Becker, and Bulmerincq.

Although it cannot be maintained that magnetism is something new, yet undoubtedly Mesmer was the primary discoverer, as he was the first who arranged the various phenomena which were produced in sick persons by a certain course of action, in a comprehensive and complete theory; and through him it was that a new science was created: although we may on another occasion take a closer view of this theory, yet we must now become at least somewhat acquainted with the mesmeric operations, and the phenomena produced thereby in its patients.

The mesmeric influence of magnetism for curative purposes is either directed upon the whole body or upon individual portions alone. For this purpose, man is provided by nature with a remarkable and perfectly adapted conductor—the hand. If a man is suffering under any affection, the disease is always more or less confined to one certain spot, where, as it were, all the activity of the body is collected. If, then, two men mutually influence each other magnetically, the united activity of this influence is directed upon the diseased part, and the hands are particularly calculated to act upon any given spot. This locally excited place becomes now the focus of activity in different directions, and the disease becomes general instead of local; on which account the contractions and convulsions produced by magnetism are salutary, and when properly guided, often lead to health without the application of medicines.

The magnetic influence by the hands extends even to animals and plants, which thereby acquire a peculiar state, and even inorganic substances may be so influenced by magnetism, that in certain circumstances they may be used as conductors.

The act of magnetising—the magnetic process, takes place either by personal contact or by means of conductors. Personal magnetic influence operates—

1stly. Through the approximation of the operator to the patient.

2ndly. Through the hands.

3rdly. By the eyes.

4thly. By words.

Influence by conductors may take place through the whole of nature, with its substances and productions, both organic and inorganic. Water, metals, living animals and trees, even the light of the sun and moon, may be aids and conductors to this magnetic fluid.

Magnetizing by the hand is the most usual method; for the hands are the true organs of the will. They are the instruments by which the will is palpably exhibited. The hands give the direction of activity to the will; and as the body is the visible material reflection of the soul, so are the hands the physiognomic expressions of the composition and activity of the will and the character.

Magnetizing by the eyes, and gazing upon the patient, is usually very powerful, when it is done continuously, and with intention. Animals cannot support the glance of the human eye; and it is not rare for a sick person to fall asleep merely by being looked at, particularly if accustomed to magnetic treatment.

Words are the direct embodiment of the ideas of the soul, and are used to act even physically; to excite, restrain, invigorate, or lead.

Farther than this we do not proceed; the full and minute explanation of magnetism not having been the object of the foregoing work; and for further information, the reader is referred to Der Magnetismus im Verhältniss zur Natur und Religion, Stuttgart, 1842. (Magnetism in connection with Religion.)

Those phenomena designedly produced by magnetism,

which, however, arise naturally in many diseases, and may also be produced by other means and influences, are most easily classed as physical and psychological. Those which are most frequent are physical crises, and less frequently, psychological conditions. The former are not unusual in all magnetic patients. Among the psychological phenomena may be classed the waking up of the inner consciousness with extraordinary activity of the outer senses; as, for instance, that dream-like middle state between sleep and waking called somnambulism; or the more rare and still higher state of the soul, which is known as the power of the seer,—clairvoyance, ecstasy, &c.

Happily, prejudices of all kinds are giving way before the power of knowledge and enlightenment, and magnetism has now no longer to strive against the spirit of the age. The physician who will not introduce magnetism into his own individual practice, yet no longer denies its reality. It is no longer an interdicted word in the writings of the philosopher and the psychologist; whilst many a theologian has taken up the subject zealously, now he can recognize something beyond miracles or sorcery in it. As to the learned, if they are not altogether advocates of it, neither are they altogether opposed to it; besides, the time is passed when they were considered the infallible judges of all unknown mysteries and higher truths.

The advancing spirit of the age, and in an especial manner the attention which is paid to the earnest study of natural philosophy, have given a new importance to the subject of Animal Magnetism. The veil which formerly enwrapped so many mysteries and enigmas is falling off by degrees, by means of the irresistible and rapid discoveries of physics and chemistry, of organology and anthropology. This truer and more intimate knowledge of all the natural sciences has produced one of those general reforms in which the schools and the sects, narrow-souled private views, fancies, and prejudices, are dispersed as shadows of night before the ascending daylight of truth.

Magnetism is thus brought under the protection of science and general intelligence, of which it will become an active and useful agent. Magnetism is no new principle; it is an organic development of the powers inherent in

man. No fresh human characteristic is revealed by it; for all organic development of the present time has its origin in the past whence it has successfully sprung. Thus magnetism is according to its nature as old as humanity. But it is different with the doctrine regarding magnetism. This may be new, since the facts scattered throughout the course of history must be collected, must be compared with those of the present day, and a theory formed out of which a rational system of application may be obtained. It is no reason that because the history of magnetism as yet vibrates between contradictory opinions, between fact and appearance, that we should not seek out its physiological root from amidst the physical and psychological facts which everywhere abound.

As concerns the historical facts of magnetism, people are now at all events convinced that that which occurs to the individual is common to the whole race, and that those kindred phenomena have never failed in any age or nation. Magnetism is therefore an historical fact; it is nothing theoretical, but a practical reality; it is a fact of scientific importance; it is of the most momentous value to the physician, while it in no way contradicts religion.

Magnetism has alone given us the key to an historical criticism of that mysterious and mystical region of the human soul in which the hidden power plays his magical part. It has been the first to render intelligible the hieroglyphics of fanaticism, of magic, and of sorcery, and to impart to them a scientific intelligence. Thus magnetism becomes a valuable expositor of philosophy and history, directing attention towards the forbidden questions of human nature, and rendering their perception more acute, while it enriches them with facts and ideas which they would not otherwise have possessed.

The history of magnetism is divided into two portions,—that of the ancient magic, and that of modern magnetism. Christianity was a very important crisis in the existence of magic,—in fact, the most important; for the advent of Christ is in an historical point of view the central era when the old time comes to an end and the new commences; when the night-like shadowiness of mysteries is dissolved into the daylight of self-consciousness and the purpose and

intention of life. As the biblical history of the Old Testament is the seed and the type of all later history, so in the New Testament, for the first time, like the flower unfolding from the bud, is developed a perfect revelation of the truth. The Judaism of the Old Testament has a real perception of the true tree of life of the inner, progressive development by means of cultivation; all other heathen nations, with their various systems of religion, are the lopped branches of the great tree of life, which has vegetated, it is true, but which are incapable of inner growth. Judaism is that real mystery which appears in Christianity as the ideal of holiness and union with God. But as the fruit is matured from the blossom only by progressive degrees, so also does this maturity in the new history advance forward with a measured step. Religion and morals, art and science, are, it is true, progressing in new and widely ramifying paths in this later Christian time, but they are as yet very far from their goal, which is perfection. The same may be said with regard to magnetism, which has yet advanced only so far as the intelligence of those minds which have laboured to comprehend it have themselves advanced. Thus, for example, visions have through the universally diffused doctrines of Christianity assumed in all cases a character in accordance with the current comprehension of good and evil, and of these as God, angels, devils, &c., in human form, with the idea of beauty and goodness, or of deformity and wickedness in its manifold distortion.

A purer and more scientific treatment and understanding of magical appearances commenced in the 16th century; and the clear declaration of magnetism as a peculiar power of nature which might be systematically applied for the cure of diseases, was first made by Fredric Anton Mesmer, so that he really is the discoverer and the central point in the history of magnetism, between the old centuries slumbering on in a shadowy dream life, and the new ages still in twilight, not having as yet advanced into perfect day. For if the knowledge of the mysterious laws and operations of nature was in the olden time of an imaginative character, producing only fantastic results, the knowledge of modern times is of a hard and dry intellectual character, with a certain wide ramification, it is true, but gathering up a

deal of rubbish with its truth. Hence all higher life which is beyond its perception is a subject of derision, and it cannot comprehend any possible utility in magical power. That of which the ancient times had too much, modern times have too little, namely, the want of a stedfast religious sentiment,—the want of the symbolic perception and the artistic imaginative power of the Middle Ages, and, beyond everything else, the want of a firm belief in the immediate operation of God in nature.

Goethe's *Mephistopheles* describes this age excellently in the following lines :—

Ein Kerl, der speculirt, ist wie ein Thier auf dürrer Haide
Von einem bösen Geist im Kreis herumgeführt,
Und ringsumher liegt schöne grüne Weide.
—Wer will was Lebendiges erkennen und beschreiben,
Sucht erst den Geist heraus zu treiben ;
Dann hat er die Theile in seiner Hand,
Fehlt leider ! nur das geistige Band.
Encheiresin naturæ nennts die Chemie,
Spottet ihrer selbst und weiss nicht wie.

APPENDIX.

[Without in any measure attempting to explain, or pass judgment upon the narratives contained in the following Appendix, we would simply present them to the reader as a collection of relations illustrative of Dr. Ennemoser's views, drawn from various and accredited sources, and which the reader may apply to the author's text according to his own individual views.]

APPARITIONS.

THE GHOSTS OF THE SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

Pausanias writes, that four hundred years after the battle of Marathon, there were still heard in the place where it was fought, the neighing of horses, and the shouts of soldiers, animating one another to the fight. Plutarch also speaks of spectres seen, and dreadful howlings heard in the public baths, where several citizens of Chœronea, his native town, had been murdered. He says, that the inhabitants had been obliged to shut up these baths, but that, notwithstanding the precaution, great noises were still heard, and dreadful spectres frequently seen by the neighbours. Plutarch, who is an author of acknowledged gravity and good sense, frequently makes mention of spectres and apparitions; particularly he says, that in the famous battle above alluded to, several soldiers saw the apparition of Theseus fighting for the Greeks and against the Persians.

THE KÖNIGSBERG PROFESSOR.

"I am not so decidedly sceptical on the possibility of supernatural appearance," said Count Falkesheim to Sir

Nathaniel Wraxall, "as to treat them with ridicule, because they may appear to be unphilosophical. I received my education in the university of Königsberg, where I had the advantage of attending lectures in ethics and moral philosophy, delivered by a professor who was esteemed a very superior man in those branches of science. He had, nevertheless, though an ecclesiastic, the reputation of being tinctured with incredulity on various points connected with revealed religion. When, therefore, it became necessary for him in the course of his lectures to treat on the nature of spirit as detached from matter, to discuss the immortality of the soul, and to enter on the doctrine of a future state, I listened with more than ordinary attention to his opinions. In speaking of all these mysterious subjects, there appeared to me to be so visible an embarrassment, both in his language and in his expressions, that I felt the strongest curiosity to question him further respecting them. Finding myself alone with him soon afterwards, I ventured to state to him my remarks on his deportment, and entreated him to tell me if they were well founded or only imaginary suggestions.

"The hesitation which you noticed," answered he, "resulted from the conflict that takes place within me, when I am attempting to convey my ideas on a subject where my understanding is at variance with the testimony of my senses. I am equally, from reason and reflection, disposed to consider with incredulity and contempt the existence of apparitions. But an appearance, which I have witnessed with my own eyes, as far as they, or any of the perceptions can be confided in; and which has even received a sort of subsequent confirmation, from other circumstances connected with the original facts, leave me in that state of scepticism and suspense which pervaded my discourse. I will communicate to you its cause. Having been brought up to the profession of the church, I was presented by Frederick William the First, late King of Prussia, to a small benefice, situated in the interior of the country, at a considerable distance south of Königsberg. I repaired thither in order to take possession of my living, and found a neat parsonage house, where I passed the night in the bedchamber which had been occupied by my predecessor.

"It was in the longest days of summer: and on the following morning, which was Sunday, while lying awake, the curtains of the bed being undrawn, and it being broad daylight, I beheld the figure of a man, habited in a sort of loose gown, standing at a reading desk, on which lay a large book, the leaves of which he appeard to turn over at intervals; on each side of him stood a little boy, in whose face he looked earnestly from time to time, and as he looked he seemed always to heave a deep sigh. His countenance, pale and disconsolate, indicated some distress of mind. I had the most perfect view of these objects, but being impressed with too much terror and apprehension to rise or to address myself to the appearances before me, I remained for some minutes a breathless and silent spectator, without uttering a word or altering my position. At length the man closed the book, and then taking the two children, one in each hand, he led them slowly across the room; my eyes eagerly followed him till the three figures gradually disappeared, or were lost behind an iron stove which stood at the farthest corner of the apartment.

"However deeply and awfully I was affected by the sight which I had witnessed, and however incapable I was of explaining it to my own satisfaction, yet I recovered sufficiently the possession of my mind to get up, and having hastily dressed myself I left the house. The sun was long risen, and directing my steps to the church, I found that it was open; but the sexton had quitted it, and on entering the chancel, my mind and imagination were so strongly impressed by the scene which had recently passed, that I endeavoured to dissipate the recollection by considering the objects around me. In almost all Lutheran churches of the Prussian dominions, it is the custom to hang up against the walls, or some part of the building, the portraits of the successive pastors or clergymen, who have held the living. A number of these paintings, rudely performed, were suspended in one of the aisles. But I had no sooner fixed my eyes on the last in the range, which was the portrait of my immediate predecessor, than they became rivetted to the object; as I instantly recognized the same face which I had beheld in my bed-chamber, though not clouded by the same deep impression of me-

lancholy and distress. The sexton entered as I was still contemplating this interesting head, and I immediately began a conversation with him on the subject of the persons who had preceded me in the living. He remembered several incumbents, concerning whom respectively I made various inquiries, till I concluded by the last, relative to whose history I was particularly inquisitive. 'We considered him,' said the sexton, 'as one of the most learned and amiable men who have ever resided among us. His character and benevolence endeared him to all his parishioners, who will long lament his loss. But he was carried off in the middle of his days by a lingering illness, the cause of which has given rise to many unpleasant reports among us, and which still form matter of conjecture. It is, however, commonly believed that he died of a broken heart.'

. "My curiosity being still more warmly excited by the mention of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him to disclose to me all he knew or had heard on the subject. 'Nothing respecting it,' answered he, 'is absolutely known, but scandal has propagated a story of his having formed a criminal connexion with a young woman of the neighbourhood, by whom it was even asserted he had two sons. As confirmation of the report, I know that there certainly were two children who have been seen at the parsonage, boys of about four or five years old; but they suddenly disappeared, some time before the decease of their supposed father; though to what place they are sent, or what is become of them, we are wholly ignorant. It is equally certain, that the surmises and unfavourable opinions formed respecting this mysterious business, which must necessarily have reached him, precipitated, if they did not produce the disorder of which our late pastor died: but he is gone to his account, and we are bound to think charitably of the departed.

"It is unnecessary to say with what emotion I listened to this relation, which recalled to my imagination, and seemed to give proof of the existence of all that I had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my mind to become enslaved by phantoms which might have been the effect of error or deception, I neither communicated to the sexton the circumstance which I had witnessed, nor even permitted myself to quit

the chamber where it had taken place. I continued to lodge there, without ever witnessing any similar appearance; and the recollection itself began to wear away, as the autumn advanced. When the approach of winter rendered it necessary to light fires through the house, I ordered the iron stove which stood in the room, and behind which the figure which I had beheld, together with the two boys, seemed to disappear, to be heated for the purpose of warming the apartment. Some difficulty was experienced in making the attempt, the stove not only smoking intolerably, but emitting an offensive smell. Having, therefore, sent for a blacksmith to inspect and repair it, he discovered in the inside, at the farthest extremity, the bones of two small human bodies, corresponding perfectly in size as well as in other respects with the description given me by the sexton, of the two boys who had been seen at the parsonage.

"This last circumstance completed my astonishment, and appeared to confer a sort of reality on an appearance which might otherwise have been considered as a delusion of the senses. I resigned the living, quitted the place, and retired to Königsberg; but it has produced on my mind the deepest impression, and has in its effect given rise to that uncertainty and contradiction of sentiment which you remarked in my late discourse."

DR. SCOTT AND THE TITLE-DEED.

One evening Dr. Scott was seated by the fire reading at his house, in Broad-street, when accidentally raising his head, he saw in an elbow chair, at the opposite side of the fire-place or chimney, a grave gentleman in a black velvet gown, a long wig, looking with a pleasing countenance towards the doctor, as if about to speak to him.

The doctor was much perturbed. According to his narrative of the fact, the spectre, it seems, spoke first, and desired the doctor not to be alarmed, that he came to him upon a matter of great importance to an injured family, which was in great danger of being ruined; and though he (the doctor) was a stranger to the family, yet knowing him

to be a man of integrity, he had chosen him to do this act of charity and justice.

The doctor was not at first composed enough to enter into the business with due attention, but seemed rather inclined to get out of the room if he could, and once or twice made an attempt to knock for some of the family to come up. The doctor having at length recovered himself, said, "In the name of God, what art thou?" After much importunity on the part of the doctor, the apparition began his story thus:—

"I lived in the county of Somerset, where I left a very good estate, which my grandson enjoys at this time. But he is sued for the possession by my two nephews, the sons of my younger brother."

[*Here he gave his own name, the name of his younger brother, and the names of his two nephews.*]

The doctor then asked him how long the grandson had been in possession of the estate; which he told him was seven years, intimating that he had been so long dead.

He then went on to tell him, that his nephews would be too strong for his grandson in the suit, and would deprive him of the mansion-house and estate; so that he would be in danger of being entirely ruined, and his family reduced.

The doctor then said, "And what am I able to do in it, if the law be against him?"

"Why," said the spectre, "it is not that the nephews have any right; but the grand deed of settlement, being the conveyance of the inheritance, is lost: and for want of that deed they will not be able to make out their title to the estate."

"Well," said the doctor, "and still what can I do in the case?"

"Why," said the spectre, "if you will go down to my grandson's house, and take some persons with you whom you can trust, I will give you such instructions, that you shall find out the deed of settlement, which lies concealed in a place where I put it, and where you shall direct my grandson to take it out in your presence."

"But why then can you not direct your grandson himself to do this?" said the doctor.

"Ask me not about that," said the spectre; "there are divers reasons which you may know hereafter. I can depend upon your honesty in it, in the meantime, and you may so dispose of matters that you shall have your expenses paid you, and be handsomely rewarded for your trouble."

Having obtained a promise from Dr. Scott, the spectre told him he might apprize his grandson that he had formerly conversed with his grandfather, and ask to see the house; and that in a certain upper room or loft, he would see a quantity of old lumber, coffers, chests, &c., which had been thrown aside, to make room for more fashionable furniture.

That, in a certain corner, he should find an old chest, with a broken lock upon it, and a key in it, which could neither be turned in the lock, nor pulled out. In this chest lay the grand deed or charter of the estate, which conveyed the inheritance, and without which the family might be ejected. The doctor having promised to dispatch this important commission, the spectre disappeared.

After a lapse of some days, and within the time limited by the proposal of the spectre, the doctor went into Somersetshire, and, having found the house alluded to, he was very courteously invited in. They now entered upon friendly discourse, and the doctor pretended to have heard much of the family, and of his grandfather, from whom, he said, he perceived the estate descended to its present occupier.

"Aye," said the gentleman, shaking his head, "my father died young, and my grandfather has left things so confused, that, for want of one principal writing, which is not yet come to hand, I have met with great trouble from two cousins, my grandfather's brother's children, who have put me to very great expense about it."

"But I hope you have got over it, sir?" said the doctor.

"No," said the gentleman; "to be candid with you, we shall never get quite over it, unless we can find this old deed: which, however, I hope we shall find, for I intend to make a general search after it."

"I wish with all my heart you may find it, sir," said the doctor.

"I do not doubt but we shall; I had a strange dream about it last night," said the gentleman.

"A dream about the writing!" said the doctor; "I hope it was that you should find it, then."

"I dreamed," said the other, "that a strange gentleman came to me, and assisted me in searching for it. I do not know but that you are the man."

"I should be very glad to be the man," said the doctor.

"Nay," replied the gentleman, "you may be the man to help me to look after it."

"Aye, sir," said the doctor, "I may help you to look after it, indeed, and I will do that with all my heart; but I would much rather be the man that should help you to find it: pray when do you intend to search?"

"To-morrow," said the gentleman, "I have appointed to search for it."

"But," said the doctor, "in what manner do you intend to search?"

"Why," replied the gentleman, "it is our opinion that my grandfather was so very much concerned in preserving this writing, and had so much jealousy as to its safety, that he hid it in a secret place; and I am resolved to pull half the house down but I will find it, if it is above ground."

"Truly," said the doctor, "he may have hid it, so that you may pull the whole house down before you find it. I have known such things utterly lost by the very care taken to preserve them."

"If it was made of something the fire would not destroy," said the gentleman, "I would burn the house down, but I would find it."

"I suppose you have searched all the old gentleman's chests, trunks, and coffers over and over," said the doctor.

"Aye," said the gentleman, "and turned them all inside outward, and there they lie in a heap up in a loft, or garret, with nothing in them; nay, we knocked three or four of them in pieces to search for private drawers, and then I burnt them for anger, though they were fine old cypress chests that cost money enough when they were in fashion."

"I am sorry you burnt them," said the doctor.

"Nay," said the gentleman, "I did not burn a scrap of them till they were all split to pieces, and it was not possible there could be any thing in them."

This made the doctor a little easy, for he began to be surprised when he told him he had split some of them and burnt them.

"Well," said the doctor, "if I cannot do you any service in your search, I will come to see you again to-morrow, and wait upon you during it with my best good wishes."

"Nay," says the gentleman, "I do not design to part with you, since you are so kind as to offer me your assistance; you shall stay all night, then, and be at the commencement of the search."

The doctor had now gained his point so far as to make an intimacy with the family; and, after much intreaty, he consented to sleep there.

A little before dark, the gentleman asked him to take a walk in the park; but he declined; "I would rather, sir," said he, smiling, "that you shew me this fine old mansion house, that is to be demolished to-morrow; methinks I would fain see the house once before you pull it down."

"With all my heart," said the gentleman. He took him immediately up stairs, shewed him the best apartments, and his fine furniture and pictures; and coming to the head of the staircase, offered to descend.

"But, sir," said the doctor, "shall we not go higher?"

"There is nothing there," said he, "but garrets and old lofts full of rubbish, and a place leading to the turret, and the clock-house."

"O, let me see it all, now we are here," said the doctor; "I love to see the old lofty towers and turrets, and the magnificence of our ancestors, though they are out of fashion now: pray let me see them."

After they had rambled over the mansion, they passed by a great lumber room, the door of which stood open.

"And what place is this?" said the doctor.

"O! that is the room," said the gentleman, "where all the rubbish, the chests, coffers, and trunks lie; see how they are piled one upon another almost to the ceiling."

Upon this the doctor began to look around him. He had not been in the room two minutes before he found every thing precisely as the spectre in London had described; he went directly to the pile he had been told

of, and fixed his eye upon the very chest with the old rusty lock upon it, which would neither turn round nor come out.

"On my word, sir," said the doctor, "you have taken pains enough, if you have searched all these drawers, chests, and coffers, and every thing that may have been in them."

"Indeed, sir," said the gentleman, "I have examined them myself, and looked over all the musty writings one by one; and they have all passed through my hand and under my eye."

"Well, sir," said the doctor, "will you gratify my curiosity by opening and emptying this small chest or coffer?"

The gentleman looking at the chest said, smiling, "I remember opening it;" and turning to his servant, he said, "William, do you not remember that chest?" "Yes, sir," replied the servant, "I remember you were so tired, that you sat down upon the chest when every thing was out of it; that you shut the lid and sat down, and sent me to my lady to bring you a dram of citron; and that you said you were ready to faint."

"Well, sir," said the doctor, "it is only a whim of mine, and probably it may contain nothing."

"You shall see it turned upside down before your face, as well as the rest."

Immediately the gentleman caused the coffer to be dragged out and opened. When the papers were all out, the doctor turning round, as if looking among them, but taking little or no notice of the chest, stooped down, and as if supporting himself with his cane, struck the same into the chest, but snatched it out again hastily, as if it had been a mistake, and turning to the chest, he shut the lid, and seated himself upon it. Having dismissed the servant, "Now, sir," said he, "I have found your writing; I have found your grand deed of settlement; and I will lay you a hundred guineas I have it in this coffer."

The gentleman took up the lid again, handled the chest, looked over every part of it, but could see nothing; he was confounded and amazed! "What do you mean?" said he to the doctor, "here is nothing but an empty coffer."

"Upon my word," said the doctor, "I am no magician, but I tell you again the writing is in this coffer."

The gentleman knocked and called for his servant with the hammer, but the doctor still sat composed upon the lid of the coffer.

At length the man came with a hammer and chisel, and the doctor set to work upon the chest, knocking upon the flat of the bottom: "hark!" says he, "don't you hear it, sir? don't you hear it plainly?"

"Hear what?" said the gentleman; "I do not understand you."

"Why, the chest has a double bottom, sir, a false bottom," said the doctor; "don't you hear it sound hollow?"

In a word, they immediately split the inner bottom open, and there found the parchment spread abroad flat on the whole breadth of the bottom of the trunk.

It is impossible to describe the joy and surprise of the gentleman, and of the whole family; and the former sent for his lady, and two of his daughters, into the garret among the rubbish, to see the place and manner in which the writing was found.

APPARITION SEEN BY LADY PENNYMAN AND MRS. ATKINS.

At the commencement of the French revolution, Lady Pennyman and her two daughters retired to Lisle, where they hired a large and handsome house at a trifling rent. During their residence here, the lady received from her husband, Sir John Pennyman, a draft for a considerable sum, which she carried to the banker of the town, and requested to have cashed. The man, as is often the case on the continent, gave her a large portion of silver in exchange. As Lady Pennyman was proceeding to pay some visits, she requested that the banker would send the money to her house, of which she described the situation. The parcel was instantly committed to the care of a porter; and, on the lady's enquiring of him whether he understood, from her directions, the place to which his charge was to be conveyed, the man replied that he was perfectly aware of the place

designated, and that it was called the "Haunted House." The latter part of this answer was addressed to the banker in a low tone of voice, but was overheard by Lady Pennyman: she paid, however, no attention to the words, and naturally supposed that the report connected with her habitation was one of those which are raised by the imagination of the ignorant respecting every dwelling which is long untenanted, or remarkable for its antiquity.

A few weeks afterwards, the words were recalled to her recollection in a manner that surprised her; the housekeeper, with many apologies for being obliged to mention anything that might appear so idle and absurd, came to the apartment in which her mistress was sitting, and said that two of the servants, who had accompanied her ladyship from England, had that morning given warning, and expressed a determination of quitting her ladyship's service, on account of the mysterious noises by which they had been, night after night, disturbed and terrified. "I trust, Carter," replied Lady Pennyman, "that you have too much good sense to be alarmed on your own account by any of these superstitious and visionary fears; and pray exert yourself in endeavouring to tranquillize the apprehension of others, and persuading them to continue in their places." The persuasion of Carter was ineffectual: the servants insisted that the noises which had alarmed them were not the operation of any earthly beings, and persevered in their resolution of returning to their native country.

The room from which the sounds were supposed to have proceeded was at a distance from Lady Pennyman's apartments, and immediately over those which were occupied by the two female servants, who had themselves been terrified by them, and whose report had spread a general panic through the rest of the family. To quiet the alarm, Lady Pennyman resolved on leaving her own chamber for a time, and establishing herself in the one which had been lately occupied by the domestics.

The room above was a long spacious apartment, which appeared to have been for a length of time deserted. In the centre of the chamber was a large iron cage: it was an extraordinary piece of furniture to find in any mansion, but the legend which the servants had collected respecting it

appeared to be still more extraordinary: it was said that a late proprietor of the house, a young man of enormous property, had in his minority been confined in that apartment by his uncle and guardian, and there hastened to a premature death by the privations and cruelties to which he was exposed: those cruelties had been practised under the pretence of necessary correction. The savage purpose of murdering the boy, under the pretence of a strict attention to his interest or his improvement, was successful: the lad was declared to be incorrigible: there was a feigned necessity of the severest correction: he was sentenced to two days' captivity and privation. On his uncle's arriving, with the show of an hypocritical leniency, an hour previous to the appointed time, to deliver him from the residue of his punishment, it was found that death had anticipated the false mercy, and had for ever emancipated the innocent sufferer from the hands of the oppressor.

The wealth was won; but it was an unprofitable acquisition. His conscience haunted him: the form of the dead and inoffensive boy was constantly before him. His dreams represented to his view the playful and beautiful looks that won all eyes towards him, while his parents were yet alive to cheer and to delight him: and then the vision of his sleep would change; and he would see his calm suffering and his silent tears, and his patient endurance and his indefatigable exertions in attempting the accomplishment of the difficult exactions, and his pale cheek, and his wasted limbs, and his spiritless countenance; and then, at last, there was the rigid, bony, and distorted form, the glazed open eye, the mouth violently compressed, and the clenched hands, on which his view had rested for a moment, when all his wicked hopes had attained their most sanguine consummation, and he surveyed the corpse of his murdered relative. These recollections banished him from his home, the mansion was left tenantless; and, till Lady Pennyman inadvertently engaged it, all had dreaded to become the inmates of a dwelling which had been fatal to one possessor, and shunned as destructive to the tranquillity of his heir.

On the first night or two of Lady Pennyman's being established in her new apartment, she met with no interruption; nor was her sleep in the least disturbed by any of

those mysterious noises in the Cage Chamber (for so it was commonly called in the family) which she had been induced to expect by the representations of the departed servants. This quiet, however, was of very short duration. One night she was awakened from her sleep by the sound of a slow and measured step, that appeared to be pacing the chamber overhead; it continued to move backwards and forwards with nearly the same constant and regular motion for rather more than an hour—perhaps Lady Pennyman's agitation might have deceived her, and induced her to think the time longer than it really was. It at length ceased; morn dawned upon her, and she went down to breakfast, after framing a resolution not to mention the event.

Lady Pennyman and her daughters had nearly completed their breakfast, before her son, a young man who had lately returned from sea, descended from his apartment. "My dear Charles," said his mother, "I wonder you are not ashamed of your indolence and your want of gallantry, to suffer your sisters and myself to finish breakfast before you are ready to join us." "Indeed, madam," he replied, "it is not my fault if I am late: I have not had any sleep all night. There have been people knocking at my door and peeping into my room every half hour since I went up stairs to bed: I presume they wanted to see if my candle was extinguished. If this be the case, it is really very distressing; as I certainly never gave you any occasion to suspect I should be careless in taking so necessary a precaution; and it is not pleasant to be represented in such a light to the domestics." "Indeed, my dear, the interruption has taken place entirely without my knowledge. I assure you it is not by any order of mine that your room has been looked into: I cannot think what could induce any servant of mine to be guilty of such a liberty. Are you certain that you have not mistaken the nature and origin of the sound by which your sleep has been disturbed?"—"Oh, no; there could have been no mistake: I was perfectly awake when the interruption first took place, and afterwards it was so frequently repeated as to prevent the possibility of my sleeping."

More complaints from the housekeeper; no servant would remain; every individual of the family had his tale of

terror to increase the apprehensions of the rest; Lady Pennyman began to be herself alarmed. Mrs. Atkins, a woman devoid of every kind of superstitious fear, and of tried courage, understanding, and resolution, determined at once to silence all the stories that had been fabricated respecting the Cage Room, and to allay their terrors by adopting that apartment for her own bedchamber during the remainder of her residence at Lisle. A bed was accordingly placed in the apartment. The Cage Room was rendered as comfortable as possible on so short a notice; and Mrs. Atkins retired to rest, attended by her favourite spaniel.

Mrs. Atkins now examined her chamber in every direction: she sounded every panel of the wainscot, to prove that there was no hollowness, which might argue a concealed passage; and, having bolted the door of the Cage Room, retired to rest. Her assurance was doomed to be shortlived: she had only been a few minutes asleep when her dog, which lay by the bedside, leaped, howling and terrified, upon the bed; the door of the chamber slowly opened, and a pale, thin, sickly youth came in, cast his eyes mildly towards her, walked up to the iron cage in the middle of the room, and then leaned in the melancholy attitude of one revolving in his mind the sorrows of a cheerless and unblest existence. After a while he again withdrew, and retired by the way he entered.

Mrs. Atkins, on witnessing his departure, felt the return of her resolution; she persuaded herself to believe the figure the work of some skilful impostor, and she determined on following its footsteps: she took up her chamber lamp, and hastened to put her design in execution. On reaching the door, to her infinite surprise, she discovered it to be fastened, as she had herself left it, on retiring to her bed. On withdrawing the bolt and opening the door, she saw the back of the youth descending the staircase; she followed, till, on reaching the foot of the stairs, the form appeared to sink into the earth. It was in vain to attempt concealing the occurrences of the night: her voice, her manner, the impossibility of sleeping a second time in the ill omened chamber, would necessarily betray that something of a painful and mysterious nature had occurred.

The event was related to Lady Pennyman: she determined to remain no longer in her present habitation. The man of whom the house had been engaged was spoken to on the subject: he became extremely violent—said it was no time for the English to indulge their imaginations—insinuated something of the guillotine—and bade her, at her peril, drop a single expression to the injury of his property. While she remained in France, not a word was uttered upon the subject; she framed an excuse for her abrupt departure: another residence was offered in the vicinity of Lisle, which she engaged, on a pretext of its being better calculated to the size of her family; and at once relinquished her habitation, and with it every preternatural occasion of anxiety.

Although the preceding story "smells of the cloister," is somewhat tinctured with romance, and has been enlarged upon by successive narrators, the facts are authenticated and accredited by the parties to whom they occurred. An old deserted house at Lisle would probably be an object of terror to weak minds, but not to the understandings of the well-educated heads of a family, as well as to the several members of a large establishment.

THE STORY OF SIR CHARLES LEE'S DAUGHTER.

Sir Charles Lee, by his first lady, had only one daughter, of which she died in child-birth; and when she was dead, her sister, the Lady Everard, desired to have the education of the child, and she was by her very well educated, till she was marriageable, and a match was concluded for her with Sir William Perkins, but was then prevented in an extraordinary manner. Upon a Thursday night, she, thinking she saw a light in her chamber after she was in bed, knocked for her maid, who presently came to her; and she asked, "Why she left a candle burning in her chamber?" The maid said that she had left none, and there was none but what she brought with her at that time. Then she said

it was the fire; but that, her maid told her, was quite out; and said she believed it was only a dream. Whereupon she said it might be so, and composed herself again to sleep. But about two of the clock she was awakened again, and saw the apparition of a little woman between her curtain and her pillow, who told her she was her mother, that she was happy, and that by twelve of the clock that day she should be with her. Whereupon she knocked again for her maid, called for her clothes, and when she was dressed, went into her closet, and came not out again till nine, and then brought out with her a letter sealed addressed to her father, which she gave to her aunt, the Lady Everard, told her what had happened, and declared, that as soon as she was dead, it might be sent to him. The lady thought she was suddenly fallen mad, and thereupon sent presently away to Chelmsford for a physician and surgeon, who both came immediately; but the physician could discern no indication of what the lady imagined, or of any indisposition of her body; notwithstanding the lady would needs have her let blood, which was done accordingly. And when the young woman had patiently let them do what they would with her, she desired that the chaplain might be sent to read prayers; and when prayers were ended, she took her guitar and psalm-book, and sat down upon a chair without arms, and played and sung so melodiously and admirably, that her music-master, who was then there, admired at it. And near the stroke of twelve, she rose and sat herself down in a great chair with arms, and presently fetching a strong breathing or two, immediately expired, and was so suddenly cold, as was much wondered at by the physician and surgeon. She died at Waltham, in Essex, three miles from Chelmsford, and the letter was sent to Sir Charles, at his house in Warwickshire; but he was so afflicted with the death of his daughter, that he came not till she was buried; but when he came he caused her to be taken up, and to be buried with her mother, at Edmonton, as she desired in her letter.

DOROTHY DINGLEY AT LAUNCESTON, IN CORNWALL,

Attested by the Rev. Mr. Ruddle, Minister of that town.

In the beginning of the year 1665, a disease happened in this town, and some of my scholars died of it. Among others who fell victims to its malignity, was John Elliott, the eldest son of Edward Elliott, of Treberse, Esq. a stripling about sixteen years of age, but of uncommon abilities. At his particular request I preached at the funeral, which happened on the 20th day of June, 1665. In my discourse I spoke some words in commendation of the young gentleman. An old gentleman, who was then in the church, was much affected with the discourse, and was often heard to repeat the same evening, a line which I quoted from Virgil:

"*Et puer ipse contrari dignus.*"

The cause of this old gentleman's concern was the application of my observations to his own son, who being about the same age, and but a few months younger than Mr. Elliott, was now by a strange accident quite lost to his parents' hopes.

The funeral ceremony being over, on leaving the church I was courteously accosted by this old gentleman, and, with unusual importunity, almost forced against my will to his house that night; nor could I have even declined from his kindness, had not Mr. Elliott interposed. I excused myself for the present, but was constrained to promise to wait upon him at his own house the Monday following. This then seemed satisfactory, but before Monday I received a message requesting that if possible I would be there on the Sunday. This second attempt I resisted, by answering that it was inconvenient. The gentleman sent me another letter on the Saturday, enjoining me by no means to fail in coming on the Monday. I was indeed startled at so much eagerness, and began to suspect that there must be some design in this excess of courtesy.

On the Monday I paid my promised devoir, and met with a reception as free as the invitation was importunate. There also I met a neighbouring minister, who pretended

to call in accidentally; but, by the sequel, I supposed it otherwise. After dinner, this brother of the cloth undertook to show me the gardens, where, as we were walking, he intimated to me the main object of this visit.

First he apprised me of the infelicity of the family in general, and then instanced the youngest son. He related what a hopeful youth he lately was, and how melancholy and sottish he was now grown. Next he deeply lamented that his ill-humour should so incredibly subdue his reason. "The poor boy," said he, "believes himself to be haunted with ghosts, and is confident that he meets with an evil spirit in a certain field about half a mile from this place, as often as he goes that way to school." In the midst of our discourse, the old gentleman and his lady came up to us. Upon their approach, and pointing to the arbour, the clergyman resumed the narrative, and the parents of the youth confirmed what he said. In fine, they all desired my opinion and advice on the affair.

I replied, that what the youth had reported to them was strange, yet not incredible, and that I knew not then what to think or say on the subject; but if the lad would explain himself to me, I hoped to give them a better account of my opinion the next day.

The youth was called immediately, and I soon entered into a close conference with him. At first I was very cautious not to displease him, but endeavoured to ingratiate myself with him. But we had scarce passed the first salutation and begun to speak of the business, before I found him very communicative. He asserted that he was constantly disturbed by the appearance of a woman in an adjacent field, called Higher Brown Quartils. He next told me, with a flood of tears, that his friends were so unkind and unjust to him, as neither to believe nor pity him; and that if any man would go with him to the place he might be convinced that his assertion was true.

This woman who appears to me, said he, lived neighbour to my father, and died about eight years since; her name was Dorothy Dingley: he then stated her stature, age, and complexion: that she never spoke to him, but passed by hastily, and always left him the foot-path, and that she

commonly met him twice or three times in the breadth of the field.

"Two months," said he, "elapsed before I took any notice of her, and though the face was in my memory, yet I could not recal the name; but I concluded that it was some woman who lived in the neighbourhood, and frequently passed that way. Nor did I imagine otherwise, before she met me constantly morning and evening, and always in the same field, and sometimes twice or thrice in the breadth of it.

"The first time I noticed her was about a year since; and when I began to suspect and believe her to be a ghost, I had courage enough not to be afraid. I often spoke to her, but never had a word in answer. I then changed my way and went to school the under horse road, and then she always met me in the narrow lane, between the quarry park and the nursery-ground.

"At length I began to be terrified, and prayed continually, that God would either free me from her, or let me know the meaning of her appearance. Night and day, sleeping and waking, the shape was ever running in my mind; and I often repeated these places in scripture. Job. vii. 14. "Thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me through visions;" "and Deut. xxviii. 67. "In the morning thou shalt say, would God it were evening, and at evening thou shalt say, would God it were morning, for the fear of thine heart, wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

I was much pleased with the lad's ingenuity, in the application of these pertinent texts of Scripture to his condition, and desired him to proceed, which he did as follows:—

"By degrees I grew very pensive, insomuch that I was noticed by all our family; being questioned closely on the subject, I told my brother William of it; and he privately acquainted my father and mother.

"They however laughed at me, and enjoined me to attend to my school, and keep such fancies out of my head.

"I accordingly went to school often, but always met the woman in the way."

Our conference ended in my offering to accompany him to the field, which proposal he received with ecstasy; and we accordingly went.

The gentleman, his wife, and Mr. Williams, were impatient to know the event, insomuch that they came out of the parlour into the hall to meet us; and seeing the lad look cheerfully, the first compliment from the old man was, "Come, Mr. Ruddle, you have talked with Sam; I hope now he will have more wit: an idle boy, an idle boy!" At these words the lad ran up stairs to his chamber without replying, and I soon stopped the curiosity of the three expectants, by telling them I had that promised silence, and was resolved to be as good as my word, but that they should soon know all.

The next morning, before five o'clock, the lad was in my chamber; when I arose and went with him. The field he led me to was twenty acres, in an open country, and about three furlongs from any house. We had not proceeded above a third part over the field, before the spectre, in the shape of a woman, with all the circumstances he had described to me in the orchard the day before, met us and passed by. I was somewhat surprised at it; and though I had taken firm resolution to speak to it, yet I had not the power, nor indeed durst I look back. We walked to the end of the field, and returned, but the spectre did not then meet us above once. On our return home, the lady waited to speak with me; I told her that my opinion was, that her son's complaint was not to be slighted, nor altogether discredited. I cautioned her moreover, that the thing might not take wind, lest the whole country should ring with what was as yet uncertain.

On the morning of the 27th day of July, 1665, I went to the haunted field alone, and walked the breadth of it without any encounter. I returned and took the other walk, and then the spectre appeared to me at about the same place I saw it before when the young gentleman was with me; in my idea it moved swifter than the time before, and was about ten feet distant from me on my right hand.

On the evening of this day, the parents, the son, and myself, being in the chamber where I lay, I proposed to them our going altogether to the place next morning; and all resolved upon it. In the morning, lest we should alarm

the servants, they went under the pretence of seeing a field of wheat, and I took my horse, and fetched a compass another way, and met at the stile we had appointed.

Thence we all four walked leisurely into the Quartils, and had passed above half the field before the spectre made its appearance. It then came over the stile just before us, and moved with such swiftness, that by the time we had gone six or seven steps it had passed by. I immediately turned my head and ran after it, with the young man by my side; we saw it pass over the stile at which we entered, but no farther: I stepped up to the hedge at one place and he at another, but could discern nothing, whereas I dare aver, that the swiftest horse in England could not have conveyed himself out of sight in that short space of time. Two things I observed in this day's appearance:—

1. That a spaniel dog which followed the company unregarded, barked and ran away, as the spectre passed by; whence it is easy to conclude that it was not our fear or fancy which made the apparition.

2. That the motion of the spectre was not gradatim, or by steps, and moving of the feet; but a kind of sliding as children upon the ice, or a boat down a swift river, which punctually answers the description which the ancients gave of the motion of their lemurs.

This ocular evidence convinced, but strangely frightened the old gentleman and his wife; who knew Dorothy Dingley in her life time, were at her funeral, and plainly saw her features in this present apparition. I was resolved to proceed, and use such means as learned men have successfully practised, in these uncommon cases.

The next morning being Thursday, I went out very early by myself, and walked for about an hour's space in meditation and prayer in the fields adjoining the Quartils. Soon after five I stepped over the stile, into the disturbed field, and had not gone above thirty or forty paces before the spectre appeared at the farther stile. I spoke to it with a loud voice, whereupon it approached but slowly, and when I came near, it moved not. I spoke again, and it answered in a voice neither very audible nor intelligible. I was not in the least terrified, and therefore persisted, until it spoke again, and satisfied me.

In the same evening, an hour after sun-set, it met me again near the same place, and after a few words on each side it quietly vanished, and neither appeared since, nor ever will more, to any man's disturbance. The conversation in the morning lasted about a quarter of an hour.

APPARITION OF LORD TYRONE TO LADY BERESFORD.

Lord Tyrone and Miss —— were born in Ireland, and were left orphans in their infancy to the care of the same person, by whom they were both educated in the principles of deism.

Their guardian dying when they were each of them about fourteen years of age, they fell into very different hands. Though separated from each other, their friendship was unalterable, and they continued to regard each other with a sincere and fraternal affection. After some years were elapsed, and both were grown up, they made a solemn promise to each other that whichever should die first, would, if permitted, appear to the other, to declare what religion was most approved by the Supreme Being. Miss —— was shortly after addressed by Sir Martin Beresford, to whom she was afterwards married; but a change of condition had no power to alter their friendship. The families visited each other, and often spent some weeks together. A short time after one of these visits, Sir Martin remarked, that when his lady came down to breakfast, her countenance was disturbed, and inquired of her health. She assured him that she was quite well. He then asked her if she had hurt her wrist: "Have you sprained it?" said he, observing a black ribbon round it. She answered in the negative, and added, "Let me conjure you, Sir Martin, never to inquire the cause of my wearing this ribbon; you will never see me without it. If it concerned you as a husband to know, I would not for a moment conceal it; I never in my life denied you a request, but of this I intreat you to forgive me the refusal, and never to urge me farther on the subject." "Very well," said he, smiling, "since you beg me so earnestly, I will inquire no more." The conversation

here ended; but breakfast was scarce over, when Lady Beresford eagerly inquired if the post had come in; she was told it had not. In a few minutes she rang again and repeated the inquiry. She was again answered as before "Do you expect letters?" said Sir Martin, "that you are so anxious for the arrival of the post?" "I do," she answered, "I expect to hear that Lord Tyrone is dead; he died last Tuesday at four o'clock." "I never in my life," said Sir Martin, "believed you superstitious; some idle dream has surely thus alarmed you." At that instant the servant entered and delivered to them a letter sealed with black. "It is as I expected," exclaimed Lady Beresford, "Lord Tyrone is dead." Sir Martin opened the letter; it came from Lord Tyrone's steward, and contained the melancholy intelligence of his master's death, and on the very day and hour Lady Beresford had before specified. Sir Martin begged Lady Beresford to compose herself, and she assured him she felt much easier than she had done for a long time; and added, "I can communicate intelligence to you which I know will prove welcome; I can assure you, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that I shall in some months present you with a son." Sir Martin received this news with the greatest joy. After some months, Lady Beresford was delivered of a son (she had before been the mother of two daughters). Sir Martin survived the birth of his son little more than four years. After his decease his widow seldom left home; she visited no family but that of a clergyman who resided in the same village; with them she frequently passed a few hours every day; the rest of her time was spent in solitude, and she appeared determined for ever to avoid all other society. The clergyman's family consisted of himself, his wife, and one son, who, at the time of Sir Martin's death, was quite a youth; to this son, however, she was after a few years married, notwithstanding the disparity of years and the manifest imprudence of a connexion so unequal in every point of view. Lady Beresford was treated by her young husband with contempt and cruelty, while at the same time his conduct evinced him to be the most abandoned libertine, utterly destitute of every principle of virtue and humanity. By this, her second husband, she had two daughters; after which, such

was the baseness of his conduct that she insisted on a separation. They parted for a few years, when so great was the contrition he expressed for his former conduct, that, won over by his supplications, promises, and entreaties, she was induced to pardon, and once more to reside with him, and was in time the mother of a son.

The day on which she had lain-in a month being the anniversary of her birthday, she sent for Lady Betty Cobb (of whose friendship she had long been possessed) and a few other friends to request them to spend the day with her. About seven, the clergyman by whom she had been christened, and with whom she had all her life been intimate, came into the room to inquire after her health. She told him she was perfectly well, and requested him to spend the day with them; for, said she, "This is my birthday. I am forty-eight to-day." "No, madam," answered the clergyman, "you are mistaken; your mother and myself have had many disputes concerning your age; and I have at last discovered that I was right. I happened to go last week into the parish where you were born; I was resolved to put an end to the dispute; I searched the register, and find that you are but forty-seven this day." "You have signed my death-warrant," she exclaimed; "I have then but a few hours to live. I must, therefore, entreat you to leave me immediately, as I have something of importance to settle before I die." When the clergyman left her, Lady Beresford sent to forbid the company coming, and at the same time to request Lady Betty Cobb and her son (of whom Sir Martin was the father, and was then about twenty-two years of age), to come to her apartment immediately.

Upon their arrival, having ordered the attendants to quit the room, "I have something," she said, "of the greatest importance to communicate to you both before I die; an event which is not far distant. You, Lady Betty, are no stranger to the friendship which subsisted between Lord Tyrone and myself; we were educated under the same roof, and in the same principles of deism. When the friends, into whose hands we afterwards fell, endeavoured to persuade us to embrace revealed religion, their arguments, though insufficient to convince, were powerful enough to

stagger our former feelings, and to leave us wavering between the two opinions: in this perplexing state of doubt and uncertainty, we made a solemn promise to each other, that whichever died first should (if permitted) appear to the other, and declare what religion was most acceptable to God: accordingly, one night, while Sir Martin and myself were in bed, I suddenly awoke and discovered Lord Tyrone sitting by my bed-side. I screamed out and endeavoured to awake Sir Martin: "For Heaven's sake," I exclaimed, "Lord Tyrone, by what means or for what reason came you hither at this time of night?" "Have you then forgotten our promise?" said he. "I died last Tuesday at four o'clock, and have been permitted by the Supreme Being to appear to you, to assure you that the revealed religion is true, and the only religion by which we can be saved. I am further suffered to inform you that you will soon produce a son, which it is decreed will marry my daughter; not many years after his birth Sir Martin will die, and you will marry again, and to a man by whose ill-treatment you will be rendered miserable: you will have two daughters, and afterwards a son, in childbirth of whom you will die in the forty-seventh year of your age." "Just Heavens!" I exclaimed, "and cannot I prevent this?" "Undoubtedly you may," returned the spectre; "you are a free agent, and may prevent it all by resisting every temptation to a second marriage: but your passions are strong, you know not their power; hitherto you have had no trials. More I am not permitted to reveal, but if after this warning you persist in your infidelity, your lot in another world will be miserable indeed!" "May I not ask," said I, "if you are happy?" "Had I been otherwise," he replied, "I should not have been permitted to appear to you." "I may then infer that you are happy?" He smiled. "But how," said I, "when morning comes, shall I know that your appearance to me has been real, and not the mere representation of my own imagination?" "Will not the news of my death be sufficient to convince you?" "No," I returned: "I might have had such a dream, and that dream accidentally come to pass. I will have some stronger proofs of its reality." "You shall," said he, "and waving his hand, the bed curtains, which were crimson

velvet, were instantly drawn through a large iron hoop by which the tester of the bed was suspended." "In that," said he, "you cannot be mistaken; no mortal arm could have performed this." "True," said I, "but sleeping we are often possessed of far more strength than when awake; though waking I could not have done it, asleep I might; and I shall still doubt." "Here is a pocket-book; in this," said he, "I will write my name: you know my hand-writing." I replied, "Yes." He wrote with a pencil on one side of the leaves. "Still," said I, "in the morning I may doubt; though waking I could not imitate your hand, asleep I might." "You are hard of belief," said he: "it would injure you irreparably; it is not for spirits to touch mortal flesh." "I do not," said I, "regard a slight blemish." "You are a woman of courage," replied he, "hold out your hand." I did: he struck my wrist: his hand was cold as marble: in a moment the sinews shrunk up, every nerve withered. "Now," said he, "while you live let no mortal eye behold that wrist: to see it is sacrilege." He stopped; I turned to him again; he was gone. During the time I had conversed with him my thoughts were perfectly calm and collected, but the moment he was gone I felt chilled with horror; the very bed moved under me; I endeavoured, but in vain, to awake Sir Martin: all my attempts were ineffectual, and in this state of agitation and terror I lay for some time, when a shower of tears came to my relief, and I dropped asleep. In the morning, Sir Martin arose and dressed himself as usual without perceiving the state the curtains remained in.

When I awoke I found Sir Martin gone down: I arose, and having put on my clothes, went to the gallery adjoining the apartment and took from thence a long broom (such as cornices are swept with): by the help of this I took down with some difficulty the curtains, as I imagined their extraordinary position might excite suspicion in the family. I then went to the bureau, took up my pocket-book, and bound a piece of black ribbon round my wrist. When I came down, the agitation of my mind had left an impression on my countenance too visible to pass unobserved by my husband. He instantly remarked it, and asked the cause; I informed him Lord Tyrone was no more, that he died

at the hour of four on the preceding Tuesday, and desired him never to question me more respecting the black ribbon; which he kindly desisted from doing. You, my son, as had been foretold, I afterwards brought into the world, and in little more than four years after your birth your lamented father expired in my arms.

"After this melancholy event, I determined, as the only probable chance to avoid the sequel of the prediction, for ever to abandon all society; to give up every pleasure resulting from it, and to pass the rest of my days in solitude and retirement. But few can long endure to exist in a state of perfect sequestration: I began an intimacy with a family, —with one alone; nor could I then foresee the fatal consequences which afterwards resulted from it. Little did I think their son, their only son, then a mere youth, would be the person destined by fate to prove my destruction. In a very few years I ceased to regard him with indifference; I endeavoured by every possible way to conquer a passion, the fatal effects of which I too well knew. I had fondly imagined I had overcome its influence, when the evening of one fatal day terminated my fortitude, and plunged me in a moment down that abyss I had so long been meditating how to shun. He had often solicited his parents for leave to go into the Army, and at last obtained permission, and came to bid me adieu before his departure. The instant he entered the room he fell upon his knees at my feet, told me he was miserable, and that I alone was the cause. At that moment my fortitude forsook me, I gave myself up for lost, and regarding my fate as inevitable, without farther hesitation consented to a union; the immediate result of which I knew to be misery, and its end death. The conduct of my husband, after a few years, amply justified a separation, and I hoped by this means to avoid the fatal sequel of the prophecy; but won over by his reiterated entreaties, I was prevailed upon to pardon, and once more reside with him, though not till after I had, as I thought, passed my forty-seventh year.

"But alas! I have this day heard from indisputable authority, that I have hitherto lain under a mistake with regard to my age, and that I am but forty-seven to-day.

Of the near approach of my death I therefore entertain not the slightest doubt.

"When I am dead, as the necessity of concealment closes with my life, I could wish that you, Lady Betty, would unbind my wrist, take from thence the black ribbon, and let my son with yourself behold it." Lady Beresford here paused for some time, but resuming the conversation, she entreated her son would behave himself so as to merit the high honour he would in future receive from a union with the daughter of Lord Tyrone.

Lady B. then expressed a wish to lie down on the bed and endeavour to compose herself to sleep. Lady Betty Cobb and her son immediately called her domestics, and quitted the room, having first desired them to watch their mistress attentively, and if they observed the smallest change in her, to call instantly.

An hour passed, and all was quiet in the room. They listened at the door, and every thing remained still, but in half an hour more a bell rang violently; they flew to her apartment, but before they reached the door, they heard the servant exclaim, "Oh, she is dead!" Lady Betty then bade the servants for a few minutes to quit the room, and herself with Lady Beresford's son approached the bed of his mother; they knelt down by the side of it; Lady Betty then lifted up her hand and untied the ribbon; the wrist was found exactly as Lady Beresford had described it, every sinew shrunk, every nerve withered.

Lady Beresford's son, as had been predicted, is since married to Lord Tyrone's daughter: the black ribbon and pocket-book were formerly in the possession of Lady Betty Cobb, Marlborough Buildings, Bath, who, during her long life, was ever ready to attest the truth of this narration, as are, to the present hour, the whole of the Tyrone and Beresford families.

TWO APPARITIONS TO MR. WILLIAM LILLY.

The following affair excited considerable interest in the north about the middle of last century:—On the first

Sunday, in the year 1749, Mr. Thomas Lilly, the son of a farmer in the parish of Kelso, in Roxburghshire, a young man intended for the Church of Scotland, remained at home to keep the house, in company with a shepherd's boy, all the rest of the family, except a maid-servant, being at church. The young student and the boy being by the fire, whilst the girl was gone to the well for water, a venerable old gentleman, clad in an antique garb, presented himself, and, after some little ceremony, desired the student to take up the family bible, which lay on a table, and turn over to a certain chapter and verse in the Second Book of Kings. The student did so, and read—"There is death in the pot."

On this, the old man, with much apparent agitation, pointed to the great family pot boiling on the fire, declaring that the maid had cast a great quantity of arsenic into it, with an intent to poison the whole family, to the end she might rob the house of the hundred guineas which she knew her master had lately taken for sheep and grain which he had sold. Just as he was so saying, the maid came to the door. The old gentleman said to the student, remember my warning and save the lives of the family!—and that instant disappeared.

The maid entered with a smiling countenance, emptied her pail, and returned to the well for a fresh supply. Meanwhile, young Lilly put some oatmeal into a wooden dish, skimmed the pot of the fat, and mixed it for what is called brose or croudy, and when the maid returned, he with the boy appeared busily employed in eating the mixture. Come, Peggy, said the student, here is enough left for you; are not you fond of croudy? She smiled, took up the dish, and reaching a horn spoon, withdrew to the back room. The shepherd's dog followed her, unseen by the boy, and the poor animal, on the croudy being put down by the maid, fell a victim to his voracious appetite; for before the return of the family from church, it was enormously swelled, and expired in great agony.

The student enjoined the boy to remain quite passive for the present; meanwhile he attempted to show his ingenuity in resolving the cause of the canine catastrophe into insanity, in order to keep the girl in countenance till a fit opportunity of discovering the plot should present itself.

Soon after, his father and family, with the other servants returned from church.

The table was instantly replenished with wooden bowls and trenchers, while a heap of barley bannocks graced the top. The kail or broth, infused with leeks or winter cabbages, was poured forth in plenty; and Peggy, with a prodigal hand, filled all the dishes with the homely dainties of Tiviotdale. The master began grace, and all hats and bonnets were instantly off! "O Lord," prayed the farmer, "we have been hearing thy word, from the mouth of thy aged servant, Mr. Ramsay; we have been alarmed by the awful famine in Samaria, and of death being in the pot!" Here the young scholar interrupted his father, by exclaiming —"Yes, sir, there is death in the pot now here, as well as there was once in Israel!—Touch not! taste not! See the dog dead by the poisoned pot!"

"What!" cried the farmer, "have you been raising the devil by your conjuration? Is this the effect of your study, sir?"—"No, father," said the student, "I pretend to no such arts of magic or necromancy, but this day, as the boy can testify, I had a solemn warning from one whom I take to be no demon, but a good angel. To him we all owe our lives. As to Peggy, according to his intimation, she has put poison into the pot for the purpose of destroying the whole family. Here the girl fell into a fit, from which being with some trouble recovered, she confessed the whole of her deadly design, and was suffered to quit the family and her native country. She was soon after executed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for the murder of her illegitimate child, again making ample confession of the above diabolical design.

In 1750, the same young Lilly was one day reading the 20th chapter of the Revelation of John the Divine, just as he was entering upon that part which describes the angel binding the devil a thousand years, "after which he was to be loosed a little," a very venerable old personage appeared at his elbow: the young man fell on the floor, but quickly arose, and in the name of the Lord demanded who he was, and the nature of his business. Upon this the following colloquy ensued:—

Lilly.—Shall I call thee Satan, the crooked serpent, the devil, Beelzebub, or Lucifer son of the morning?

Appar.—I am a messenger from the dead, to see or to cause justice to be done to thee and thy father. I am the spirit of one of thy ancestors!

Lilly.—Art thou the soul of my grandfather, who amidst immense riches perished for want of food?

Appar.—Thou art right. Money was my deity, and Mammon my master. I heaped up gold, but did not enjoy it.

Lilly.—I have frequently heard my father mention you, as a sordid, avaricious, miserable man. How did you dispose of the immense riches which you are said to have accumulated?

Appar.—It is, for the most part, hidden in a field, in the farm of your father, and I intend that you, his son, should be the sole possessor of it, without suffering your father to know from whence your riches originated. Do not you recognise my face since the beginning of the last year?

Lilly.—Are you the old gentleman whose timely intelligence saved the lives of all our family?

Appar.—I am. Therefore think not your father ill rewarded already.

Lilly.—How can I account to him for the immediate accumulation of so much money as you seem to intimate?

Appar.—Twenty thousand pounds sterling money!

Lilly.—You seem even now in your disembodied state to feel much emotion at the mention of much money.

Appar.—But now I cannot touch the money of mortals.—But I cannot stay. Follow me to the field, and I will point out the precise place where you are to dig.

Here the apparition stalked forth round the barn yard, and Lilly followed him, till he came to a field about three furlongs from his father's door, when the apparition stood still on a certain spot, wheeled thrice round, and vanished into air.

This proved to be the precise place where young Lilly and his companions had often devoted to pastime, being a hollow, whence stone had formerly been dug. He lost but little time in consideration, for having procured a pickaxe

and a spade, he actually discovered the treasure. His immense wealth enabled him to perform many acts of charity in that country, as many can testify to this day.

The pots in which the money, consisting of large pieces of gold and silver, were deposited, have often been shown as curiosities hardly to be equalled in the south of Scotland. —*World of Spirits*, 1796.

MR. BOOTY AND THE SHIP'S CREW.

No circumstance connected with supernatural appearances has occasioned more altercation and controversy than the undermentioned. The narrative certainly has an air of overstrained credulity; nevertheless, the affair is curious, and the coincidence very remarkable, especially as it was a *salvo* for Captain Barnaby. The former part of this narrative is transcribed from Captain Spinks's journal, or log-book, and the latter from the King's Bench Records for the time being.

Tuesday, May the 12th, this day the wind S.SW. and a little before four in the afternoon, we anchored in Manser road, where lay Captains Bristo, Brian, and Barnaby, all of them bound to Lucera to load. Wednesday, May the 13th, we weighed anchor, and in the afternoon I went on board of Captain Barnaby, and about two o'clock we sailed all of us for the island of Lucera, wind W.SW. and bitter weather. Thursday, the 14th, about two o'clock, we saw the island, and all came to an anchor in twelve fathom water, the wind W.SW. and on the 15th day of May we had an observation of Mr. Booty in the following manner: Captains Bristo, Brian, and Barnaby, went on shore shooting colues on Stromboli: when we had done we called our men together, and about fourteen minutes after three in the afternoon, to our great surprise, we saw two men run by us with amazing swiftness: Captain Barnaby said, Lord bless me, the foremost man looks like my next-door neighbour, old Booty, but said he did not know the other that was behind. Booty was dressed in grey clothes, and the one behind in black; we saw them run into the burning mountain in the

midst of the flames, on which we head a terrible noise too horrible to be described: Captain Barnaby then desired us to look at our watches, pen the time down in our pocket-books, and enter it in our journals, which we accordingly did.

When we were laden, we all sailed for England, and arrived at Gravesend, on the 6th of October, 1687. Mrs. Barnaby and Mrs. Brian came to congratulate our safe arrival, and after some discourse, Captain Barnaby's wife said, My dear, I have got some news to tell you; old Booty is dead. He swore an oath, and said we all saw him run into "hell." Some time afterwards, Mrs. Barnaby met with a lady of her acquaintance in London, and told her what her husband had seen concerning Mr: Booty; it came to Mrs. Booty's ears; she arrested Captain Barnaby in £1000 action. He gave bail, and it came to trial at the Court of King's Bench, where Mr. Booty's clothes were brought into court. The sexton of the parish, and the people that were with him when he died, swore to the time when he died, and we swore to our journals, and they agreed within two minutes: twelve of our men swore that the buttons of his coat were covered with the same grey cloth as his coat, and it appeared to be so: the jury asked Mr. Spinks if he knew Mr. Booty in his lifetime; he said he never saw him till he saw him run by him into the burning mountain. The judge then said, Lord, grant that I may never see the sight that you have seen: one, two, or three may be mistaken, but twenty or thirty cannot. So the widow lost the cause.

N.B. It is now in the records at Westminster.

James the Second, 1687,
Herbert, Chief Justice,
Wythens, Holloway, And Wright, } *Justices.*

THE APPARITION OF EDWARD AVON TO THOMAS GODDARD.

Thomas Goddard, of Marlborough, Wilts, weaver, made deposition the 23rd November, 1674. He saith, that on

Monday, the 9th instant, as he was going to Ogborn, at a stile on the highway near Mr. Goddard's ground, about nine in the morning, he met the apparition of his father-in-law, one Edward Avon, of this town, glover, who died in May last, having on, to his appearance, the same clothes, hat, stockings, and shoes he usually wore when he was living, standing by and leaning over that stile. When he came near, the apparition spoke to him with an audible voice those words, "Are you afraid?" To which he answered, "I am thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like." To which the apparition replied with the like voice, "I am he that you were thinking on; I am Edward Avon, your father-in-law: come near to me, I will do you no harm." To which Goddard answered, "I trust in Him who hath bought my soul with his precious blood, you shall do me no harm." Then the apparition said, "How stand cases at home?" Goddard asked, what cases? Then it asked, "How are William and Mary?" meaning, as he conceived, his son William Avon, a shoemaker here, and Mary his daughter, the said Goddard's wife. Then it said, "What! Taylor is dead:" meaning, as he thought, one Taylor of London, who married his daughter Sarah, which Taylor died the Michaelmas before. Then the apparition held out its hand, and in it, as Goddard conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud voice, "Take this money and send it to Sarah; for I shut up my bowels of compassion towards her in the time of my life, and now here is something for her." And then said, "Mary (meaning his the said Goddard's wife as he conceived) is troubled for me; but tell her, God hath showed mercy to me contrary to my deserts." But the said Goddard answered, "In the name of Jesus Christ I refuse all such money." Then the apparition said, "I perceive you are afraid; I will meet you some other time." And immediately to his appearance it went up the lane, and he went over the same stile, but saw it no more that day.

He saith, the next night, about seven o'clock, it came and opened his shop-window, and stood in the same clothes, looked him in the face, but said nothing to him. And the next night after it appeared to him again in the same shape;

but he being in fear, ran into his house, and saw it no more then.

But he saith, that on Thursday, the 12th instant, as he came from Chilton, riding down the hill between the manor-house and Axford-farm-field, he saw something like a hare cross his way, at which his horse startled, and threw him in the dirt. As soon as he could recover on his feet, the same apparition there met him again in the same habit, and standing about eight feet directly before him in the way, spoke again to him with a loud voice, "Source, (a word he commonly used when living) you have stayed long;" and then said to him, "Thomas, bid William Avon take the sword that he had of me, which is now in his house, and carry it to the wood as we go to Alton, to the upper end of the wood by the way-side; for with that sword I did wrong about thirty years ago, and he never prospered since he had that sword; and bid William Avon give his sister Sarah twenty shillings of the money which he had of me. And do you talk with Edward Lawrence, for I borrowed twenty shillings of him several years ago, and did say I had paid him, but I did not pay it him; and I would desire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the money which you had from James Elliot at two payments." Which money the said Goddard now saith was five pounds, which James Elliot, a baker, here owed the said Avon on bond, and which he, the said Goddard, had received from the said Elliot since Michaelmas, at two payments, viz.: 35s. at one time, and £3 5s. at another payment. And it farther said to him, "Tell Margaret (meaning his own wife, as he conceived) that I would desire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little Sarah Taylor, to the child, or to any one she will trust for it. But if she will not, speak to Edward Lawrence to persuade her. But if she will not then, tell her that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a twelvemonth and a day after my decease, and peace be with you." It then went away over the rails into the wood, and he saw it no more at that time. And he saith, that he paid the twenty shillings to Edward Lawrence of this town, who being present now doth remember he lent the said Avon twenty shillings about twenty years ago, which none

knew but himself and wife, and Avon and his wife; and was never paid it again before now by this Goddard.

And this said Goddard farther saith, that this very day, by the Mayor's order, he with his his brother-in-law, William Avon, went with the sword, and about nine o'clock in the morning they laid down the sword in the copse near the place the apparition had appointed Goddard to carry it, and then coming away thence Goddard looking back saw the same apparition again in the same habit as before. Whereupon he called to his brother-in-law and said, "Here is the apparition of our father;" who said, "I see nothing." Then Goddard fell on his knees, and said, "Lord, open his eyes that he may see it." But he replied, "Lord, grant I may not see it, if it be thy blessed will," and then the apparition, to Goddard's appearance, beckoned with his hand to him to come to it. And then Goddard said, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what would you have me do?" Then the apparition said to him, "Thomas, take up the sword, and follow me." To which he said, "Should both of us come, or but one of us?" To which it answered, "Thomas, do you take up the sword." And so he took up the sword and followed the apparition about ten lugs (that is, poles) farther into the copse, and then turning back, he stood still about a lug and a half from it, his brother-in-law staying behind at the place where they first laid down the sword. Then Goddard laying down the sword upon the ground, saw something stand by the apparition like a mastiff dog, of a brown colour. Then the apparition coming towards Goddard, he stepped back about two steps, and the apparition said to him, "I have a permission to you, and commission not to touch you;" and then it took up the sword, and went back to the place at which before it stood, with a mastiff dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the sword in the ground, and said, "In this place lies buried the body of him which I murdered in the year 1635, which is now rotten and turned to dust." Whereupon Goddard said, "I do adjure you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, wherefore did you commit this murder?" And it said, "I took money from the man, and he contended with me, and so I murdered him." Then Goddard asked him, who was confederate with him in the said murder?

and it said, "None but myself." Then Goddard said, "What would you have me do in this thing?" And the apparition said, "This is that the world may know that I murdered a man, and buried him in this place, in the year 1635."

Then the apparition laid down the sword on the bare ground, whereon nothing grew, but seemed to Goddard to be as a grave sunk in. The apparition then rushing further into the copse vanished, and he saw it no more. Whereupon Goddard, and his brother-in-law Avon, leaving the sword there, and coming away together, Avon told Goddard he heard his voice, and understood what he said, and heard other voices distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any apparition at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said Goddard then attested under his hand, and affirmed, he will depose the same when he shall be thereto required.

In the presence of Christ. Lypyatt, *Mayor*, Rolf Bayly, *Town Clerk*, Joshua Sacheveral, *Rector of St. Peter's*, in Marlborough.

Examined by me,
WILL. BAYLY.

OF A DUTCHMAN THAT COULD SEE GHOSTS, AND OF THE GHOST HE SAW IN THE TOWN OF WOODBRIDGE IN SUFFOLK.

Mr. Broom, the minister of Woodbridge in Suffolk, meeting one day, in a barber's shop in that town, a Dutch Lieutenant, (who was blown up with Opdam, and taken alive out of the water, and carried to that town, where he was a prisoner at large,) upon the occasion of some discourse was told by him that he could see ghosts, and that he had seen divers. Mr. Broom rebuking him for talking so idly, he persisted in it very stiffly. Some days after, lighting upon him again, he asked him whether he had seen any ghost since his coming to that town. To which he replied, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking together

up the town, he said to Mr. Broom, "Yonder comes a ghost." He seeing nothing, asked him whereabout it was? The other said, "It is over against such a house, and it walks looking upwards towards such a side, flinging one arm with a glove in its hand." He said, moreover, that when it came near them they must give way to it, that he ever did so, and some that have not done so have suffered for it. Anon he said, "'Tis just upon us; let's out of the way!" Mr. Broom believing all to be a fiction, as soon as he said those words, took hold of his arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came such a force against them, that he was flung into the middle of the street, and one of the palms of his hand, and one knee bruised and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to excessive pain.

But spying the Lieutenant lie like a dead man, he got up as soon as he could, and applied himself to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next shop, where they poured strong water down his throat, but for some time could discern no life in him. At length, what with the strong water, and what with well chafing him, he began to stir, and when he was come to himself his first words were, "I will shew you no more ghosts." Then he desired a pipe of tobacco, but Mr. Broom told him he should take it at his house; for he feared, should he take it so soon there, it would make him sick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. Broom's house, where they were no sooner entering in but the bell rang out. Mr. Broom presently sent his maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was such an one, a tailor, who died suddenly, though he had been in a consumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be guessed at the very time when the ghost appeared. The ghost had exactly this tailor's known gait, who ordinarily went also with one arm swinging, and a glove in that hand, and looking on one side upwards.

SIR JOHN SHERBROKE AND GENERAL WYNYARD.

These gentlemen were, as young men, officers in the same regiment, which was employed on foreign service. They were connected by similarity of tastes and studies, and spent together, in literary occupation, much of that vacant time which was squandered by their brother officers, in those excesses of the table, which, some forty years ago, were considered among the necessary accomplishments of the military character. They were one afternoon sitting in Wynyard's apartment. It was perfectly light, the hour was about four o'clock; they had dined, but neither of them had drunk wine, and they had retired from the mess to continue together the occupations of the morning. It ought to have been said, that the apartment in which they were, had two doors in it, the one opening into a passage, and the other leading into Wynyard's bed-room. There was no other means of entering the sitting-room but from the passage, and no other egress from the bed-room but through the sitting-room; so that any person passing into the bed-room must have remained there, unless he returned by the way he entered. This point is of consequence to the story.

As these two young officers were pursuing their studies, Sherbroke, whose eye happened accidentally to glance from the volume before him towards the door that opened to the passage, observed a tall youth, of about twenty years of age, whose appearance was that of extreme emaciation, standing beside it. Struck with the presence of a perfect stranger, he immediately turned to his friend, who was sitting near him, and directed his attention to the guest who had thus strangely broken in upon their studies. As soon as Wynyard's eyes were turned towards the mysterious visitor, his countenance became suddenly agitated. "I have heard," says Sir John Sherbroke, "of a man's being as pale as death, but I never saw a living face assume the appearance of a corpse except Wynyard's at that moment." As they looked silently at the form before them,—for Wynyard, who seemed to apprehend the import of the appearance, was deprived of the faculty of speech,

and Sherbroke, perceiving the agitation of his friend, felt no inclination to address it,—as they looked silently upon the figure, it proceeded slowly into the adjoining apartment, and, in the act of passing them, cast its eyes with an expression of somewhat melancholy affection on young Wynyard. The oppression of this extraordinary presence was no sooner removed, than Wynyard, seizing his friend by the arm and drawing a deep breath, as if recovering from the suffocation of intense astonishment and emotion, muttered in a low and almost inaudible tone of voice, "Great God! my brother!"—"Your brother!" repeated Sherbroke, "what can you mean, Wynyard? there must be some deception—follow me;" and immediately taking his friend by the arm, he preceded him into the bed-room, which, as before stated, was connected with the sitting-room, and into which the strange visitor had evidently entered. It has already been said, that from this chamber there was no possibility of withdrawing but by the way of the apartment, through which the figure had certainly passed, and as certainly never had returned. Imagine, then, the astonishment of the young officers, when, on finding themselves in the centre of the chamber, they perceived that the room was perfectly untenanted. Wynyard's mind had received an impression at the first moment of his observing him, that the figure whom he had seen was the spirit of his brother. Sherbroke still persevered in strenuously believing that some delusion had been practised.

They took note of the day and hour in which the event had happened; but they resolved not to mention the occurrence in the regiment, and gradually they persuaded each other that they had been imposed upon by some artifice of their fellow-officers, though they could neither account for the reason, nor suspect the author, nor conceive the means of its execution. They were content to imagine anything possible, rather than admit the possibility of a supernatural appearance. But, though they had attempted these stratagems of self-delusion, Wynyard could not help expressing his solicitude with respect to the safety of the brother whose apparition he had either seen, or imagined himself to have seen; and the anxiety which he exhibited for letters from England, and his frequent mention

of his fears for his brother's health, at length awakened the curiosity of his comrades, and eventually betrayed him into a declaration of the circumstances which he had, in vain, determined to conceal. The story of the silent and unbidden visitor was no sooner bruited abroad, than the destiny of Wynyard's brother became an object of universal and painful interest to the officers of the regiment; there were few who did not enquire for Wynyard's letters before they made any demand after their own, and the packets that arrived from England were welcomed with more than usual eagerness, for they brought not only remembrances from their friends at home, but promised to afford the clue to the mystery which had happened among themselves.

By the first ships no intelligence relating to the story could have been received, for they had all departed from England previously to the appearance of the spirit. At length the long-wished-for vessel arrived; all the officers had letters except Wynyard. Still the secret was unexplained. They examined the several newspapers, but they contained no mention of any death, or of any other circumstance connected with his family that could account for the preternatural event. There was a solitary letter for Sherbroke still unopened. The officers had received their letters in the mess-room at the hour of supper. After Sherbroke had broken the seal of his last packet, and cast a glance on its contents, he beckoned his friend away from the company, and departed from the room. All were silent. The suspense of the interest was now at its climax; the impatience for the return of Sherbroke was inexpressible. They doubted not but that letter had contained the long-expected intelligence. After the interval of an hour Sherbroke joined them. No one dared be guilty of so great a rudeness as to inquire the nature of his correspondence; but they waited in mute attention, expecting that he would himself touch upon the subject. His mind was manifestly full of thoughts that pained, bewildered, and oppressed him. He drew near to the fire-place, and leaning his head on the mantel-piece, after a pause of some moments, said in a low voice, to the person who was nearest to him, "Wynyard's brother is no more!" The first line of Sherbroke's letter was, "Dear John, break to your friend Wynyard the death of his

favourite brother." He had died on the day, and at the very hour on which the friends had seen his spirit pass so mysteriously through the apartment.

It might have been imagined, that these events would have been sufficient to have impressed the mind of Sherbroke with the conviction of their truth; but so strong was his prepossession against the existence, or even the possibility of any preternatural intercourse with the souls of the dead, that he still entertained a doubt of the report of his senses, supported, as their testimony was, by the coincidence of vision and event. Some years after, on his return to England, he was walking with two gentlemen in Piccadilly, when, on the opposite side of the way, he saw a person bearing the most striking resemblance to the figure which had been disclosed to Wynyard and himself. His companions were acquainted with the story; and he instantly directed their attention to the gentleman opposite, as the individual who had contrived to enter and depart from Wynyard's apartment without their being conscious of the means. Full of this impression, he immediately went over, and at once addressed the gentleman: he now fully expected to elucidate the mystery. He apologised for the interruption, but excused it by relating the occurrence, which had induced him to the commission of this solecism in manners. The gentleman received him as a friend. He had never been out of the country; but he was the twin brother of the youth whose spirit had been seen.

This story is related with several variations. It is sometimes told as having happened at Gibraltar, at others in England, at others in America. There are also differences with respect to the conclusion. Some say that the gentleman whom Sir John Sherbroke afterwards met in London, and addressed as the person whom he had previously seen in so mysterious a manner, was not another brother of General Wynyard, but a gentleman who bore a strong resemblance to the family. But, however, the leading facts in every account are the same. Sir John Sherbroke and General Wynyard, two gentlemen of veracity, were together present at the spiritual appearance of the brother of General Wynyard: the appearance took place at the moment of dissolution; and the countenance, and form of the ghost's

figure, were so distinctly impressed upon the memory of Sir John Sherbroke,—to whom the living man had been unknown,—that on accidentally meeting with his likeness, he perceived and acknowledged the resemblance.

MISS PRINGLE.

One morning in the summer of 1745, Mrs. Jane Lowe, housekeeper to Mr. Pringle, of Clifton Park, in the south of Scotland, beheld the apparition of a lady walking in the avenue, on the margin of a rivulet which runs into Kale water. The form resembled a daughter of her master, who had long been absent from the family, at the distance of above a hundred miles south of Paris. As Mrs. Lowe walked down the avenue and approached the rivulet, she grew more and more certain of the similitude of the phantom to the idea in her mind of Miss Pringle, and seeing her master in an enclosure adjoining, she communicated to him what she had seen. Mr. Pringle laughed, and said, "You simple woman, that lady is Miss Chattow, of Morebattle." However, Mrs. Lowe prevailed upon him to accompany her to the place, which they had nearly reached, when the apparition sprung into the water and instantly disappeared.

Mr. Pringle and Mrs. Lowe, on returning to the hall, apprised the family of the vision, and for their pains were heartily laughed at. The Rev. Mr. Turnbull, minister of Linton, happened to breakfast that morning with Mr. Pringle, his lady, and two young daughters, who joined in the laugh. About three months afterwards, the same reverend gentleman honoured the family with his company; when, standing at a window in the lower room, he observed a poor, ragged, lame, lean man slowly approaching the house. "Here comes another apparition," cried Mr. Turnbull, with a kind of contemptuous smile. This drew the immediate attention of all present, and Mr. Pringle quickly recognized the person to be his second son, whom he had not seen before for above ten years.

On his arrival, he soon convinced them he was not an

apparition, declaring that he had narrowly escaped with his life from Tunis, in the vicinity of which he had been a slave to the Algerines seven years, but had happily been ransomed at the critical moment when he was ordered to be put to death for mutiny. He added, that on his return home through France, he called at the place where he had heard that his sister resided, and, to his unspeakable grief, found that she had died on the 25th of May, the same summer, about five o'clock in the morning, which he recollected to have been the precise time that he was saved from the jaws of death, and when he thought he beheld his sister. Mrs. Lowe, who was present in the room, on hearing this declaration, broke forth into an acclamation, affirming that the day alluded to was that on which she had shown Mr. Pringle the apparition; and this was confirmed by the reverend divine, in whose study this narrative was found after his death.—*Signs before Death.*

Samuel Wallace, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, a very pious good man, a shoemaker by trade, having been thirteen years sick of a consumption, upon Whitsunday, after sermon, 1659, being alone in the house, and reading in a book called Abraham's Suit for Sodom, heard somebody knock at the door; upon which he arose, and went with his stick in one hand, and holding by the wall with the other, to see who was at the door, where he found a grave old man with hair as white as wool curled up, and a white broad beard, of a fresh complexion, little narrow band, coat and hose of a purple colour, and new shoes tied with black ribbands, without spot of wet or dirt upon him, though it rained when he came in, and had done all that day, hands as white as snow, without gloves, who said to him, "Friend, I pray thee give to an old pilgrim a cup of small beer." Samuel Wallace answering, "I pray you, Sir, come in;" he replied, "Call me not Sir, for I am no sir; but yet come in I must, for I cannot pass by the door before I come in." Wallace, with the help of his stick, drew a little jug pot of small-beer, which the pilgrim took, and drank a little, then walked two or three times to and fro, and drank again,

and so a third time before he drank it all. And when he had so done, he walked three or four times as before; and then coming to Wallace, said, "Friend, I perceive that thou art not well." Wallace replied, "No, truly, Sir, I have not been well these many years." Then he asked what his disease was. Wallace answered, "A deep consumption, as our doctors say, 'tis past cure." To which the old pilgrim replied, "They say well; but what have they given thee for it?" "Truly nothing," said he, "for I am very poor, and not able to follow the doctor's prescriptions: and so I have committed myself into the hands of Almighty God, to dispose of me as he pleaseth." The old man answered, "Thou sayest very well; but I will tell thee by the Almighty Power of God what thou shalt do; only observe my words, and remember them, and do it; but whatsoever thou dost, fear God, and serve Him. To-morrow morning go into thy garden, and get there two red sage leaves, and one leaf of blood-wort, put these into a cup of small-beer, let them lie there for the space of three days together; drink thereof as often as need requires, but let the leaves remain in the cup; and the fourth morning cast them away, and put three fresh ones in the room; and thus do for twelve days together, neither more nor less. I pray thee remember what I say, and observe and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve him. And for the space of these twelve days thou must neither drink ale nor strong beer; yet afterwards thou mayest, to strengthen nature; and thou shalt see that before these twelve days are expired, through the great mercy and help of Almighty God, thy disease will be cured, and the frame of thy body altered," &c.—with much more to this purpose: adding withal, "that he must change the air, and then his blood would be as good as ever it was, only his joints would be weak as long as he lived: but above all," said he, "Fear God, and serve Him."

Wallace asked him to eat some bread and butter, or cheese: he answered, "No, friend, I will not eat anything; the Lord Christ is sufficient for me; neither but very seldom do I drink any beer, but that which comes from the rock: and so, friend, the Lord God in heaven be with thee."

At parting, Samuel Wallace went to shut the door after

him; to whom the old man, returning half way into the entry, again said, "Friend, I pray remember what I have said, and do it: but above all, fear God, and serve Him."

Wallace said he saw him pass along the street some half a score yards from his door, and so he went in. But nobody else saw this old man, though many people were standing at their doors near Wallace's house. Within four days, upon the use of this drink, a scurf arose upon his body, and under that a new fresh skin; and in twelve days he was as strong as ever he had been, and healthful, excepting only a little weakness in his joints. And once in twelve days, by the importunity of some friends, drinking a little strong drink, he was struck speechless for twenty-four hours. Many ministers, hearing the report of this wonderful cure, met together at Stamford, and considering all the circumstances, and consulting about it, for many reasons concluded the cure to be done by the ministry of an angel. A particular good friend of mine, Mr. Lawrence Wise, minister of the gospel, deceased, had the whole relation from Wallace's own mouth; for going soon after this into Scotland, he took Stamford in his way, and went to Wallace's house, and discoursed an hour or two with him, and does not at all doubt that it was a good angel, that it was sent by the Father of spirits, that came to his house and wrought this cure upon him.—*Nocturnal Revels.*

DR. AND MRS. DONNE.

Doctor Donne and his wife resided for some time with Sir Robert Drury, at his house in Drury-lane. Sir Robert and the Doctor having agreed to accompany Lord Hay in an embassy to the Court of France, the Doctor left his wife, who was then pregnant, in Sir Robert's house. Two days after they had arrived at Paris, Dr. Donne happened to be left alone in the room where they had dined; but in about half an hour Sir Robert returned, when noticing the sad air of the Doctor, Sir Robert earnestly requested him to state what had befallen him in his short absence? The Doctor replied, "Since you left me I have seen a frightful vision,

for I have seen my dear wife pass by me in the room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms." Sir Robert replied, "Surely, Sir, you have slept since I left you, and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I would have you forget, for you are now awake." Dr. Donne replied, "I cannot be more sure that I now live than that I have not slept, that I have seen my wife, and that she stopped short, looked me in the face, and then fled away." This he affirmed the next day with more confidence, which induced Sir Robert to think that there might be some truth in it. Sir Robert immediately dispatched a servant to Drury-house, to ascertain whether Mrs. Donne was alive or dead; and if alive, in what state of health. On the twelfth day the messenger returned, stating that he had seen Mrs. Donne, that she was very ill, and that after a long and painful labour, she had been delivered of a dead child; and upon examination, it proved that the delivery had been on the day Dr. Donne saw her apparition in his chamber.—*Isaac Walton.*

HAUNTED HOUSES.

*To Mr. Samuel Wesley, from his Mother.**

January 12, 1716-7.

Dear Sam,—This evening we were agreeably surprised with your packet, which brought the welcome news of your being alive, after we had been in the greatest panic imaginable, almost a month, thinking either you was dead, or one of your brothers by some misfortune been killed.

The reason of our fears is as follows:—On the 1st of December, our maid heard, at the door of the dining-room, several dismal groans, like a person in extremes, at the point

* The MS. is in the handwriting of Mr. S. Wesley. The titles of the letters, denoting the writers, and the persons to whom they were written, are only added.

of death. We gave little heed to her relation, and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears. Some nights (two or three) after, several of the family heard a strange knocking in divers places, usually three or four knocks at a time, and then stayed a little. This continued every night for a fortnight; sometimes it was in the garret, but most commonly in the nursery, or green chamber. We all heard but your father, and I was not willing he should be informed of it, lest he should fancy it was against his own death, which, indeed, we all apprehended. But when it began to be so troublesome, both day and night, that few or none of the family durst be alone, I resolved to tell him of it, being minded he should speak to it. At first he would not believe but somebody did it to alarm us; but the night after, as soon as he was in bed, it knocked loudly nine times, just by his bed-side. He rose, and went to see if he could find out what it was; but could see nothing. Afterwards he heard it as the rest.

One night it made such a noise in the room over our heads, as if several people were walking, then ran up and down stairs, and was so outrageous that we thought the children would be frighted, so your father and I rose, and went down in the dark to light a candle. Just as we came to the bottom of the broad stairs, having hold of each other, on my side there seemed as if somebody had emptied a bag of money at my feet; and on his, as if all the bottles under the stairs (which were many) had been dashed in a thousand pieces. We passed through the hall into the kitchen, and got a candle, and went to see the children, whom we found asleep.

The next night your father would get Mr. Hoole to lie at our house, and we all sat together till one or two o'clock in the morning, and heard the knocking as usual. Sometimes it would make a noise like the winding up of a jack; at other times, as that night Mr. Hoole was with us, like a carpenter planing deals; but most commonly it knocked thrice and stopped, and then thrice again, and so many hours together. We persuaded your father to speak, and try if any voice would be heard. One night about six o'clock he went into the nursery in the dark, and at first heard several deep groans, then knocking. He adjured it to

speak if it had power, and tell him why it troubled his house, but no voice was heard, but it knocked thrice aloud. Then he questioned it if it were Sammy, and bid it if it were, and could not speak, knock again, but it knocked no more that night, which made us hope it was not against your death.

Thus it continued till the 28th of December, when it loudly knocked (as your father used to do at the gate) in the nursery, and departed. We have various conjectures what this may mean. For my own part, I fear nothing now you are safe at London hitherto, and I hope God will still preserve you: though sometimes I am inclined to think my brother is dead. Let me know your thoughts on it.

S. W.

From Mrs. Susannah Wesley to her Brother Samuel.

Epworth, Jan. 24.

Dear Brother,—About the 1st of December, a most terrible and astonishing noise was heard by a maid-servant as at the dining-room door, which caused the up-starting of her hair, and made her ears prick forth at an unusual rate. She said it was like the groans of one expiring. These so frighted her, that for a great while she durst not go out of one room into another, after it began to be dark, without company. But, to lay aside jesting, which should not be done in serious matters, I assure you that from the first to the last of a lunar month, the groans, squeaks, tinglings, and knockings, were frightful enough.

Though it is needless for me to send you any account of what we all heard, my father himself having a larger account of the matter than I am able to give, which he designs to send you; yet, in compliance with your desire, I will tell you as briefly as I can what I heard of it. The first night I ever heard it, my sister Nancy and I were sitting in the dining-room. We heard something rush on the outside of the doors that opened into the garden, then three loud knocks, immediately after other three, and in half a minute the same number over our heads. We enquired whether any body had been in the garden, or in the room above us,

but there was nobody. Soon after my sister Molly and I were up after all the family were a-bed, except my sister Nancy, about some business. We heard three bouncing thumps under our feet, which soon made us throw away our work and tumble into bed. Afterwards the tingling of the latch and warming-pan; and so it took its leave that night.

Soon after the above-mentioned, we heard a noise as if a great piece of sounding metal was thrown down on the outside of our chamber. We, lying in the quietest part of the house, heard less than the rest for a pretty while; but the latter end of the night that Mr. Hoole sat up I lay in the nursery, where it was very violent. I then heard frequent knocks over and under the room where I lay, and at the children's bed head, which was made of boards. It seemed to rap against it very hard and loud, so that the bed shook under them. I heard something walk by my bedside like a man in a long night-gown. The knocks were so loud, that Mr. Hoole came out of his chamber to us. It still continued. My father spoke, but nothing answered. It ended that night with my father's particular knock, very fierce.

It is now pretty quiet, only at our repeating the prayers for the king and prince, when it usually begins, especially when my father says, "Our most gracious Sovereign Lord," &c. This my father is angry at, and designs to say three instead of two for the royal family. We all heard the same noise, and at the same time, and as coming from the same place. To conclude this, it now makes its personal appearance: but of this more hereafter. Do not say one word of this to our folks, nor give the least hint.

I am,

Your sincere friend and affectionate Sister,

SUSANNAH WESLEY.

From Miss Emily Wesley to her Brother Samuel.

DEAR BROTHER,—I thank you for your last, and shall give you what satisfaction is in my power concerning what has happened in our family. I am so far from being superstitious, that I was too much inclined to infidelity, so that I

heartily rejoice at having such an opportunity of convincing myself, past doubt or scruple, of the existence of some beings besides those we see. A whole month was sufficient to convince any body of the reality of the thing, and to try all ways of discovering any trick, had it been possible for any such to have been used. I shall only tell you what I myself heard, and leave the rest to others.

My sisters in the paper chamber had heard noises, and told me of them, but I did not much believe, till one night, about a week after the first groans were heard, which was the beginning, just after the clock had struck ten, I went down stairs to lock the doors, which I always do. Scarce had I got up the best stairs, when I heard a noise like a person throwing down a vast coal in the middle of the fore kitchen, and all the splinters seemed to fly about from it. I was not much frighted, but went to my sister Suky, and we together went all over the low rooms; but there was nothing out of order.

Our dog was fast asleep, and our only cat in the other end of the house. No sooner was I got up stairs, and undressing for bed, but I heard a noise among many bottles that stand under the best stairs, just like the throwing of a great stone among them, which had broke them all to pieces. This made me hasten to bed; but my sister Hetty, who sits always to wait on my father going to bed, was still sitting on the lowest step on the garret stairs, the door being shut at her back, when soon after there came down the stairs behind her something like a man, in a loose night-gown trailing after him, which made her fly rather than run to me in the nursery.

All this time we never told our father of it; but soon after we did. He smiled, and gave no answer, but was more careful than usual from that time to see us in bed, imagining it to be some of us young women that sat up late and made a noise. His incredulity, and especially his imputing it to us, or our lovers, made me, I own, desirous of its continuance till he was convinced. As for my mother, she firmly believed it to be rats, and sent for a horn to blow them away. I laughed to think how wisely they were employed, who were striving half a day to fright away Jeffery, for that name I gave it, with a horn.

But whatever it was, I perceived it could be made angry; for from that time it was so outrageous, there was no quiet for us after ten at night. I heard frequently between ten and eleven something like the quick winding up of a jack, at the corner of the room by my bed's head, just like the running of the wheels and the creaking of the ironwork. This was the common signal of its coming. Then it would knock on the floor three times, then at my sister's bed's head, in the same room, almost always three together, and then stay. The sound was hollow and loud, so as none of us could ever imitate.

It would answer to my mother, if she stamped on the floor, and bid it. It would knock when I was putting the children to bed, just under me where I sat. One time little Kesy, pretending to scare Patty, as I was undressing them, stamped with her foot on the floor, and immediately it answered with three knocks, just in the same place. It was more loud and fierce if any one said it was rats, or any thing natural.

I could tell you abundance more of it, but the others will write, and therefore it would be needless. I was not much frighted at first, and very little at last; but it was never near me, except two or three times, and never followed me, as it did my Sister Hetty. I have been with her when it has knocked under her, and when she has removed has followed, and still kept just under her feet, which was enough to terrify a stouter person.

If you would know my opinion of the reason of this, I shall briefly tell you. I believe it to be witchcraft, for these reasons. About a year since, there was a disturbance at a town near us, that was undoubtedly witches; and if so near, why may they not reach us? Then my father had for several Sundays before its coming preached warmly against consulting those that are called cunning men, which our people are given to; and it had a particular spite at my father.

Besides, something was thrice seen. The first time by my mother, under my sister's bed, like a badger, only without any head that was descernible. The same creature sate by the dining-room fire one evening: when our man went into the room; it ran by him, through the hall and under the stairs. He followed with a candle, and searched, but it was

departed. The last time he saw it in the kitchen, like a white rabbit, which seems likely to be some witch; and I do so really believe it to be one, that I would venture to fire a pistol at it, if I saw it long enough. It has been heard by me and others since December. I have filled up all my room, and have only time to tell you, I am,

Your loving Sister,
EMILY WESLEY.

Addenda to and from my Father's Diary.

Friday, December 21. Knocking I heard first, I think, this night: to which disturbances, I hope, God will in his good time put an end.

Sunday, December 23. Not much disturbed with the noises that are now grown customary to me.

Wednesday, December 26. Sat up to hear noises. Strange! spoke to it, knocked off.

Friday, 28. The noises very boisterous and disturbing this night.

Saturday, 29. Not frighted, with the continued disturbance of my family.

Tuesday, January 1, 1717. My family have had no disturbance since I went.

Of the general Circumstances which follow, most, if not all the Family, were frequent Witnesses.

1. Presently after any noise was heard, the wind commonly rose, and whistled very loud round the house, and increased with it.

2. The signal was given, which my father likens to the turning round of a windmill when the wind changes; Mr. Hoole (Rector of Haxey) to the planing of deal boards; my sister to the swift winding up of a jack. It commonly began at the corner of the top of the nursery.

3. Before it came into any room, the latches were frequently lifted up, the windows clattered, and whatever iron or brass was about the chamber, rung and jarred exceedingly.

4. When it was in any room, let them make what noise they would, as they sometimes did on purpose, its dead hollow note would be clearly heard above them all.

5. It constantly knocked while the prayers for the King

and Prince were repeating, and was plainly heard by all in the room, except my father, and sometimes by him, as were also the thundering knocks of the Amen.

6. The sound very often seemed in the air in the middle of a room, nor could any of the family ever make such themselves by any contrivance.

7. Though it seemed to rattle down the pewter, to clap the doors, draw the curtains, kick the man's shoes up and down, &c. yet it never moved any thing except the latches, otherwise than by making it tremble; unless once when it threw open the nursery door.

8. The mastiff, though he barked violently at it the first day he came, yet whenever it came after that, nay, sometimes before the family perceived it, he ran whining, or quite silent, to shelter himself behind some of the company.

9. It never came by day, till my mother ordered the horn to be blown.

10. After that time, scarce any one could go from one room to another, but the latch of the room they went to was lifted up before they touched it.

11. It never came once into my father's study, till he talked to it sharply, called it deaf and dumb devil, and bid it cease to disturb the innocent children, and come to him in his study if it had anything to say to him.

12. From the time of my mother's desiring it not to disturb her from five to six, it was never heard in her chamber from five till she came down stairs, nor at any other time, when she was employed in devotion.

13. Whether our clock went right or wrong, it always came, as near as could be guessed, when by the night it wanted a quarter of ten.

The Rev. Mr. Hoole's Account.

Sept. 10.

As soon as I came to Epworth, Mr. Wesley telling me, he sent for me to conjure, I knew not what he meant, till some of your sisters told me what had happened, and that I was sent for to sit up. I expected every hour, it being then about noon, to hear something extraordinary, but to no purpose. At supper, too, and at prayers, all was silent, contrary to custom; but soon after, one of the maids, who went up to prepare a bed, brought the alarm that Jeffrey was come above stairs. We all went up, and as we were standing

round the fire in the east chamber, something began knocking just on the other side of the wall, on the chimney-piece, as with a key. Presently the knocking was under our feet. Mr. Wesley and I went down, he with a great deal of hope, and I with fear. As soon as we were in the kitchen, the sound was above us, in the room we had left. We returned up the narrow stairs, and heard at the broad stairs head, some one slaring with their feet (all the family being now in bed beside us) and then trailing, as it were, and rustling with a silk night-gown. Quickly it was in the nursery, at the bed's head, knocking as it had done at first, three by three. Mr. Wesley spoke to it, and said he believed it was the devil, and soon after it knocked at the window, and changed its sound into one like the planing of boards. From thence it went on the outward south side of the house, sounding fainter and fainter, till it was heard no more.

I was no other time than this during the noises at Epworth, and do not now remember any more circumstances than these.—*See Southey's Life of Wesley*, Vol. i.

THE DRUMMER OF TEDWORTH.

Every one has heard of the comedy of "*The Drummer, or the Haunted House*," celebrated enough in its day; but the popularity of which ceased when the affair was no longer a topic of public conversation. The circumstances which gave rise to this performance are detailed as follows, by Glanvil, by whose statement it appears that the matter turned out to be no farce for Mr. Mompesson, the proprietor of the house. As there is an air of incredibility about the narrative, we give it in Glanvil's precise words.

Mr. John Mompesson, of Tedworth, in the county of Wilts, being about the middle of March, in the year 1661, at a neighbouring town, called Ludgarshal, and hearing a drum beat there, he inquired of the bailiff of the town, at whose house he then was, what it meant. The bailiff told him, that they had for some days been troubled with an idle drummer, who demanded money of the constable by virtue of a pretended pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this, Mr. Mompesson sent for the fellow, and asked him by what authority he went up and down the country in that manner with his drum. The drummer answered,

he had good authority, and produced his pass, with a warrant under the hands of Sir William Cawley and Colonel Ayliff, of Gretenham. Mr. Mompesson knowing these gentlemen's hands, discovered that the pass and warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the vagrant to put off his drum, and charged the constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be farther examined and punished. The fellow then confessed the cheat, and begged earnestly to have his drum. Mr. Mompesson told him, that if he understood from Colonel Ayliff, whose drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest man, he should have it again, but in the mean time he would secure it; so he left the drum with the bailiff, and the drummer in the constable's hands, who it seems was prevailed on by the fellow's intreaties to let him go.

About the middle of April following, when Mr. Mompesson was preparing for a journey to London, the bailiff sent the drum to his house: on his return from his journey, his wife told him that they had been much frightened in the night by thieves, and that the house had like to have been broken into. And he had not been at home above three nights, when the same noise was heard that had disturbed his family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his doors and the outside of his house: hereupon he got up, and went about the house with a brace of pistols in his hands; he opened the door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another door; he opened that also, and went out round the house, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise and hollow sound. When he was got back to bed, the noise was a thumping and drumming on the top of his house, which continued for some time, and then by degrees subsided.

After this the noise of thumping and drumming was very frequent, usually five nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outside of the house, which was most principally board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a month's disturbance without, it came into the room where the drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came was, they still heard a hurling in the

air over the house. and, at its going off, the beating of a drum, like that at the breaking up of a guard. It continued in this room for the space of two months, which time Mr. Mompesson himself lay there to observe it. In the fore part of the night it used to be very troublesome, but after two hours all was quiet.

Mrs. Mompesson being brought to bed, there was but little noise the night she was in travail, nor any for three weeks after, till she had recovered her strength. But after this cessation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vexed the youngest children, beating their bedsteads with such violence, that all present expected they would fall in pieces. In laying hands on them, one could feel no blows, but might perceive them to shake exceedingly: for an hour together it would beat the Tat-too, and several other points of war, as well as any drummer. After this, they would hear a scratching under the children's beds, as if by something that had iron talons. It would lift the children up in their beds, follow them from one room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There was a cock-loft in the house which had not been observed to be troubled, whither they removed the children, putting them to bed while it was fair day, where they were no sooner laid, but their troubler was with them as before.

On the fifth of November, 1661, it kept a mighty noise, and a servant observing two boards in the children's room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them; upon which the board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a yard of him: the man added, "Nay, let me have it in my hand;" upon which it was shoved quite home to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. Mompesson forbade his servant such familiarities. This was in the day-time, and seen by a whole room-full of people. That morning it left a sulphurous smell behind it, which was very offensive. At night the minister, one Mr. Cragg, and divers of the neighbours, came to the house on a visit. The minister went to prayers with them, kneeling at the children's bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During prayer-time it withdrew into the cock-loft, but returned as soon as prayers

were done, and then in sight of the company the chairs walked about the room of themselves, the children's shoes were hurled over their heads, and every loose thing moved about the chamber. At the same time a bed-staff was thrown at the minister, which hit him on the leg, but so favourably that a lock of wool could not fall more softly, and it was observed that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. Mompesson perceiving that it so much persecuted the little children, lodged them out at a neighbour's house, taking his eldest daughter, who was about ten years of age, into his own chamber, where it had not been a month before. As soon as she was in bed, the disturbance began there again, continuing three weeks drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed that it would exactly answer in drumming any thing that was beaten or called for. After this, the house where the children lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the parlour, they were lodged there, where also their persecutor found them, but then only plucked them by the hair and night-clothes, without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprising violence, no dog about the house would move, though the knocking was often so boisterous and rude, that it had been heard at a considerable distance in the fields, and awakened the neighbours in the village, none of which lived very near this house. The servants sometimes were lifted up in their beds, and let gently down again without hurt, at other times it would lie like a great weight upon their feet.

About the latter end of December, 1661, the drumming was less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the jingling of money, occasioned, as it was thought, by something Mr. Mompesson's mother had spoken the day before to a neighbour, who talked of fairies leaving money, viz. : that she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their trouble; the night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of money over all the house.

After this, it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed

itself in trifling apish and less troublesome tricks. On Christmas-eve, a little before day, one of the young boys arising out of his bed, was hit on a sore place upon his heel, with the latch of the door: the pin that it was fastened with was so small, that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after Christmas-day, it threw the old gentlewoman's clothes about the room, and hid her bible in the ashes. In such silly tricks it frequently indulged.

After this, it was very troublesome to a servant of Mr. Mompesson's, who was a stout fellow, and of sober conversation; this man lay within during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his clothes off the bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be plucked from him by main force, and his shoes thrown at his head; and now and then he should find himself forcibly held as it were, bound hand and foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his sword, and struck with it, the spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a son of Mr. Thomas Bennet, whose workman the drummer had sometimes been, came to the house and told Mr. Mompesson some words that he had spoken, which it seems were not well received; for as soon as they were in bed, the drum was beat up very violently and loudly; the gentleman arose and called his man to him, who lay with Mr. Mompesson's servant, just mentioned, whose name was John. As soon as Mr. Bennet's man was gone, John heard a ruffling noise in his chamber, and something came to his bedside, as if it had been one in silk; the man presently reached after his sword, which he found held from him, and it was with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a sword.

About the beginning of January, 1662, they were wont to hear a singing in the chimney before it came down; and one night, about this time, lights were seen in the house. One of them came into Mr. Mompesson's chamber, which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the eyes of those that saw it. After the light, something was heard coming up the stairs, as if it had been one

without shoes. The light was seen also four or five times in the children's chamber; and the maids confidently affirm, that the doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were open they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entered together, after which some were heard to walk about the room, and one ruffled as if it had been silk; Mr. Mompesson himself once heard these noises.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a gentleman of the company said, "Satan, if the drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more;" which it did very distinctly, and stopped. Then the gentleman knocked to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not: for farther trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the house quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir Thomas Chamberlain, of Oxfordshire, and divers others.

On Saturday morning, an hour before day, January 10, a drum was heard to beat on the outside of Mr. Mompesson's chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the house, where some gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door, and without, four or five several tunes, and so went off into the air.

The next night, a smith in the village lying with John, the man, heard a noise in the room, as one had been shoeing a horse, and somewhat came, as if it were with a pair of pincers, snipping at the smith's nose most part of the night.

One morning, Mr. Mompesson, rising early to go a journey, heard a great noise below where the children lay, and running down with a pistol in his hand, he heard a voice crying "A witch, a witch," as they also had heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one night played some little tricks at Mr. Mompesson's bed's feet, it went into another bed where one of his daughters lay; there it went from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At the time that there were three kinds of noises in the bed, they endeavoured to thrust at it with a sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the child, when they offered at it. The night after, it came panting like a dog out of

breath; upon which one took a bed-staff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was presently filled with a noisome smell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very sharp and severe winter. It continued in the bed panting and scratching for an hour and half, and then went into the next chamber, where it knocked a little, and seemed to rattle a chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the lady's Bible was found in the ashes, the paper sides being downwards. Mr. Mompesson took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third chapter of St. Mark, where there is mention of the unclean spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the twelve to cast out devils, and of the scribes' opinion, that he cast them out through Beelzebub.

The next night they strewed ashes over the chamber, to see what impressions it would leave; in the morning they found in one place the resemblance of a great claw, in another of a lesser, some letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many circles and scratches in the ashes.

"About this time," says Glanvil, "I went to the house to enquire the truth of those passages, of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its drumming and ruder noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related were confirmed to me there, by several of the neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it used to haunt the children, and that as soon as they were laid in bed. They went to bed that night I was there about eight o'clock, when a maid servant coming down from them, told us it was come. The neighbours who were there, and two ministers who had seen and heard it divers times, went away; but Mr. Mompesson and I, and a gentleman who came with me, went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the stairs, and when we came into the room I perceived it was just behind the bolster of the children's bed, and seemed to be against the ticking. It was as loud a scratching as one with long nails could make upon a bolster. There were two little modest girls in the bed,

between seven and eight years old, as I guessed. I saw their hands out of the clothes, and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads; they had been used to it, and had still somebody or other in the chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted. I, standing at the bed's head, thrust my hand behind the bolster, directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come, whereupon the noise ceased there, and was heard in another part of the bed; but when I had taken out my hand it returned, and was heard in the same place as before. I had been told it would imitate noises, and made trial by scratching several times upon the sheet, as five and seven and ten, which it followed, still stopping at my number. I searched under and behind the bed, turned up the clothes to the bed-cords, grasped the bolster, sounded the wall behind, and made all the search that possibly I could, to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cause of it; the like did my friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily persuaded, and am so still, that the noise was made by some demon or spirit. After it had scratched about half an hour more, it went into the midst of the bed under the children, and there seemed to pant like a dog out of breath, very loudly. I put my hand to the place, and felt the bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I grasped the feathers, to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and everywhere about, to see if there were any dog or cat or any such creature in the room, and so did we all, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the room and windows very sensibly. It continued thus more than half an hour, while my friend and I stayed in the room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a rat or mouse) moving in a linen-bag, that hung up against another bed that was in the room. I stepped and caught it by the upper end with one hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was nobody near to shake the bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a motion, which seemed to be from within, as if a living creature had moved in it. This passage I mentioned

not in the former relations, because it depended upon my single testimony, and may be subject to more evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers learned and inquisitive men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here. It will, I know, be said by some, that my friend and I were under some fright, and so fancied noises and sights that were not. This is the eternal evasion. But if it be possible to know how a man is affected when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for my own part, that during the whole time of my being in the room, and in the house, I was under no more affright than I am while I write this relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that there was something extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural, in the business. There were other passages at my being at Tedworth, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable proofs. I shall now briefly mention them: *Valeant quantum valere possunt.* My friend and I lay in the chamber where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all night, but early before day in the morning, I was awakened (and I awakened my bed-fellow,) by a loud knocking just without our chamber door. I asked who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, "In the name of God, who is it, and what would you have?" To which a voice answered, "Nothing with you." We thinking it had been some servant of the house, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. Mompesson when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the house lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. They all affirmed and protested that the noise was not made by them. Mr. Mompesson had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the night, and come again divers times early in the morning, about four o'clock, and this I suppose was about that time.

But to proceed with Mr. Mompesson's own particulars.

There came one morning a light into the children's chamber, and a voice crying "A witch, a witch," for at least an hundred times together.

Mr. Mompesson at another time (being in the day), seeing some wood move that was in the chimney of a room where he was, as of itself, discharged a pistol into it, after which they found several drops of blood on the hearth, and in divers places of the stairs.

For two or three nights after the discharge of the pistol, there was a calm in the house, but then it came again, applying itself to a little child newly taken from nurse, which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer candles in the room, but carried them away, lighted, up the chimney, or threw them under the bed. It so scared this child by leaping upon it, that for some hours it could not be recovered from the fright, so that they were forced again to remove the children out of the house. The next night after which, something about midnight came up stairs, and knocked at Mr. Mompesson's door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of stairs, to his man's chamber, to whom it appeared, standing at his bed's foot; the exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great body, with two red and glaring eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

About the beginning of April, 1663, a gentleman who lay in the house had all his money turned black in his pockets; and Mr. Mompesson coming one morning into his stable, found the horse he was wont to ride on the ground, having one of his hinder legs in his mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several men to get it out with a lever. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but the account goes no farther; only Mr. Mompesson positively asserted, that afterwards the house was several nights beset with seven or eight in the shape of men, who, as soon as a gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into harbour.

The drummer was tried at the assizes at Salisbury upon this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester gaol for stealing, and a Wiltshire man coming to see him, he asked what news in Wiltshire; the visitant said he knew of

none. "No!" saith the drummer, "do not you hear of the drumming at a gentleman's house at Tedworth?" "That I do enough," said the other. "I," quoth the drummer, "I have plagued him (or to that purpose), and he shall never be quiet until he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my drum." Upon information of this, the fellow was tried for a witch at Sarum, and all the main circumstances here related were sworn at the assizes by the minister of the parish, and divers others of the most intelligent and substantial inhabitants, who had been eye and ear-witnesses of them, time after time, for several years together.

The fellow was condemned to transportation, and accordingly sent away; but by some means (it is said by raising storms, and affrighting the seamen) he made shift to come back again. And it is observable, that during all the time of his restraint and absence, the house was quiet, but as soon as he was set at liberty the disturbance returned.

He had been a soldier under Cromwell, and used to talk much of gallant books he had of an old fellow, who was accounted a wizard.

This is the sum of Mr. Mompesson's disturbance, partly from his own mouth, related before many persons, who had been witnesses of all, and confirmed his relation; and partly from his own letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he sent also to Dr. Creed, who was at that time Doctor of the Chair in Oxford.

Mr. Mompesson suffered by it in his name, in his estate, in all his affairs, and in the general peace of his family. The unbelievers in spirits and witches took him for an impostor. Many others judged the permission of such an extraordinary evil to be the judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his name was continually exposed to censure, and his estate suffered by the concourse of people from all parts to his house, by the diversion it gave him from his affairs, by the discouragement of servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live with him.

The Drummer of Tedworth met with great opposition when first narrated, and several violent controversies took place.—*Signs before Death.*

A HOUSE HAUNTED SOME THIRTY YEARS AGO OR MORE AT OR NEAR BOW, NOT FAR FROM LONDON, AND STRANGELY DISTURBED BY DEMONS AND WITCHES.

A certain gentleman, about thirty years ago or more, being to travel from London into Essex, and to pass through Bow, at the request of a friend he called at a house there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not anything much remarkable yet, unless of a young girl who was disturbed in her bed, who died within a few days after.

Some weeks after this, his occasions calling him back, he passed by the same house again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the woman of the house stood at the door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did. To whom she answered with a sorrowful countenance, that though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their house being extremely haunted, especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of stones and bricks through the windows, and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at her, giving so little credit to such stories himself, and thought it was the tricks only of some unhappy wags to make sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours.

Well, says she, if you will but stay a while you may chance to see something with your own eyes. And indeed he had not stayed any considerable time with her in the street, but a window of an upper room opened of itself, (for they of the family took it for granted nobody was above stairs,) and out comes a piece of an old wheel through it. Whereupon it presently clapt to again. A little while after it suddenly flew open again, and out came a brick-bat, which inflamed the gentleman with a more eager desire to see what the matter was, and to discover the knavery. And therefore he boldly resolved if any one would go up with him, he would go into the chamber. But none present durst accompany him. Yet the keen desire of discovering the cheat, made him adventure by himself alone into that

room, into which when he was come, he saw the bedding, chairs and stools, and candlesticks, and bedstaves, and all the furniture rudely scattered on the floor, but upon search found no mortal in the room.

Well, he stays there awhile to try conclusions, anon a bedstaff begins to move, and turn itself round a good while together upon its toe, and at last fairly to lay itself down again. The curious spectator, when he observed it to lie still a while, steps out to it, views it, whether any small string or hair were tied to it, or whether there were any hole or button to fasten any such string to, or any hole or string in the ceiling above; but after search, he found not the least suspicion of any such thing.

He retires to the window again, and observes a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another bedstaff rises off from the ground of its own accord higher into the air, and seems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was something more than ordinary in the business, and presently makes to the door with all speed, and for better caution shuts it after him; which was presently opened again, and such a clatter of chairs, and stools, and candlesticks, and bedstaves, sent after him down stairs, as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was so moderated, that he received no harm; but by this time he was abundantly assured, that it was not mere womanish fear or superstition that so affrighted the mistress of the house. And while in a low room he was talking with the family about these things, he saw a tobacco-pipe rise from a side table, nobody being nigh, and fly to the other side of the room, and break itself against the wall, for his farther confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of wags, nor the fancy of a woman, but the mad frolics of witches and demons. Which they of the house being fully persuaded of, roasted a bedstaff, upon which an old woman, a suspected witch, came to the house, and was apprehended, but escaped the law. But the house after was so ill haunted in all the rooms, upper and lower, that the house stood empty for a long time after.—*Glanvil on Witches.*

MR. JERMIN'S STORY OF A HOUSE HAUNTED, AND WHAT DISTURBANCE HIMSELF WAS A WITNESS OF THERE AT A VISIT OF HIS WIFE'S SISTER.

One Mr. Jermin, minister of Bigner in Sussex, going to see a sister of his wife's, found her very melancholy, and asking her the reason, she replied, "You shall know to-morrow morning." When he went to bed, there were two servants accompanied him to his chamber, and the next day he understood that they durst not go into any room in the house alone.

In the night, while he was in his bed, he heard the trampling of many feet upon the leads over his head, and after that the going off of a gun, upon which followed a great silence. Then they came swiftly down stairs into his chamber, where they fell a wrestling, and tumbling each other down, and so continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whispering, and made a great buzz, of which he could understand nothing. Then one called at the door, and said, "Day is broke, come away," upon which they ran up stairs as fast as they could drive, and so he heard no more of them.

In the morning his brother and sister came in to him, and she said, "Now, brother, you know why I am so melancholy:" after she had asked him how he had slept, and he answered, I never rested worse in all my life, having been disturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noises. She complained that her husband would force her to live there, notwithstanding their being continually scared, whereto the husband answered, their disturbers never did them any other mischief.

At dinner they had a physician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. Jermin discoursing about this disturbance, the physician also answered, that never any hurt was done, of which he gave this instance: that dining there one day, there came a man on horseback into the yard, in mourning. His servant went to know what was his business, and found him sitting very melancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The master of the house and the physician went to see who it was; upon which the man clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the

house, up stairs into a long gallery, whither the physician followed him, and saw him vanish in a fire at the upper end of the gallery. But though none of the family received hurt at any time, yet Mr. Jermin fell into a fever with the disturbance he experienced, that endangered his life.—*Glanvil on Witches.*

DREAMS.

A REMARKABLE DREAM OF DR. DODDRIDGE;

Preserved by the Rev. Samuel Clarke, and related by him as follows:—

The Doctor and my father had been conversing together one evening on the nature of the separate state, and the probability that the scenes in which the soul would enter, upon its leaving the body, would bear some resemblance to those with which it had been conversant while on earth, that it might by degrees be prepared for the more sublime happiness of the heavenly world. This and other conversation probably gave rise to the following dream:—

The Doctor imagined himself dangerously ill at a friend's house in London, and after lying in this state for some time, he thought his soul left the body, and took its flight in some kind of fine vehicle, which, though very different to the body it had just quitted, was still material. He pursued his course till he was at some distance from the city, when turning back and reviewing the towns, he could not forbear saying to himself, "How trifling and how vain do these affairs, in which the inhabitants of this place are so eagerly employed, appear to me, a separate spirit!" At length, as he was continuing his progress, and though without any certain direction, yet easy and happy in the thoughts of the universal providence and government of God, which extends alike to all states and worlds, he was met by one who told him that he was sent to conduct him to the place appointed for his abode, from which he concluded that he could be no other than an angel, though, as I remember, he appeared under the form of an elderly man. They went accordingly together till they came in sight of a spacious building, which had the air of a palace: upon

inquiring what it was, the guide told him it was the place assigned for his residence at present; upon which the Doctor observed, that he remembered to have read while on earth, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart conceived what God hath laid up for his servants, whereas he could easily have conceived an idea of such a building as this from others he had seen, though he acknowledged that they were greatly inferior to this in elegance. The answer his guide made him was plainly suggested by the conversation of the evening before; it was, that the scene first presented was contrived on purpose to bear a near resemblance to those he had been accustomed to on earth, that his mind might be more easily and gradually prepared for those glories that would open upon him in eternity, and which would at first have quite dazzled and overpowered him.

By this time they were come up to the palace, and his guide led him through a kind of saloon into the inner parlour. The first remarkable thing he saw, was a golden cup that stood upon the table, on which was embossed a figure of a vine and a cluster of grapes. He asked his guide the meaning of this, who told him, it was the cup in which the Saviour drank new wine with his disciples in his kingdom; and that the figures carved on it were intended to signify the union between Christ and his people, implying that, as the grapes derive all their beauty and flavour from the vine, so the saints, even in a state of glory, were indebted for their establishment and happiness to their union with their Head, in whom they were all complete. While they were thus conversing, he heard a rap at the door, and was informed by the angel, that it was the signal of his Lord's approach, and was intended to prepare him for the interview. Accordingly, in a short time, he thought Our Saviour entered the room, and upon his casting himself at his feet, he graciously raised him up, and with a look of ineffable complacency assured him of his favour, and his kind acceptance of his faithful services; and as a token of his peculiar regard, and the intimate friendship he intended to honour him with, he took the cup, and after drinking of it himself, gave it into his hand. The Doctor would have declined it at first, as too great an honour, but his Lord replied, as to Peter in relation to washing his feet, "If thou drink not

with me, thou hast no part with me." The scene he observed filled him with such a transport of gratitude, love, and admiration, that he was ready to sink under it. His master seemed sensible of it, and told him that he must leave him for the present, but it would not be long before he repeated his visit; and in the meantime he would find enough to employ his thoughts, in reflecting on what had passed and contemplating the objects around him.

As soon as his Lord had retired, and his mind was a little composed, he observed that the room was hung round with pictures, and upon examining them more attentively, he discovered, to his great surprise, that they contained the history of his own life; the most remarkable scenes he had passed through being there represented in a most lively manner. It may easily be imagined how much this would affect his mind:—the many temptations and trials he had been exposed to, and the signal instances of the divine goodness towards him in the different periods of his life, which by this means were at once presented to his view, excited the strongest emotions of gratitude, especially when he reflected that he was now out of the reach of any future distress, and that all the purposes of divine love and mercy towards him were happily accomplished. The ecstasy of joy and thankfulness into which these reflections threw him was so great that it awoke him out of his sleep. But for some considerable time after he arose, the impressions continued so vivid, that tears of joy flowed down his cheeks, and he said that he never, on any occasion, remembered to have felt sentiments of devotion, love, and gratitude equally strong.—*News from the Invisible World.*

DREAM OF NICHOLAS WOTTON.

In the year of our redemption 1553, Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury, being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project, that, if he was not suddenly prevented, would turn to the loss of his life and ruin of his family. The night following, he dreamed the same again; and knowing that it had no dependence upon his

waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, he did then more seriously consider it; and resolved to use so prudent a remedy (by way of prevention) as might introduce no great inconvenience to either party. And to this end he wrote to the queen, (it was queen Mary,) and besought her, that she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent, and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment unto a favourable prison; declaring, that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see and speak with her majesty. It was done as the dean desired, and Mr. Wotton sent to prison. At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our queen Mary and Philip king of Spain, which divers persons did not only declare against, but raised forces to oppose: of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-abbey in Kent, (betwixt whose family and that of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship,) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him, and being defeated and taken prisoner, was arraigned, condemned, and lost his life; so did the duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were then in several places executed as Wyat's assistants: and of this number (in all probability) had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for though he was not ignorant that another man's treason is made his own by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions; and thought he should not have continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison.

This before-mentioned Thomas Wotton also, a little before his death, dreamed that the university treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it was worth so much pains as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter (which was written out of Kent,) came to his son's the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the city and university were both in

a perplexed inquest after the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter; and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five persons were presently discovered, and apprehended, without putting the university to so much as the casting of a figure.—*Wanley's Wonders of the Little World,* Vol. ii.

CAPTAIN ROGERS, R.N.

In the year 1664, one Captain Thomas Rogers, commander of a ship called the Society, was bound on a voyage from London to Virginia.

The vessel being sent light to Virginia, for a loading of tobacco, had not many goods in her outward-bound.

They had a pretty good passage, and the day before had made an observation, when the mates and officers brought their books and cast up their reckonings with the captain, to see how near they were to the coast of America. They all agreed that they were at least about a hundred leagues from the capes of Virginia. Upon these customary reckonings, and heaving the lead, and finding no ground at an hundred fathoms, they set the watch, and the captain turned into bed.

The weather was good, a moderate gale of wind blew fair for the coast; so that the ship might have run about twelve or fifteen leagues in the night, after the captain was in his cabin.

He fell asleep, and slept very soundly for about three hours, when he waked again, and lay till he heard his second mate turn out, and relieve the watch; he then called his chief mate, as he was going off from the watch, and asked him how all things fared: who answered, that all was well, and the gale freshened, and they ran at a great rate; but it was a fair wind, and a fine clear night: the captain then went to sleep again.

About an hour after he had been asleep again, he dreamed that a man pulled him, and waked him, and bade him turn out and look abroad. He, however, lay still and went to sleep, and was suddenly awakened again, and thus several times; and though he knew not what was the reason, yet he found it impossible to go to sleep; and still he heard the vision say, Turn out and look abroad.

He lay in this uneasiness nearly two hours: but at last it increased so, that he could lie no longer, but got up, put on his watch gown, and came out upon the quarter-deck; there he found his second mate walking about, and the boatswain upon the forecastle, the night being fine and clear, a fair wind, and all well as before.

The mate wondering to see him, at first did not know him; but calling, Who is there? the captain answered, and the mate returned, "Who, the captain! what is the matter, sir?"

The captain said, "I don't know; but I have been very uneasy these two hours, and somebody bade me turn out, and look abroad, though I know not what can be the meaning of it."

"How does the ship cape?" said the captain.

"South-west by south," answered the mate; "fair for the coast, and the wind east by north."

"That is good," said the captain; and after some other questions, he turned about to go back to his cabin, when somebody stood by him and said, "Heave the lead, heave the lead."

Upon this, he turned again to his second mate, saying "When did you heave the lead? what water had you?"

"About an hour ago," replied the mate; "sixty fathom."

"Heave again," said the captain.

"There is no occasion, Sir," said the mate; "but if you please it shall be done."

Accordingly a hand was called, and the lead being cast or heaved, they had ground at eleven fathom.

This surprised them all, but much more when at the next cast, it came up seven fathoms.

Upon this the captain in a fright bade them put the helm a-lee, and about ship, all hands being ordered to back the sails, as is usual in such cases.

The proper orders being obeyed, the ship stayed presently, and came about; and before the sails filled, she had but four fathoms and a half water under her stern; as soon as she filled and stood off, they had seven fathoms again, and at the next cast eleven fathoms, and so on to twenty fathoms; he then stood off to seaward all the rest of the watch, to get into deep water, till day-break, when being a clear morning, the capes of Virginia, and all the

coast of America, were in fair view under their stern, and but a few leagues distant. Had they stood on but one cable's length farther, as they were going, they would have been bump ashore, and certainly lost their ship, if not their lives—*Signs before Death.*

WILLIAM HOWITT'S DREAM, ON HIS VOYAGE TO AUSTRALIA IN 1852.

SOME weeks ago, while yet at sea, I had a dream of being at my brother's at Melbourne, and found his house on a hill at the further end of the town, next to the open forest. His garden sloped a little way down the hill to some brick buildings below: and there were green-houses on the right hand by the wall, as you looked down the hill from the house. As I looked out from the windows in my dream, I saw a wood of dusky-foliaged trees, having a somewhat segregated appearance in their heads; that is, their heads did not make that dense mass like our woods. "There," I said, addressing some one in my dream, "I see your native forest of Eucalyptus!" This dream I told to my sons, and to two of our fellow-passengers, at the time; and on landing, as we walked over the meadows, long before we reached the town, I saw this very wood. "There!" I exclaimed, "is the very wood of my dream. We shall see my brother's house there!" And so we did. It stands exactly as I saw it; only looking newer; but there, over the wall of the garden, is the wood, precisely as I saw it, and now see it, as I sit at the dining-room window, writing. When I look on this scene, I seem to look into my dream.

SIMILAR DREAM OF MR. EDMUND HALLEY.

Mr. Edmund Halley, Fellow of the Royal Society, was carried on with a strong impulse to take a voyage to St. Helena, to make observations of the southern constellations, being then about twenty-four years old. Before he undertook the voyage, he dreamed that he was at sea sailing toward that place, and saw the prospect of it from the ship in his dream; which he declared in the Royal Society was a perfect representation of that island, as it really appeared to him when he approached it.—*Nocturnal Revels.*

SINGULAR DREAM.

The "Durham Herald," of December 1848, gives an account of the disappearance of Mr. Smith, gardener to Sir Clifford Constable, who, it was supposed, had fallen into the river Tees, his hat and stick having been found near the waterside. The river had been dragged daily; but every effort so made to find the body proved ineffectual. On the night of Thursday, however, a person named Awde, residing at Little Newsham, a small village about four miles from Wycliff, dreamt that Smith was laid under the ledge of a certain rock, about three hundred yards below Whorlton Bridge, and that his right arm was broken. Awde got up early on Friday, and his dream had such an effect upon him that he determined to go and search the river. He accordingly started off for that purpose, without mentioning the matter, being afraid that he would be laughed at by his neighbours. Nevertheless, on his arriving at the boat-house, he disclosed his object upon the man asking him for what purpose he required the boat. He rowed to the spot which he had seen in his dream; and there, strange to say, upon the very first trial that he made with his boat-hook, he pulled up the body of the unfortunate man, with his right arm actually broken.

REMARKABLE DREAM BY THE REV. JOSEPH WILKINS.

The late Rev. Joseph Wilkins, dissenting minister at Weymouth, dreamt in the early part of his life a very remarkable dream, which he carefully preserved in writing as follows:—One night, soon after I was in bed, I fell asleep, and dreamt I was going to London. I thought it would not be much out of my way to go through Gloucestershire, and call upon my friends there. Accordingly I set out; but remembered nothing that happened by the way till I came to my father's house; when I went to the front-door, and tried to open it, but found it fast; then I went to the back-door, which I opened, and went in; but finding all the family were in bed, I went across the rooms only, went up stairs, and entered the chamber where my father and mother were in bed. As I approached the side of the bed on which my

father lay, I found him asleep, or thought he was so: then I went to the other side, and having just turned the foot of the bed, I found my mother awake; to whom I said these words: "Mother, I am going a long journey, and am come to bid you good bye;" upon which she answered me in a fright, "O, dear son, thou art dead!" With this I awoke, and took no notice of it, more than a common dream; except that it appeared to me very perfect.

In a few days after, as soon as a letter could reach me, I received one by post from my father, upon the receipt of which I was a little surprised, and concluded something extraordinary must have happened, as it was but a short time before I had a letter from my friends, and all were well. Upon opening it, I was more surprised still, for my father addressed me as though I were dead, desiring me, if alive, or that person into whose hands the letter might fall, to write immediately; but if the letter should find me living, they concluded I should not live long, and gave this as the reason of their fear,—That on a certain night, naming it, after they were in bed, my father asleep, and my mother awake, she heard some one trying to open the front-door, but finding it fast, he appeared to go to the back-door, which he opened, then entered, and came directly through the rooms up stairs, and she perfectly knew it to be my step; that I came to her bed-side, and spoke to her these words: "Mother, I am going a long journey, and am come to bid you good bye:" upon which she answered me in a fright, "O, dear son, thou art dead!" which were the very circumstances and words of my dream, but she heard nothing more, and saw nothing; neither did I in my dream.

Upon this she awoke and told my father what had passed; but he endeavoured to appease her, persuading her it was only a dream: she insisted it was no dream, for that she was as perfectly awake as ever she was, and had not the least inclination to sleep since she had been in bed. From these circumstances I am apt to think it was at the very same instant when my dream happened, though the distance between us was about one hundred miles; but of this I cannot speak positively. This occurred while I was at the academy at Ottery, Devon, in the year 1754, and, at this moment, every circumstance is fresh in my mind. I have

since had frequent opportunities of talking over the affair with my mother, and the whole was as fresh in her mind as it was in mine. I have often thought, that her sensations, as to this matter, were stronger than mine. What may appear strange is, that I cannot remember anything remarkable happening hereupon. This is only a plain simple narrative of a matter of fact.

Mr. Wilkins died November 15th, 1800, in the seventieth year of his age.—*Signs before Death.*

LORD LYTTLETON.

The subject of this narrative was the son of George Lord Lyttleton, who was alike distinguished for the raciness of his wit and the profligacy of his manners. The latter trait of his character has induced many persons to suppose the apparition which he asserted he had seen, to have been the effect of a conscience quickened with remorse for innumerable vices and shortcomings. The probability of the narrative consequently has been much questioned; but in our own acquaintance we chance to know two gentlemen, one of whom was at Pitt Place, the seat of Lord Lyttleton, and the other in the immediate neighbourhood, at the time of his lordship's death, and who bear ample testimony to the veracity of the whole affair.

The several narratives correspond in material points; and we shall now proceed to relate the most circumstantial particulars written by a gentleman who was on a visit to his lordship:—

"I was at Pitt Place, Epsom, when Lord Lyttleton died; Lord Fortescue, Lady Flood, and the two Miss Amphletts, were also present. Lord Lyttleton had not been long returned from Ireland, and frequently had been seized with suffocating fits: he was attacked several times by them in the course of the preceding month, while he was at his house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square. It happened that he dreamt, three days before his death, that he saw a fluttering bird; and afterwards that a woman appeared to him in white apparel, and said to him 'Prepare to die, you will not exist three days.' His lordship was much alarmed, and called to a servant from a closet adjoining, who found him much agitated, and in a profuse

perspiration: the circumstance had a considerable effect all the next day on his lordship's spirits. On the third day, while his lordship was at breakfast with the above personages, he said, 'If I live over to-night, I shall have jockied the ghost, for this is the third day.' The whole party presently set off for Pitt Place, where they had not long arrived, before his lordship was visited by one of his accustomed fits: after a short interval, he recovered. He dined at five o'clock that day, and went to bed at eleven, when his servant was about to give him rhubarb and mint-water; but his lordship, perceiving him stir it with a tooth-pick, called him a slovenly dog, and bid him go and fetch a teaspoon; but, on the man's return, he found his master in a fit, and the pillow being placed high, his chin bore hard upon his neck, and the servant, instead of relieving his lordship, on the instant, from his perilous situation, ran, in his fright, and called out for help, but on his return he found his lordship dead."

In explanation of this strange tale, it is said that Lord Lyttleton acknowledged, previously to his death, that the woman he had seen in his dream was the mother of the two Miss Amphletts, mentioned above, whom, together with a third sister, then in Ireland, his lordship had seduced, and prevailed on to leave their parents, who resided near his country residence in Shropshire. It is further stated, that Mrs. Amphlett died of grief, through the desertion of her children, at the precise time when the female vision appeared to his lordship; and that, about the period of his own dissolution, a personage answering his description visited the bed-side of the late Miles Peter Andrews, Esq., (who had been the friend and companion of Lord Lyttleton in his revels,) and suddenly throwing open the curtains, desired Mr. Andrews to come to him. The latter not knowing that his lordship had returned from Ireland, suddenly got up, when the phantom disappeared! Mr. Andrews frequently declared, that the alarm caused him to have a short fit of illness; and, in his subsequent visits to Pitt Place, no solicitations could ever prevail on him to take a bed there; but he would invariably return, however late, to the Spread Eagle Inn, at Epsom, for the night.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his Memoirs, has the following passage:—

"Dining at Pitt Place, about four years after the death of Lord Lyttleton, in the year 1783, I had the curiosity to visit the bedchamber, where the casement window, at which Lord Lyttleton asserted the dove appeared to flutter, was pointed out to me; and, at his stepmother's, the dowager Lady Lyttleton's, in Portugal Street, Grosvenor Square, I have frequently seen a painting which she herself executed, in 1780, expressly to commemorate the event: it hung in a conspicuous part of the drawing-room. There the dove appears at the window, while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the foot of the bed, announcing to Lord Lyttleton his dissolution. Every part of the picture was faithfully designed, after the description given to her by the valet-de-chambre who attended him, to whom his master related all the circumstances."

An engraving, copied from the picture, has been published, and is still frequently to be met with in the collections of printsellers.—*Signs before Death.*

DREAM OF A GENTLEMAN AT PRAGUE.

"Whilst I lived at Prague," saith an English gentleman, "and one night had sat up very late, drinking at a feast; early in the morning the sunbeams glancing on my face as I lay on my bed, I dreamed that a shadow passing by told me that my father was dead: at which awakening all in a sweat, and affected with this dream, I rose and wrote the day and hour, and all circumstances thereof, in a paper book; which book, with many other things, I put into a barrel, and sent it from Prague to Stode, thence to be conveyed into England. And now being at Nuremberg, a merchant of a noble family, well acquainted with me and my relations, arrived there; who told me that my father died some months past. When I returned into England four years after, I would not open the barrel I sent from Prague, nor look into the paper book in which I had written this dream, till I had called my sisters, and some other

friends, to be witnesses: where myself and they were astonished to see my written dream answer the very day of my father's death."

The same gentleman saith thus also. "I may lawfully swear, that in my youth at Cambridge I had the like dream of my mother's death: where my brother Henry lying with me, early in the morning I dreamed that my mother passed by with a sad countenance, and told me 'that she could not come to my commencement,' (I being within five months to proceed Master of Arts, and she having promised at that time to come to Cambridge): when I related this dream to my brother, both of us awaking together in a sweat, he protested to me that he had dreamed the very same: and when we had not the least knowledge of our mother's sickness, neither in our youthful affections were any whit moved with the strangeness of this dream, yet the next carrier brought us word of our mother's death."—*Wanley's Wonders.*

SECOND SIGHT.

INSTANCES OF SECOND SIGHT.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Maries, the northernmost in Skie, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropped from his seat backward, and then fell a-vomiting; at which all the family were much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before: but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the second sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: An ill-natured woman (naming her by her name), who lives in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very furious and angry manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, until he fell over as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to meet with a disappointment as to his marrying her. This instance was told me

by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

Mr. M'Pherson's servant foretold that a kiln should take fire, and being some time after reproved by his master for talking so foolishly of the second sight, he answered that he could not help his seeing such things as presented themselves to his view in a very lively manner; adding further, I have just now seen that boy sitting by the fire with his face red, as if the blood had been running down his forehead, and I could not avoid seeing this: and as for the accomplishment of it within forty-eight hours, there is no doubt, says he, it having appeared in the day-time. The minister became very angry at his man, and charged him never to speak one word more of the second sight, or if he could not hold his tongue, to provide himself another master; telling him he was an unhappy fellow, who studied to abuse credulous people with false predictions. There was no more said on this subject until the next day, that the boy of whom the seer spoke, came in, having his face all covered with blood; which happened by his falling on a heap of stones. This account was given me by the minister and others of his family.

Some of the inhabitants of Harries sailing round the Isle of Skie, with a design to go to the opposite main land, were strangely surprised with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant. They pursued the voyage, but the wind turned contrary, and so forced them into Broadford in the Isle of Skie, where they found Sir Donald M'Donald keeping a sheriffs' court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there: the ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals upon. This was told me by several who had this instance from the boat's crew.

One who had been accustomed to see the second sight, in the Isle of Egg, which lies about three or four leagues to the south-west part of the Isle of Skie, told his neighbours that he had frequently seen an apparition of a man in a red coat lined with blue, and having on his head a strange sort of blue cap, with a very high cock on the fore-part of it, and that the man who there appeared was kissing a comely maid n the village where the seer dwelt; and therefore declared

that a man in such a dress would certainly be connected with such a young woman. This unusual vision did much expose the seer to ridicule, for all the inhabitants treated him as a fool, though he had on several other occasions foretold things that afterwards were accomplished; this they thought one of the most unlikely things to be accomplished, that could have entered into any man's head. This story was then discoursed of in the Isle of Skie, and all that heard it laughed at it; it being a rarity to see any foreigner in Egg, and the young woman had no thoughts of going anywhere else. This story was told me at Edinburgh, by Normand M'Leod of Graban, in September 1688, he being just then come from the Isle of Skie; and there were present, the laird of M'Leod, and Mr. Alexander M'Leod Advocate, and others.

About a year and a half after the late revolution, Major Ferguson, now colonel of one of her Majesty's regiments of foot, was then sent by the government with six hundred men, and some frigates, to reduce the islanders that had appeared for King James and perhaps the small Isle of Egg had never been regarded, though some of the inhabitants had been at the battle of Kelicranky, but by a mere accident, which determined Major Ferguson to go to the Isle of Egg, which was this: A boat's crew of the Isle of Egg happened to be in the Isle of Skie, and killed one of Major Ferguson's soldiers there; upon notice of which, the Major directed his course to the Isle of Egg, where he was sufficiently revenged of the natives: and at the same time, the maid above mentioned being very handsome, was then forcibly carried on board one of the vessels, by some of the soldiers, where she was kept about twenty-four hours, and ill-used, and brutishly robbed at the same time of her fine head of hair. She is since married in the Isle, and in good reputation; her misfortune being pitied, and not reckoned her crime.—*Martin's Western Islands of Scotland.*

CIRCUMSTANCE RELATED BY REV. J. GRIFFITHS.

The following remarkable circumstance is related of the late Rev. John Griffiths, of Glandwr, Carmarthenshire, whose literary attainments were well known and most highly

appreciated in South Wales. Until it occurred he was a disbeliever in corpse candles and spectral funerals, and whenever an opportunity presented itself, always declaimed against the belief of those things, both in chapels and other places; but returning home on horseback one night through a narrow lane, his mare suddenly started; not perceiving any thing he urged her on, when to his astonishment she reared aside as if frightened, but as he still could not see anything, he dashed the spur in her side, which he had no sooner done than she leaped over the hedge into a field; much surprised at this, he dismounted and led her into the road, and thinking if his optical could not, his auricular nerves might discover the cause, he stopped and listened, when he distinctly heard footsteps treading, as if a funeral passed: wishing to know where they would proceed to, he followed the sounds to his own chapel, where they ceased at a certain part of the burial ground attached to it; and he related that in the course of a week after this, a person was buried near the spot where the steps had ceased to be heard: after this, he discontinued ridiculing the credence given to the supernatural lights, &c.—*Howell's Cambrian Superstitions.*

ZSCHOKKE.

Zschokke writes thus of his singular gift of second sight:—

"If the reception of so many visitors was troublesome, it repaid itself occasionally either by making me acquainted with remarkable personages, or by bringing out a wonderful sort of seer-gift, which I called my inward vision, and which has always remained an enigma to me. I am almost afraid to say a word upon this subject; not for fear of the imputation of being superstitious, but lest I should encourage that disposition in others; and yet it forms a contribution to psychology. So to confess.

"It is acknowledged that the judgment which we form of strangers, on first meeting them, is frequently more correct than that which we adopt upon a longer acquaintance with them. The first impression which, through an instinct of the soul, attracts one towards, or repels one from another, becomes, after a time, more dim, and is weakened, either through his appearing other than at first, or through our becoming accustomed to him. People speak, too, in reference

to such cases of involuntary sympathies and aversions, and attach a special certainty to such manifestations in children, in whom knowledge of mankind by experience is wanting. Others, again, are incredulous, and, attribute all to physiognomical skill. But of myself.

"It has happened to me occasionally, at the first meeting with a total stranger, when I have been listening in silence to his conversation, that his past life, up to the present moment, with many minute circumstances belonging to one or other particular scene in it, has come across me like a dream, but distinctly, entirely, involuntarily, and unsought, occupying in duration a few minutes. During this period I am usually so plunged into the representation of the stranger's life, that at last I neither continue to see distinctly his face, on which I was idly speculating, nor to hear intelligently his voice, which at first I was using as a commentary to the text of his physiognomy. For a long time I was disposed to consider these fleeting visions as a trick of the fancy; the more so that my dream-vision displayed to me the dress and movements of the actors, the appearance of the room, the furniture, and other accidents of the scene; till, on one occasion, in a gamesome mood, I narrated to my family the secret history of a sempstress who had just before quitted the room. I had never seen the person before. Nevertheless the hearers were astonished, and laughed, and would not be persuaded but that I had a previous acquaintance with the former life of the person, inasmuch as what I had stated was perfectly true. I was not less astonished to find that my dream-vision agreed with reality. I then gave more attention to the subject, and, as often as propriety allowed of it, I related to those whose lives had so passed before me the substance of my dream-vision, to obtain from them its contradiction or confirmation. On every occasion its confirmation followed, not without amazement on the part of those who gave it.

"Least of all could I myself give faith to these conjuring tricks of my mind. Every time that I described to any one my dream-vision respecting him, I confidently expected him to answer it was not so. A secret thrill always came over me when the listener replied, 'It happened as you say;' or when, before he spoke, his astonishment betrayed that I

was not wrong. Instead of recording many instances, I will give one which, at the time, made a strong impression upon me.

"On a fair day, I went into the town of Waldshut accompanied by two young foresters who are still alive. It was evening, and, tired with our walk, we went into an inn called the Vine. We took our supper with a numerous company at the public table; when it happened that they made themselves merry over the peculiarities and simplicity of the Swiss, in connection with the belief in Mesmerism, Lavater's physiognomical system, and the like. One of my companions, whose national pride was touched by their raillery, begged me to make some reply, particularly in answer to a young man of superior appearance, who sat opposite, and had indulged in unrestrained ridicule. It happened that the events of this very person's life had just previously passed before my mind. I turned to him with the question, whether he would reply to me with truth and candour, if I narrated to him the most secret passages of his history, he being as little known to me as I to him? That would, I suggested, go something beyond Lavater's physiognomical skill. He promised, if I told the truth, to admit it openly. Then I narrated the events with which my dream-vision had furnished me, and the table learnt the history of the young tradesman's life, of his school years, his peccadilloes, and, finally, of a little act of roguery committed by him on the strong box of his employer. I described the uninhabited room with its white walls, where, to the right of the brown door, there had stood upon the table the small black money-chest, &c. A dead silence reigned in the company during this recital, interrupted only when I occasionally asked if I spoke the truth. The man, much struck, admitted the correctness of each circumstance—even, which I could not expect, of the last. Touched with his frankness, I reached my hand to him across the table, and closed my narrative. He asked my name, which I gave him. We sat up late in the night conversing. He may be alive yet.

"Now I can well imagine how a lively imagination could picture, romance-fashion, from the obvious character of a person, how he would conduct himself under given circumstances. But whence came to me the involuntary knowledge of accessory details, which were without any

sort of interest, and respected people who for the most part were utterly indifferent to me, with whom I neither had, nor wished to have, the slightest association? Or was it in each case mere coincidence? Or had the listener, to whom I described his history, each time other images in his mind than the accessory ones of my story, but, in surprise at the essential resemblance of my story to the truth, lost sight of the points of difference? Yet I have, in consideration of this possible source of error, several times taken pains to describe the most trivial circumstances that my dream-vision has shown me.

"Not another word about this strange seer-gift, which I can aver was of no use to me in a single instance, which manifested itself occasionally only, and quite independently of any volition, and often in relation to persons in whose history I took not the slightest interest. Nor am I the only one in possession of this faculty. In a journey with two of my sons, I fell in with an old Tyrolese who travelled about selling lemons and oranges, at the inn at Unterhauerstein in one of the Jura passes. He fixed his eyes for some time upon me, joined in our conversation, observed that though I did not know him he knew me, and began to describe my acts and deeds to the no little amusement of the peasants and astonishment of my children, whom it interested to learn that another possessed the same gift as their father. How the old lemon-merchant acquired his knowledge, he was not able to explain to himself nor to me. But he seemed to attach great importance to his hidden wisdom."
—*Mayo's Truths in Popular Superstitions.*

OCCURRENCE IN THE FAMILY OF DR. FERRIER.

A gentleman connected with the family of Dr. Ferrier, an officer in the army, was quartered early in life, in the middle of the eighteenth century, near the castle of a gentleman in the north of Scotland, who was supposed to possess the second sight. Strange rumours were afloat respecting the old chieftain, and that he had spoken to an apparition which ran along the battlements of the house, and had never been cheerful afterwards. His prophetic vision excited surprise, which was favoured by his retired habits. One day, whilst Dr. Ferrier's friend was reading a play to the ladies of this

family, the chief, who had been walking across the room, stopped suddenly and assumed the look of a seer: he rang the bell, and ordered the groom to saddle a horse, to proceed immediately to a seat in the neighbourhood, and to inquire after the health of Lady ——; if the account were favourable, he then directed him to call at another castle, to ask after another lady whom he named. The reader immediately closed his book, and declared that he would not proceed till these abrupt orders were explained, as he was confident they were produced by the second sight. The chief was very unwilling to explain himself, but at length he owned that the door had appeared to open, and that a little woman, without a head, had entered the room; that the apparition indicated the sudden death of some person of his acquaintance, and the only two persons who resembled the figure were those ladies after whose health he had sent to inquire.

A few hours afterwards, the servant returned with an account that one of the ladies had died of an apoplectic fit, about the time when the vision appeared.—*Signs before Death.*

TRANCE AND SOMNAMBULISM.

TRANCE OF THE REV. W. TENNANT.

After a regular course of study in theology, Mr. Tennant was preparing for his examination by the presbytery, as a candidate for the Gospel ministry. His intense application affected his health, and brought on a pain in his breast, and a slight hectic. He soon became emaciated, and at length was like a living skeleton. His life was now threatened. He was attended by a physician, a young man who was attached to him by the strictest and warmest friendship. He grew worse and worse, until little hope of his life was left. In this situation his spirits failed him, and he began to entertain doubts of his final happiness. He was conversing one morning with his brother, in Latin, on the

state of his soul, when he fainted and died away. At the usual time he was laid out on a board, according to the common practice of the country, and the neighbourhood were invited to attend his funeral the next day. In the evening his physician and friend returned from a ride in the country, and was afflicted beyond measure at the news of his death. He could not be persuaded that it was certain; and on being told that one of the persons who had assisted in laying out the body thought he had observed a little tremor of the flesh under the arm, although the body was cold and stiff, he endeavoured to ascertain the fact. He first put his own hand into warm water, to make it as sensitive as possible, and then felt under the arm, and at the heart, and affirmed that he felt an unusual warmth, though no one else could. He had the body restored to a warm bed, and insisted that the people who had been invited to the funeral should be requested not to attend. To this the brother objected, as absurd, the eyes being sunk, the lips discoloured, and the whole body cold and stiff. However, the doctor finally prevailed, and all probable means were used to discover symptoms of returning life. But the third day arrived, and no hopes were entertained of success but by the doctor, who never left him, night nor day. The people were again invited and assembled to attend the funeral. The doctor still objected; and at last confined his request for delay to one hour, then to half an hour, and finally to a quarter of an hour. He had discovered that the tongue was much swollen, and threatened to crack. He was endeavouring to soften it by some emollient ointment put upon a feather, when the brother came in about the expiration of the last period, and mistaking what the doctor was doing for an attempt to feed him, manifested some impatience, thinking it foolish to feed a lifeless corpse, and insisted that the funeral should proceed.

At this critical and important moment, the body, to the great alarm and astonishment of all present, opened its eyes, gave a deep groan, and sunk again into apparent death. This put an end to all thoughts of burying him; and every effort was again employed in hopes of bringing about a speedy resuscitation. In about an hour the eyes again opened, a heavy groan proceeded from the body, and

again all appearance of animation vanished. In another hour life seemed to return with more power, and a complete revival took place, to the great joy of the family and friends, and to the no small astonishment and conviction of very many who had ridiculed the idea of restoring a dead body to life.

Mr. Tennant continued in so weak and low a state for six weeks that great doubts were entertained of his final recovery. However, after that period he recovered much faster. It was about twelve months before he was completely restored. After he was able to walk about the room, and to take notice of what passed around him, his sister, on a Sunday afternoon, having staid at home to attend him, was reading in the Bible, when he took notice of it, and asked her what she had in her hand. She answered that it was the Bible. He replied—"What is the Bible? I know not what you mean." This affected the sister so much, that she burst into tears, and informed him that he was once well acquainted with it. On her reporting this to her brother when he returned, Mr. Tennant was found upon examination to be totally ignorant of every transaction of his life previous to his sickness. He could not read a single word, neither did he seem to have any idea what it meant. As soon as he was capable of attention, he was taught to read and write, as children are usually taught, and afterwards began to learn the Latin language, under the tuition of his brother. One day as he was reciting a lesson in Cornelius Nepos, he suddenly started, clapped his hand to his head, as if something had hurt him, and made a pause. His brother asking him what was the matter, he said that he felt a sudden shock in his head, and it now seemed to him as if he had read the book before.

By degrees his recollection was restored, and he could speak Latin as fluently as before his illness. His memory so completely revived, that he gained a perfect knowledge of the past transactions of his life, as if no difficulty had previously occurred.

This event at the time made considerable noise, and afforded not only matter of serious contemplation to the devout Christian, especially when connected with what follows in this narrative, but furnished a subject of deep

investigation and learned inquiry to the real philosopher and curious anatomist.

The writer of these memoirs was greatly interested by these uncommon events, and on a favourable occasion earnestly pressed Mr. Tennant for a minute account of what his views and apprehensions were while he lay in this extraordinary state of suspended animation. He discovered great reluctance to enter into any explanation of his perceptions and feelings at this time; and being importunately urged to do it, at length consented, and proceeded with a solemnity not to be described.

"While I was conversing with my brother," said he, "on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself in an instant in another state of existence, under the direction of a superior being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I knew not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change, and thought, 'well! blessed be God, I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears.' I saw an innumerable host of happy beings surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs of thanksgiving and praise with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable, and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng; on which he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, 'You must return to the earth.' This seemed like a sword through my heart. In an instant I recollected to have seen my brother standing disputing with the doctor. The three days during which I had appeared lifeless seemed to me not more than ten or twenty minutes. The idea of returning to this world of sorrow and trouble gave me such a shock that I repeatedly fainted." He added:—"Such was the effect on my mind of what I had seen and heard, that if it be possible for a human being to live entirely above the world and the things of it for some time afterwards, I was that person. The ravishing sound of the songs and hallelujahs that I

heard was never out of my ears, when awake, for three years. All the kingdoms of the earth were in my sight as nothing but vanity; and so great were my ideas of heavenly glory, that nothing which did not in some measure relate to it could command my serious attention."

It is not surprising that after so affecting an account, strong solicitude should have been felt for further information as to the words, or at least the subjects, of praise and adoration which Mr. Tennant had heard. But when he was requested to communicate these, he gave a decided negative, adding:—"You will know them, with many other particulars, hereafter, as you will find the whole among my papers;" alluding to his intention of leaving the writer hereof his executor, which precluded any further solicitation.

It was so ordered, however, in the course of Divine Providence, that the writer was sorely disappointed in his expectation of obtaining the papers here alluded to. Mr. Tennant's death happened during the revolutionary war, when the enemy separated the writer from him, so as to render it impossible to attend him on his dying bed; and before it was possible to get to his house after his death, the writer being with the American army at the Valley-Forge, his son came from Charleston and took his mother and his father's papers and property, and returned to Carolina. About fifty miles from Charleston the son was suddenly taken sick, and died among entire strangers; and never since, though the writer was left executor to the son, could any trace of the father's papers be discovered by him.—*Philadelphia Evangelical Intelligencer.*

THE ROCHESTER APPARITION.

The following narrative was communicated in a letter from Mr. Thomas Tilson, minister of Aylesworth, in Kent, to Mr. Baxter, as a contribution to his celebrated work, "The Certainty of the World of Spirits."

Rev. Sir,—Being informed that you are writing about spectres and apparitions, I take the freedom, though a stranger, to send you the following relation:—

Mary, the wife of John Goffe, of Rochester, being afflicted with a long illness, removed to her father's house at West-Mulling, which is about nine miles distant from her own; there she died, June the 4th, 1691.

The day before her departure, she grew impatiently desirous to see her two children, whom she had left at home to the care of a nurse. She prayed her husband to hire a horse, for she must go home, and die with her children. When they persuaded her to the contrary, telling her she was not fit to be taken out of her bed, nor able to sit on horseback, she intreated them however to try: "If I cannot sit," said she, "I will lie all along upon the horse, for I must go to see my poor babes."

A minister who lives in the town was with her at ten o'clock that night, to whom she expressed good hopes in the mercies of God, and a willingness to die; "but," said she, "it is my misery that I cannot see my children."

Between one and two o'clock in the morning, she fell into a trance. One Widow Turner, who watched with her that night, says, that her eyes were open and fixed, and her jaw fallen: she put her hand upon her mouth and nostrils, but could perceive no breath; she thought her to be in a fit, and doubted whether she were alive or dead.

The next day, this dying woman told her mother that she had been at home with her children. "That is impossible," said the mother, "for you have been here in bed all the while." "Yes," replied the other, "but I was with them last night when I was asleep."

The nurse at Rochester, Widow Alexander by name, affirms, and says she will take her oath of it before a magistrate, and receive the sacrament upon it, that a little before two o'clock that morning she saw the likeness of the said Mary Goffe come out of the next chamber (where the elder child lay in a bed by itself, the door being left open), and stood by her bed-side for about a quarter of an hour; the younger child was there lying by her; her eyes moved, and her mouth went, but she said nothing. The nurse, moreover, says, that she was perfectly awake; it was then daylight, being one of the longest days in the year. She sat up in her bed, and looked steadfastly upon the apparition; in that time she heard the bridge clock strike two, and a while

after, said, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what art thou?" Thereupon the appearance removed and went away; she slipped on her clothes and followed, but what became of it she cannot tell. Then, and not before, she began to be grievously affrighted, and went out of doors and walked upon the wharf (the house is just by the river side) for some hours, only going in now and then to look at the children. At five o'clock she went to a neighbour's house, and knocked at the door, but they would not rise; at six she went again, then they rose and let her in. She related to them all that had passed: they would persuade her she was mistaken, or dreamt; but she confidently affirmed, "If ever I saw her in all my life, I saw her this night."

One of those to whom she made the relation, Mary, the wife of Mr. J. Sweet, had a messenger who came from Mulling that forenoon, to let her know her neighbour Goffe was dying, and desired to speak with her; she went over the same day, and found her just departing. The mother, amongst other discourse, related to her how much her daughter had longed to see her children, and said she had seen them. This brought to Mrs. Sweet's mind what the nurse had told her that morning; for, till then, she had not thought fit to mention it, but disguised it rather as the woman's disturbed imagination.

The substance of this I had related to me by John Carpenter, the father of the deceased, next day after the burial. July 2, I fully discoursed the matter with the nurse and two neighbours, to whose house she went that morning.

Two days after, I had it from the mother, the minister that was with her in the evening, and the woman who sat up with her that last night: they all agree in the same story, and every one helps to strengthen the other's testimony.

They all appear to be sober, intelligent persons, far enough from designing to impose a cheat upon the world, or to manage a lie, and what temptation they should be under for so doing, I cannot conceive.

Your most faithful friend and humble servant,

THOMAS TILSON.

—*Signs before Death.*

REPLIES TO DR. BRAID'S QUERIES REGARDING THE FAKEER WHO BURIED HIMSELF ALIVE AT LAHORE IN 1837.

I was present [says Sir Claude Wade] at the Court of Runjeet Singh when the Fakeer mentioned by the Honourable Captain Osborne was buried alive for six weeks; and, although I arrived a few hours after his actual interment, and did not, consequently, witness that part of the phenomenon, I had the testimony of Runjeet Singh himself, and others the most credible witnesses of his Court, to the truth of the Fakeer having been so buried before them; and, from my having myself been present when he was disinterred, and restored to a state of perfect vitality, in a position so close to him as to render any deception impossible, it is my firm belief that there was no collusion in producing the extraordinary fact which I have related. Captain Osborne's book is not at present before me, that I might refer to such parts of his account as devolve the authenticity of the fact on my authority. I will therefore briefly state what I saw, to enable others to judge of the weight due to my evidence, and whether any proofs of collusion can, in their opinion, be detected.

On the approach of the appointed time, according to invitation, I accompanied Runjeet Singh to the spot where the Fakeer had been buried. It was in a square building, called a *barra durra*, in the middle of one of the gardens adjoining the palace at Lahore, with an open verandah all round, having an enclosed room in the centre. On arriving there, Runjeet Singh, who was attended on the occasion by the whole of his Court, dismounting from his elephant, asked me to join him in examining the building to satisfy himself that it was closed as he had left it. We did so; there had been a door on each of the four sides of the room, three of which were perfectly closed with brick and mortar, the fourth had a strong door, which was also closed with mud up to the padlock, which was sealed with the private seal of Runjeet Singh in his own presence when the Fakeer was interred. Indeed, the exterior of the building presented no aperture by which air could be ad-

mitted, or any communication held by which food could be conveyed to the Fakeer. I may also add, that the walls closing the doorway bore no mark whatever of having been recently disturbed or removed.

Runjeet Singh recognised the seal as the one which he had affixed, and as he was as sceptical as any European could be of the success of such an enterprise,—to guard as far as possible against any collusion,—he had placed two companies from his own personal escort near the building, from which four sentries were furnished and relieved every two hours, night and day, to guard the building from intrusion. At the same time, he ordered one of the principal officers of his Court to visit the place occasionally, and to report the result of his inspection to him, while he himself, or his minister, kept the seal which closed the hole of the padlock, and the latter received the report, morning and evening, from the officer on guard.

After our examination we seated ourselves in the verandah opposite the door, while some of Runjeet Singh's people dug away the mud wall, and one of his officers broke the seal and opened the padlock. When the door was thrown open, nothing but a dark room was to be seen. Runjeet Singh and myself then entered it, in company with the servant of the Fakeer; and a light being brought, we descended about three feet below the floor of the room into a sort of cell, where a wooden box, about four feet long by three broad, with a sloping roof, containing the Fakeer, was placed upright, the door of which had also a padlock and seal similar to that on the outside. On opening it, we saw a figure enclosed in a bag of white linen, fastened by a string over the head—on the exposure of which a grand salute was fired, and the surrounding multitude came crowding to the door to see the spectacle. After they had gratified their curiosity, the Fakeer's servant, putting his arms into the box, took the figure out, and closing the door, placed it with its back against it, exactly as the Fakeer had been squatted (like a Hindoo idol) in the box itself.

Runjeet Singh and myself then descended into the cell, which was so small that we were only able to sit on the

ground in front of the body, and so close to it as to touch it with our hands and knees.

The servant then began pouring warm water over the figure; but, as my object was to see if any fraudulent practices could be detected, I proposed to Runjeet Singh to tear open the bag and have a perfect view of the body before any means of resuscitation were employed. I accordingly did so; and may here remark, that the bag when first seen by us looked mildewed, as if it had been buried some time. The legs and arms of the body were shrivelled and stiff, the face full, the head reclining on the shoulder like that of a corpse. I then called to the medical gentleman who was attending me to come down and inspect the body, which he did, but could discover no pulsation in the heart, the temples, or the arm. There was, however, a heat about the region of the brain, which no other part of the body exhibited.

The servant then recommenced bathing him with hot water, and gradually relaxing his arms and legs from the rigid state in which they were contracted, Runjeet Singh taking his right and I his left leg, to aid by friction in restoring them to their proper action; during which time the servant placed a hot wheaten cake, about an inch thick, on the top of the head,—a process which he twice or thrice renewed. He then pulled out of his nostrils and ears the wax and cotton with which they were stopped; and after great exertion opened his mouth by inserting the point of a knife between his teeth, and, while holding his jaws open with his left hand, drew the tongue forward with his right,—in the course of which the tongue flew back several times to its curved position upwards, in which it had originally been, so as to close the gullet.

He then rubbed his eyelids with ghee (or clarified butter) for some seconds, until he succeeded in opening them, when the eyes appeared quite motionless and glazed. After the cake had been applied for the third time to the top of his head, the body was violently convulsed, the nostrils became inflated, respiration ensued, and the limbs began to assume a natural fulness; but the pulsation was still faintly perceptible. The servant then

put some of the ghee on his tongue, and made him swallow it. A few minutes afterwards the eyeballs became dilated, and recovered their natural colour, when the Fakeer, recognising Runjeet Singh sitting close to him, articulated, in a low, sepulchral tone, scarcely audible, "Do you believe me now?" Runjeet Singh replied in the affirmative, and invested the Fakeer with a pearl necklace and superb pair of gold bracelets, and pieces of silk and muslin, and shawls, forming what is called a khelat; such as is usually conferred by the Princes of India on persons of distinction.

From the time of the box being opened, to the recovery of the voice, not more than half an hour could have elapsed; and in another half hour the Fakeer talked with myself and those about him freely, though feebly, like a sick person; and we then left him, convinced that there had been no fraud or collusion in the exhibition we had witnessed.

I was present, also, when the Fakeer was summoned by Runjeet Singh from a considerable distance to Lahore, some months afterwards, again to bury himself alive before Captain Osborne and the officers of the late Sir William M'Naghten's mission in 1838; which, after the usual preparation, he offered to do for a few days, the term of Sir William's mission being nearly expired; but from the tenor of the doubts expressed, and some observations made by Captain Osborne as to keeping the key of the room in which he was to be buried in his own possession, the Fakeer, with the superstitious dread of an Indian, became evidently alarmed, and apprehensive that if once within Captain Osborne's power, he would not be allowed to escape. His refusal on that occasion will naturally induce a suspicion of the truth of the transaction which I witnessed; but to those well acquainted with the character of the natives of India, it will not be surprising that, where life and death were concerned, the Fakeer should have manifested a distrust of what to him appeared the mysterious intentions of a European who was a perfect stranger to him, while he was ready to repose implicit confidence in Runjeet Singh and others before whom he had exhibited. I am satisfied that he refused only from the cause I have mentioned, and that

he would have done for me what he declined doing for Captain Osborne.

It had previously been observed, also, by Sir William M'Naghten and others of the party, truly, though jestingly, that if the Fakeer should not survive the trial to which he was required to submit, those who might instigate him to it would run the risk of being indicted for murder, which induced them to refrain from pressing the subject further.

I share entirely in the apparent incredibility of the fact of a man being buried alive, and surviving the trial for various periods of duration; but however incompatible with our knowledge of physiology, in the absence of any visible proof to the contrary, I am bound to declare my belief in the facts which I have represented, however impossible their existence may appear to others.—*Braid on Trance.*

AGOSTINE FOSARI.

Paying a visit to a friend, says a foreigner, I met there an Italian gentleman, called Agostine Fosari, who was, it seems, a night-walker, or person who, whilst asleep, does all the actions of one awake. He did not seem to exceed the age of thirty, was lean, black, and of an extremely melancholy complexion. He had a sedate understanding, great penetration, and a capacity for the most abstract sciences. His extraordinary fits generally seized him in the wane of the moon, but with greater violence in the autumn and winter, than in spring and summer. I had a strange curiosity to be an eye-witness of what was told me, and had prevailed on his valet-de-chambre to give me notice when his master was likely to renew his vagary. One night, about the end of September, after supper, the company amused themselves with little plays, and Signor Agostine made one among them. He afterwards retired and went to bed about eleven: soon after, his valet came and told us that his master would that night have a walking fit, and desired us, if we pleased, to come and observe him. I went to his bedside with a light in my hand, and saw him lying

upon his back, with his eyes open, but fixed, which was a sure sign, it seems, of his approaching disorder. I took him by the hands, and found them very cold; I felt his pulse, and found it so slow, that his blood seemed to have no circulation. At or about midnight, Signor Agostine drew the curtains briskly, arose, and dressed himself well enough. I approached him with the candle at his very nose, found him insensible, with his eyes still wide open and immovable. Before he put on his hat he took his belt, out of which the sword had been removed for fear of accidents, as some of these night-walkers will deal about their blows like madmen without any reserve.

In this equipage did Signor Agostine walk backwards and forwards in his chamber several times; he came to the fireside, sat down in an elbow-chair, and went a little time after into a closet, where was his portmanteau, and put the key into his pocket, whence he drew a letter and placed it on the chimney-piece. He went to the bed-chamber door, opened it, and proceeded down stairs: when he came to the bottom, one of the company getting a great fall, Signior Agostine seemed frighted at the noise, and mended his pace. The valet bid us walk softly and not to speak, because when any noise was made near him, and intermixed with his dreams, he became furious, and ran with the greatest precipitancy as if pursued.

He traversed the whole court, which was very spacious, and proceeded directly to the stable. He went in, stroked and caressed his horse, bridled him, and was going to saddle him, but not finding the saddle in its usual place, he seemed very uneasy, like a man disappointed; he, however, mounted his horse, galloped to the house-door, which was shut, dismounted, and, taking up a cabbage-stalk, knocked furiously against the door, and after a great deal of labour lost, he remounted his horse, guided him to the pond, which was at the other end of the court, let him drink, went afterwards and tied him to his manger, and then returned to the house with great agility. At the noise some servants made in the kitchen, he was very attentive, came near the door, and clapped his ear to the key-hole; but passing all on a sudden to the other side, he entered a low parlour, where was a

billiard-table, and, walking backwards and forwards, used the same postures as if he had been actually playing. He proceeded thence to a pair of virginals, upon which he could play pretty well, and made some jingling. At last, after two hours' exercise, he returned up stairs to his chamber, and threw himself, in his clothes, upon the bed, where we found him next morning at nine in the same posture we had left him. For upon these occasions he ever slept eight or ten hours together. His valet told us there were but two ways to recover him out of these fits: one was to tickle him strongly on the soles of his feet; the other, to sound a horn or trumpet at his ears.—*Wanley's Wonders.*

ECSTASY.

THE SLEEPING PREACHER.

Perhaps the most remarkable case of *Devotional Somnium* on record is that of Miss Rachel Baker, of the State of New York. A full history of her case may be found in the Transactions of the Physico-Medical Society of New York, Vol. i. p. 395.

Rachel Baker was born at Pelham, Massachusetts, May 29, 1794. Her parents were religious persons, and early taught her the importance of religion. From childhood, she appeared to possess a contemplative disposition, but her mind was not vigorous, nor was she much disposed to improve it by reading. At the age of nine years, she removed with her parents to the town of Marcellus, State of New York. From that time, she said, she had frequently strong convictions of the importance of eternal things, and the thoughts of God and eternity would make her tremble. In June 1811, while on a visit to the town of Scipio, she was deeply affected in visiting the baptism of a young lady; and from that period she was impressed with a stronger conviction of her own sinfulness. On her return to

Marcellus, she endeavoured to suppress her religious anxiety, but in vain,—her anguish of mind was fully depicted in her countenance.

On the evening of the 28th of November, as she was sitting in a chair, apparently asleep, she began to sigh and groan as if in excessive pain. She had said a short time before, that she should live only a little while, and as she now repeated the expression, her parents were apprehensive that she was dying. This evening she talked incoherently, but manifested in what she said much religious concern. She continued almost every night talking in her sleep in this way, till the 27th of January, 1812. On that evening, soon after she had fallen asleep, she was seized with a great fit of trembling. She shrieked aloud and woke in great terror. Horror and despondency overwhelmed her with dread of a miserable eternity, and of her speedy and inevitable doom. But these agonising feelings were soon succeeded by a calm; her mind became tranquil, and in her nightly devotions, which were now regular and coherent, she poured forth a spirit of meekness, gratitude, and love. From this time the whole tenor of her soul seemed to be changed; she was incapable of expressing her sentiments on divine things clearly when awake; but her sleeping exercises were so solemn and impressive, that few who heard them doubted that they were the genuine fruits of penitence, piety, and peace.

Dr. Mitchell, in describing Miss Baker's case, says: "She has for several years been seized with somnium of a devotional kind once a day with great regularity. These daily paroxysms recur with wonderful exactness, and from long prevalence have now become habitual. They invade her at early bed-time, and a fit usually lasts about three-quarters of an hour. A paroxysm has been known to end in thirty-five minutes, and to continue ninety-eight. The transition from the waking state to that of somnium is very rapid; frequently in a quarter of an hour, or even less. After she retires from company in the parlour, she is discovered to be occupied in praising God in a distinct and sonorous voice. Her discourses are usually pronounced in a private chamber, for the purpose of delivering them with more decorum on

her own part, and with greater satisfaction to her hearers. She has been advised to take the recumbent posture, her face being turned towards the heavens. She performs her nightly devotions with a constancy and fervour wholly unexampled for a human being in a state of somnium. Her body and limbs are motionless; they stir no more than the trunk and extremities of a statue; the only motion the spectator perceives is that of her organs of speech, and an oratorical inclination of the head and neck, as if she were intently engaged in performing an academical or theological exercise. She commences and ends with an address to the Throne of Grace, consisting of proper topics of acknowledgment, submission, and reverence, of praise and thanksgiving, and of prayer for herself, her friends, the church, the nation, for enemies, and the human race in general. Between these, is her sermon or exhortation. She begins without a text, and proceeds with an even course to the end; embellishing it sometimes with fine metaphors, vivid descriptions, and poetical quotations.

"There is a state of body like groaning, sobbing, or moaning, and the distressful sound continues from two minutes to a quarter of an hour. This agitation, however, does not wake her; it gradually subsides, and she passes into a sound and natural sleep, which continues during the remainder of the night. In the morning she wakes as if nothing had happened, and entirely ignorant of the scenes in which she has been an actor. She declares that she knows nothing of the nightly exercises, except from the information of others. With the exception of the beforementioned agitation of body and exercise of mind, she enjoys perfect health."

In October 1814, Miss Baker was brought to New York by her friends, in hopes that her somnial exercises, which were considered by some of them as owing to disease, might, by the exercise of a journey, and the novelty of a large city, be removed. But none of these means produced the desired effect. Her acquaintances stated that her somnial exercises took place every night regularly, except in a few instances when interrupted by severe sickness, from the time they commenced in 1812. In September 1816,

however, these nightly exercises were interrupted by medical treatment, particularly by the use of opium.—*Barber's History and Antiquities of the Northern State of America.*

PREDICTIONS.

A CURIOUS MEMORANDUM FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF M. DE LA HARPE.

"It appears to me as if it were but yesterday, and it was nevertheless in the beginning of the year 1788, we were at the table of a brother Academician, who was of the highest rank, and a man of talents. The company was numerous and of all kinds,—courtiers, advocates, literary men, academicians, etc. We had been, as usual, luxuriously entertained, and at the dessert the wines of Malvoisie and the Cape added to the natural gaiety of good company that kind of social freedom which sometimes stretches beyond the rigid decorum of it. In short, we were in a state to allow of anything that would produce mirth. Chamfort had been reading some of his impious and libertine tales, and the fine ladies had heard them without once making use of their fans. A deluge of pleasantries on religion then succeeded; one gave a quotation from the Maid of Orleans, another recollected and applauded the philosophical distich of Diderot—

Et des boyaux du dernier prêtre
Serrez le cou du dernier roi.
And the last priest's entrails form the string
Around the neck of the last king.

A third rises, and with a bumper in his hand: "Yes, gentlemen," he exclaims, "I am as sure that there is no God, as I am certain that Homer is a fool."

The conversation afterwards took a more serious turn, and the most ardent admiration was expressed of the revo-

lution which Voltaire had produced; and they all agreed that it formed the brightest ray of his glory. "He has given the *ton* to his age, and has contrived to be read in the chamber as well as in the drawing-room." One of the company mentioned, and almost burst with laughter at the circumstance, that his hair-dresser had said, whilst he was powdering him, "Look you. Sir, though I am nothing but a poor journeyman barber, I have no more religion than another man." It was concluded that the revolution would soon be consummated, and that it was absolutely necessary for superstition and fanaticism to give place to philosophy. The probability of this epoch was then calculated, and which of the present company would live to see the Reign of Reason. The elder part of them lamented that they could not flatter themselves with the hope of enjoying such a pleasure; while the younger part rejoiced that they should witness it. The Academy was felicitated on having prepared the ground-work, and being at the same time the stronghold, the centre, the moving principle of freedom of thought.

There was only one of the guests who had not shared in the delights of this conversation; he had even ventured in a quiet way to start a few pleasantries on our noble enthusiasm. It was Cazotte, an amiable man of an original turn of mind, but unfortunately infatuated with the reveries of the *Illuminati*. He renewed the conversation in a very serious tone, and in the following manner: "Gentlemen," said he, "be satisfied; you will all see this grand and sublime revolution. You know that I am something of a prophet, and I repeat that you will all see it." He was answered by the common expression, "It is not necessary to be a great conjurer to foretell that."

"Agreed; but perhaps it may be necessary to be something more, respecting what I am now going to tell you. Have you any idea what will result from this revolution? What will happen to ourselves; to every one now present; what will be the immediate progress of it, with its certain effects and consequences?"

"Oh," said Condorcet, with his silly and saturnine laugh, "let us know all about it; a philosopher can have no objection to meet a prophet."

"You, M. Condorcet, will expire on the pavement of a dungeon; you will die of the poison which you will have taken to escape from the hands of the executioner; of poison, which the happy state of that period will render it absolutely necessary that you should carry about you."

At first, there appeared a considerable degree of astonishment, but it was soon recollected that Cazotte was in the habit of dreaming while he was awake; and the laugh was as loud as ever.

"M. Cazotte, the tale which you have just told is not so pleasant as your *Diable amoureux*. But what devil has put this dungeon, this poison, and these hangmen in your head? What can these things have in common with philosophy and the age of reason?"

"That is precisely what I am telling you. It will be in the name of philosophy, humanity, and liberty; it will be under the reign of reason, that what I have foretold will happen to you. It will then, indeed, be the reign of Reason, for she will have temples erected to her honour. Nay, throughout France there will be no other places of public worship than Temples of Reason."

"In faith," said Chamfort, with one of his sarcastic smiles, "you will not be an officiating priest in any of these temples."

"I hope not; but you, M. Chamfort, you will be well worthy of that distinction, for you will cut yourselves across the veins with twenty-two strokes of a razor, and will nevertheless survive the attempt for some months."

They all looked at him, and continued to laugh.

"You, M. Vicq d'Azyr, you will not open your veins yourself, but you will order them to be opened six times in one day, during a paroxysm of the gout, in order that you may not fail in your purpose, and you will die during the night. As for you, M. de Nicolai, you will die on the scaffold; and so, M. Bailly, will you; and so will you, M. Malesherbes."

Oh, heavens!" said Roucher: "it appears as if his vengeance were levelled solely against the Academy; he has just made a most horrible execution of the whole of it. Now tell me my fate in the name of mercy!"

"You will die also on the scaffold."

"Oh!" it was universally exclaimed, "he has sworn to exterminate us all."

"No, it is not I who have sworn it."

"Are we then to be subjugated by Turks and Tartars?"

"By no means. I have already told you, that you will then be governed by philosophy and reason alone. Those who will treat you as I have described, will, all of them, be philosophers: you will be continually uttering the same phrases that you have been repeating for the last hour, will deliver all your maxims, and will quote, as you have done, Diderot and the Maid of Orleans."

"Oh," it was whispered, "the man is out of his senses;" for during the whole of the conversation his countenance never underwent the least change.

"Oh, no," said another, "you must perceive that he is laughing at us; for he always blends the marvellous with his pleasantries."

"Yes," answered Chamfort, "the marvellous with him is never enlivened with gaiety. He always looks as if he were going to be hanged. But when will this happen?"

"Six years will not have passed, before all that I have told you shall be accomplished."

"Here, indeed, are plenty of miracles," (it was myself, says M. de la Harpe, who now spoke,) "and you set me down for nothing."

"You will," replied Cazotte, "be yourself a miracle as extraordinary as any which I have told; you will then be a Christian."

Loud exclamations immediately followed. "Ah," replied Chamfort, "all my fears are removed; for if we are not doomed to perish till La Harpe becomes a Christian, we shall be immortal."

"As for the women," said the Duchess of Grammont, "it is very fortunate that we are considered as nothing in these revolutions. Not that we are totally discharged from all concern in them, but it is understood that in such cases we are to be left to ourselves—our sex."

"Your sex, ladies," said he, interrupting her, "will be no guarantee to you in these times. It will make no difference whatever, whether you interfere or not. You will be treated precisely as the men; no distinction will be made between you."

"But what does all this mean, M. Cazotte? You are surely preaching to us about the end of the world."

"I know no more of that, my Lady Duchess, than yourself; but this I know, that you will be conducted to the scaffold, with several other ladies, in the cart of the executioner, and with your hands tied behind you."

"I hope, sir, that, in such a case, I shall be allowed, at least, a coach hung with black?"

"No, madam, you will not have that indulgence; ladies of higher rank than you will be drawn in a cart as you will be, with their hands tied as yours will be, and to the same fate as that to which you are destined."

"Ladies of greater rank than myself? What! princesses of the blood?"

"Greater still!"

Here there was a very sensible emotion throughout the company, and the countenance of the master of the mansion wore a very grave and solemn aspect; it was indeed very generally observed, that this pleasantry was carried rather too far. Madame de Grammont, in order to disperse the cloud that seemed to be approaching, made no reply to his last answer, but contented herself with saying, with an air of gaiety, "You see he will not even leave me a confessor."

"No, madam, that consolation will be denied to all of you. The last person led to the scaffold, who will be allowed a confessor, as the greatest of favours, will be ——"

Here he paused for a moment.

"And who, then, is the happy mortal who will be allowed to enjoy this prerogative?"

"It is the only one which will be left him; it will be —the King of France!"

The master of the house now rose in haste, and his company was all actuated by the same impulse. He then advanced towards M. Cazotte, and said to him in an affecting and impressive tone—"My dear M. Cazotte, we have had enough of these melancholy conceits. You carry it too far, even to compromising the company with whom you are, and yourself along with them."

Cazotte made no answer, and was about to retire, when Madame de Grammont, who wished, if possible, to do away all serious impressions, and to restore some kind of gaiety

among them, advanced towards him, and said: "My good prophet, you have been so kind as to tell us all our fortunes, but you have not mentioned anything regarding your own."

After a few moments' silence, with his eyes fixed on the ground, "Madame," replied he, "have you read the Siege of Jerusalem, as related by Josephus?"

"To be sure I have; and who has not? But you may suppose, if you please, that I know nothing about it."

"Then you must know, Madame, that during the siege of Jerusalem, a man for seven successive days went round the ramparts of that city, in sight of the besieged and besiegers, crying incessantly, in a loud and inauspicious voice, 'Woe to Jerusalem!' and on the seventh day he cried, 'Woe to Jerusalem and to myself!' and at that very moment, an enormous stone thrown by the machine of the enemy dashed him to pieces."

M. Cazotte then made his bow and departed.

Thus far M. de la Harpe. Those who recollect the melancholy exit of all those characters above mentioned, during the reign of terror in France, must be astonished at the exact fulfilment of this remarkable prediction, so unlikely to be accomplished at the time it was uttered. That M. de la Harpe was capable of imposing a falsehood on the world, in the last moments of his life, will, I believe, be suspected by few; and I have never heard the authenticity of the above called in question.—*News from the Invisible World.*

DRYDEN AND HIS SON'S NATIVITY.

Dryden, with all his understanding, was fond of judicial astrology, and used to calculate the nativity of his children. At the birth of his son Charles he laid his watch on the table, begging one of the ladies then present, in a most solemn manner, to take an exact notice of the very minute the child was born, which she did, and acquainted him with it. About a week after, when his lady was pretty well recovered, Mr. Dryden took occasion to tell her that he had been calculating the child's nativity, and observed with grief that he was born in an evil hour; for Jupiter, Venus, and

the Sun were all under the earth, and the lord of his ascendant afflicted with a hateful square of Mars and Saturn. "If he lives to arrive at his eighth year," said he, "he will go near to die a violent death on his very birth-day; but if he should escape, as I see but small hopes, he will, in the twenty-third year, be under the very same evil direction; and if he should escape that also, the thirty-third or thirty-fourth year will, I fear ——." Here he was interrupted by the grief of his lady, who could no longer patiently hear calamity prophesied to befall her son.

The time at last came, and August was the inauspicious month in which young Dryden was to enter into the eighth year of his age. The court being in progress, and Mr. Dryden at leisure, he was invited to the country seat of the Earl of Berkshire, his brother-in-law, to keep the long vacation with him at Charlton in Wilts: his lady was invited to her uncle Mordaunt's, to pass the remainder of the summer. When they came to divide the children, lady Elizabeth would have him take John, and suffer her to take Charles; but Mr. Dryden was too absolute, and they parted in anger: he took Charles with him, and she was obliged to be content with John.

When the fatal day came, the anxiety of the lady's spirits occasioned such an effervescence of blood as threw her into a violent fever, and her life was despaired of, till a letter came from Mr. Dryden, reproving her for her womanish credulity, and assuring her that her child was well, which recovered her spirits; and in six weeks after she received an explanation of the whole affair.

Mr. Dryden, either through fear of being reckoned superstitious, or thinking it a science beneath his study, was extremely cautious of letting any one know that he was a dealer in astrology, and therefore could not excuse his absence on his son's anniversary from a general hunting-match Lord Berkshire had made, to which all the adjacent gentlemen were invited. When he went out, he took care to set the boy a double exercise in the Latin tongue, which he taught his children himself, with a strict charge not to stir out of the room till his return, well knowing the task he had set him would take up much longer time.

Charles was performing his duty in obedience to his father;

but, as ill fate would have it, the stag made towards the house, and the noise alarming the servants, they hastened out to see the sport. One of them took young Dryden by the hand, and led him out to see it also; when, just as they came to the gate, the stag being at bay with the dogs, made a bold push and leaped over the court wall, which, being very low and old, and the dogs following, threw down a part of the wall ten yards in length, under which Charles Dryden lay buried. He was immediately dug out, and after languishing six weeks in a dangerous way he recovered. So far Dryden's prediction was fulfilled.

On the twenty-third year of his age, Charles fell from the top of an old tower belonging to the Vatican at Rome, occasioned by a swimming in his head with which he was seized, the heat of the day being excessive. He again recovered, but was ever after in a languishing state.

In the thirty-third year of his age, being returned to England, he was unhappily drowned at Windsor. He had, with another gentleman, swam twice over the Thames; but returning a third time, it was supposed he was taken with the cramp, because he called out for help, although too late. Thus the father's calculation proved but too prophetical.—*Wanley's Wonders*, Vol. ii.

DIVINATION.

ARTIFICIAL DIVINATION

Is that which proceeds by reasoning upon certain external signs, considered as indications of futurity.

NATURAL DIVINATION

Is that which presages things from a mere internal sense and persuasion of the mind, without any assistance of signs; and is of two kinds—the one from nature, and the other by influx. The first is the supposition that the soul, collected within itself, and not diffused, or divided among the organs of the body, has, from its own nature and essence, some foreknowledge of future things: witness what is seen in dreams, ecstasies, on the confines of death, &c. The second

supposes that the soul, after the manner of a mirror, receives some secondary illumination from the presence of God and other spirits.

AXINOMANCY

Was an ancient species of divination or method of foretelling future events by means of an axe or hatchet. The word is derived from the Greek, *αξινη, an axe; μαντεια, divination.* This art was in considerable repute among the ancients; and was performed, according to some, by laying an agate stone upon a red-hot hatchet.

ALECTOROMANTIA

Is an ancient kind of divination, performed by means of a cock, which was used among the Greeks in the following manner:—A circle was made on the ground, and divided into 24 equal portions or spaces: in each space was written one of the letters of the alphabet, and upon each of these letters was laid a grain of wheat. This being done, a cock was placed within the circle, and careful observation was made of the grains he picked. The letters corresponding to these grains were afterwards formed into a word, which word was the answer decreed. It was thus that Libanius and Jamblicus sought who should succeed the Emperor Valens; and the cock answering to the spaces ΘΕΟΔ, they concluded upon Theodore, but by a mistake, instead of Theodosius.

ARITHMOMANCY

Is a kind of divination or method of foretelling future events by means of numbers. The Gematria, which makes the first species of the Jewish Cabala, is a kind of Arithmomancy.

BELOMANCY

Is a method of divination by means of arrows, practised in the East, but chiefly among the Arabians.

Belomancy has been performed in different manners: one was to mark a parcel of arrows, and to put eleven or more of them into a bag; these were afterwards drawn out, and according as they were marked, or otherwise, they judged

of future events. Another way was to have three arrows, upon one of which was written, *God forbids it me;* upon another, *God orders it me;* and upon the third nothing at all. These were put into a quiver, out of which one of the three was drawn at random; if it happened to be that with the second inscription, the thing they consulted about was to be done; if it chanced to be that with the first inscription, the thing was let alone; and if it proved to be that without any inscription, they drew over again. Belomancy is an ancient practice, and is probably that which Ezekiel mentions, chap. xxi. v. 21: at least St Jerome understands it so, and observes that the practice was frequent among the Assyrians and Babylonians. Something like it is also mentioned in Hosea (chap. vi.), only that staves are mentioned there instead of arrows, which is rather Rhabdomancy than Belomancy. Grotius, as well as Jerome, confound the two together, and show that they prevailed much among the Magi, Chaldeans, and Scythians, from whom they passed to the Sclavonians, and thence to the Germans, whom Tacitus observes to make use of Belomancy.

CLEROMANCY

Is a kind of divination performed by the throwing of dice or little bones; and observing the points or marks turned up.

At Bura, a city of Achaia, a celebrated Temple of Hercules, where such as consulted the oracle, after praying to the idol, threw four dice, the points of which being well scanned by the priest, he was supposed to draw an answer from them.

CLEDONISM.

This word is derived from the Greek χλησων, which signifies two things, — viz. a report, and a bird: in the first sense, *Cledonism* should denote a kind of divination drawn from words occasionally uttered. Cicero observes that the Pythagoreans made observations not only of the words of the gods, but of those of men, and accordingly believed the pronouncing of certain words—*e. g. incendium* —at a meal very unlucky. Thus, instead of prison, they used the words *domicilium;* and to avoid calling the Furies by the name erinnyes, which was supposed to be unpleasing

to them said *Eumenides*. In the second sense, Cledonism should seem a divination drawn from birds,—the same with Ornithomantia.

COSCINOMANCY,

As the word implies, is the art of divination by means of a sieve.

The sieve being suspended, after repeating a certain form of words, it is taken between two fingers only, and the names of the parties suspected repeated: he at whose name the sieve turns, trembles, or shakes, is reputed guilty of the evil in question. This doubtless must be a very ancient practice. Theocritus, in his third Idyllion, mentions a woman who was very skilful in it. It was sometimes also practised by suspending the sieve by a thread, or fixing it to the points of a pair of scissors, giving it room to turn, and naming, as before, the parties suspected: in this manner Coscinomancy is still practised in some parts of England. From Theocritus it appears that it was not only used to find out persons unknown, but also to discover secrets.

CAPNOMANCY

Is a kind of divination by means of smoke, used by the ancients in their sacrifices. The general rule was, when the smoke was thin and light, and ascended straight up, it was a good omen; if on the contrary, it was an ill one.

There was another species of Capnomancy, which consisted in observing the smoke arising from poppy and jessamin seed cast upon burning coals.

CATOPTROMANCY

Is another species of divination used by the ancients, performed by means of a mirror.

Pausanias says that this method of divination was in use among the Achaians, where those who were sick, and in danger of death, let down a mirror, or looking-glass, fastened by a thread, into a fountain before the temple of Ceres; then, looking in the glass, if they saw a ghastly disfigured face, they took it as a sure sign of death; but, on the contrary, if the face appeared fresh and healthy, it was a token of recovery. Sometimes glasses were used without water,

and the images of future things, it is said, were represented in them.

CHIROMANCY

Is the art of divining the fate, temperament, and disposition of a person by the lines and lineaments of the hands.

There are a great many authors on this art,—viz. Artemidorus, Fludd, Johannes de Indagine, Taconerus, and M. De le Chambre, who are among the best.

M. De le Chambre insists upon it that the inclinations of people may be known from consulting the lines on the hands, there being a very near correspondence between the parts of the hand and the internal parts of the body, the heart, liver, &c., "whereon the passions and inclinations much depend." He adds, however, that the rules and precepts of Chiromancy are not sufficiently warranted, the experiments on which they stand not being well verified.

DACTYLIOMANCY.

This is a sort of divination performed by means of a ring. It was done as follows:—viz. by holding a ring, suspended by a fine thread, over a round table, on the edge of which were made a number of marks with the 24 letters of the alphabet. The ring, in shaking or vibrating over the table, stopped over certain of the letters, which, being joined together, composed the required answer. But this operation was preceded and accompanied by several superstitious ceremonies; for, in the first place, the ring was to be consecrated with a great deal of mystery; the person holding it was to be clad in linen garments to the very shoes, his head was to be shaven all round, and he was to hold vervein in his hand. And before he proceeded on anything the gods were first to be appeased by a formulary of prayers, &c.

The whole process of this mysterious rite is given in the 29th book of Ammianus Marcellinus.

EXTISPICIUM.

(From *exta* and *spicere*, to view, consider.)

The name of the officer who showed and examined the entrails of the victims was Extispex.

This method of divination, or of drawing presages relative to futurity, was much practised throughout Greece, where there were two families, the *Jamidæ* and *Clytidæ*, consecrated or set apart particularly for the exercise of it.

The Hetrurians, in Italy, were the first *Extispices*, among whom likewise the art was in great repute. Lucan gives us a fine description of one of these operations in his first book.

GASTROMANCY.

This species of divination, practised among the ancients, was performed by means of ventriloquism.

There is another kind of divination called by the same name, which is performed by means of glasses, or other round transparent vessels, within which certain figures appear by magic art. Hence its name, in consequence of the figures appearing as if in the interior of the vessels.

GEOMANCY

Was performed by means of a number of little points or dots, made at random on paper, and afterwards considering the various lines and figures which these points present; thereby forming a pretended judgment of futurity, and deciding a proposed question.

Polydore Virgil defines Geomancy a kind of divination performed by means of clefts or chinks made in the ground, and he takes the Persian Magi to have been the inventors of it. (*De invent. rer.* lib. i. c. 23.)

Geomancy is formed of the Greek γη, *terra*, earth; and μαντεια, divination; it being the ancient custom to cast little pebbles on the ground, and thence to form their conjecture, instead of the points above mentioned.

HYDROMANCY, Ὑδρομαντεια.

The art of divining or foretelling future events by means of water, and is one of the four general kinds of divination: the other three, as regarding the other elements,—viz. fire and earth,—are denominated Pyromancy, Aeromancy, and Geomancy, already mentioned.

The Persians are said by Varro to have been the first in-

ventors of Hydromancy, observing also that Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras made use of it.

There are various Hydromantic machines and vessels, which are of a singularly curious nature.

ONEIROCRITICA

Is the art of interpreting dreams, or a method of foretelling future events by means of dreams.

ONOMANCY, OR ONOMAMANCY,

Is the art of divining the good or bad fortune which will befall a man from the letters of his name. This mode of divination was a very popular and reputable practice among the ancients.

The Pythagoreans taught that the minds, actions, and successes of mankind were according to their fate, genius, and name; and Plato himself inclines somewhat to the same opinion.

Thus Hippolytus was observed to be torn to pieces by his own coach horses, as his name imported; and thus Agamemnon signified that he should linger long before Troy; Priam that he should be redeemed out of bondage in his childhood. To this also may be referred that of Claudius Rutilius:—

> Nominibus certis credam decurrere mores?
> Moribus aut Potius nomina certa dari?

It is a frequent and no less just observation in history, that the greatest empires and states have been founded and destroyed by men of the same name. Thus, for instance, Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, began the Persian monarchy, and Cyrus, the son of Darius, ruined it; Darius, son of Hystaspes, restored it; and again, Darius, son of Asamis, utterly overthrew it. Phillip, son of Amyntas, exceedingly enlarged the kingdom of Macedonia; and Phillip, son of Antigonus, wholly lost it. Augustus was the first emperor of Rome, Augustulus the last. Constantine first settled the empire of Constantinople, and Constantine lost it wholly to the Turks.

There is a similar observation that some names are constantly unfortunate to princes,—*e. g.* Caius, among the

Romans; John in France, England, and Scotland; and Henry in France.

One of the principal rules of Onomancy, among the Pythagoreans, was, that an even number of vowels in a name signified an imperfection in the left side of a man, and an odd number in the right. Another rule, about as good as this, was, that those persons were the most happy in whose names the numeral letters, added together, made the greatest sum; for this reason, say they, it was that Achilles vanquished Hector, the numeral letters in the former name amounting to a greater number than the latter. And doubtless it was from a like principle that the young Romans toasted their mistresses at their meetings as often as their names contained letters.

"Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur!"

Rhodingius describes a singular kind of Onomantia. Theodotus, King of the Goths, being curious to learn the success of his wars against the Romans, an Onomantical Jew ordered him to shut up a number of swine in little stys, and to give some of them Roman, and others Gothic names, with different marks to distinguish them, and there to keep them till a certain day; which day having come, upon inspecting the stys they found those dead to which the Gothic names had been given, and those alive to which the Roman names were assigned: upon which the Jew foretold the defeat of the Goths.

ONYCOMANCY, OR ONYMANCY.

This kind of divination is performed by means of the finger nails. The ancient practice was to rub the nails of a youth with oil and soot, or wax, and to hold up the nails thus prepared, against the sun, upon which there were supposed to appear figures or characters which showed the thing required. Hence, also, modern Chiromancers call that branch of their art which relates to the inspection of nails, Onycomancy.

ORNITHOMANCY

Is a kind of divination, or method of arriving at the knowledge of futurity, by means of birds; it was among the Greeks what Augury was among the Romans.

PYROMANCY,

A species of divination performed by means of fire.

The ancients imagined they could foretell futurity by inspecting fire and flame; for this purpose they considered its direction, or which way it turned. Sometimes they threw pitch into it, and if it took fire instantly they considered it a favourable omen.

PSYCOMANCY, OR SCIOMANCY.

An art among the ancients of raising or calling up the manes or souls of deceased persons, to give intelligence of things to come. The witch who conjured up the soul of Samuel, to foretell Saul the event of the battle he was about to give, did so by Sciomancy.

RHABDOMANCY

Was an ancient method of divination performed by means of rods or staves. St. Jerome mentions this kind of divination in his commentary on Hosea, chap. vi. 12, where the prophet says, in the name of God, *My people ask counsel at their stocks; and their staff declareth unto them:* which passage that father understands of the Grecian *Rhabdomancy.*

The same is met with again in Ezekiel, xxi. 21, 22, where the prophet says, *For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way*, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright; or, as St. Jerome renders it, *he mixed his arrows; he consulted with images; he looked in the liver.*

If it be the same kind of divination that is alluded to in these two passages, *Rhabdomancy* must be the same kind of superstition with Belomancy: these two, in fact, are generally confounded. So much, however, is certain, that the instruments of divination mentioned by Hosea are different from those of Ezekiel: though it is possible they might use rods or arrows indifferently; or the military men might use arrows, and the rest rods.

By the laws of the Frisones, it appears that the ancient inhabitants of Germany practised Rhabdomancy. The Scythians were likewise acquainted with the use of it; and Herodotus observes (lib. vi.) that the women among the Alani sought and gathered together fine straight wands or rods, and used them for the same superstitious purposes.

Among the various other kinds of divination not here mentioned may be enumerated—*Chilomancy*, performed with keys; *Alphitomancy* or *Aleuromancy*, by flour; *Kerauno-scopia*, by the consideration of thunder; *Alectromancy*, by cocks; *Lithomancy*, by stones; *Eychnomancy*, by lamps; *Ooscopy*, by eggs; *Licanomancy*, by a basin of water; *Palpitatim*, *Salisatio*, παλμος, by the pulsation or motion of some member, &c.

All these kinds of divination have been condemned by the fathers of the Church, and Councils, as supposing some compact with the devil. Fludd has written several treatises on divination and its different species; and Cicero has two books of the divination of the ancients, in which he confutes the whole system. Cardan also, in his 4th book, De Sapientia, describes every species of them.—*Demonologia.*

THE DIVINING ROD.

In the spring of 1847, [says Dr. Mayo,] being then at Weilbach, in Nassau, a region teeming with underground sources of water, I requested the son of the proprietor of the bathing establishment—a tall, thin, pale, white-haired youth, by name Edward Seebold—to walk in my presence up and down a promising spot of ground, holding a divining fork of hazel, with the accessories recommended by M. de Tristan to beginners—that is to say, he held in his right hand three pieces of silver, besides one handle of the rod, while the handle which he held in his left hand was covered with thin silk.

The lad had not made five steps, when the point of the divining fork began to ascend. He laughed with astonishment at the event, which was totally unexpected by him;

and he said that he experienced a tickling or thrilling sensation in his hands. He continued to walk up and down before me. The fork had soon described a complete circle; then it described another; and so it continued to do as long as he walked thus, and as often as, after stopping, he resumed his walk. The experiment was repeated by him in my presence, with like success, several times during the ensuing month. Then the lad fell into ill health, and I rarely saw him. However, one day I sent for him, and begged him to do me the favour of making another trial with the divining fork. He did so, but the instrument moved slowly and sluggishly; and when, having completed a semicircle, it pointed backwards towards the pit of his stomach, it stopped, and would go no farther. At the same time the lad said he felt an uneasy sensation, which quickly increased to pain, at the pit of the stomach, and he became alarmed, when I bade him quit hold of one handle of the divining rod, and the pain ceased. Ten minutes afterwards I induced him to make another trial: the results were the same. A few days later, when the lad seemed still more out of health, I induced him to repeat the experiment. Now, however, the divining fork would not move at all.

I entertain little doubt that the above performances of Edward Seebold were genuine. I thought the same of the performances of three English gentlemen, and of a German, in whose hands, however, the divining rod never moved through an entire circle. In the hands of one of them its motion was retrograde, or abnormal: that is to say, it began by descending.

But I met with other cases, which were less satisfactory, though not uninstructive. I should observe that, in the hands of several who tried to use it in my presence, the divining fork would not move an inch. But there were two younger brothers of Edward Seebold, and a bath-maid, and my own man, in whose hands the rod played new pranks. When these parties walked *forwards*, the instrument ascended, or moved normally; but when, by my desire, they walked *backwards*, the instrument immediately went the other way. I should observe that, in the hands of Edward Seebold, the instrument moved in the same direction whether he walked forwards or backwards; and I have mentioned

that at first it described in his hands a complete circle. But with the four parties I have just been speaking of, the motion of the fork was always limited in extent. When it moved normally at starting, it stopped after describing an arc of about 225°; in the same way when it moved abnormally at starting, it would stop after describing an arc of about 135°; that is to say, there was one spot the same for the two cases, beyond which it could not get. Then I found that, in the hands of my man, the divining rod would move even when he was standing still, although with a less lively action; still it stopped as before, nearly at the same point. Sometimes it ascended, sometimes descended. Then I tried some experiments, touching the point with a magnetic needle. I found, in the course of them, that when my man knew which way I expected the fork to move, it invariably answered my expectations; but when I had the man blindfolded, the results were uncertain and contradictory. The end of all this was, that I became certain that several of those in whose hands the divining rod moves, set it in motion and directed its motion by the pressure of their fingers, and by carrying their hands nearer to, or farther apart. In walking forwards, the hands are unconsciously borne towards each other; in walking backwards, the reverse is the case.

Therefore, I recommend no one to prosecute these experiments unless he can execute them himself, and unless the divining rod describes a complete circle in his hands; and even then he should be on his guard against self-deception.

Postscript.—I am now (May, 1851,) again residing at the bathing establishment of Weilbach, near Mayence; and it was with some interest and curiosity that the other day I requested Mr. Edward Seebold, now a well-grown young man, in full health, to try his hand again with the divining rod. He readily assented to my request; and he this time knew exactly what result I expected. But the experiment entirely failed. The point of the divining rod rose, as he walked, not more than two or three inches; but this it does with every one who presses the two handles towards each other during the experiment. Afterwards the implement remained perfectly stationary.

I think I am not at liberty to withhold this result from the reader, whom it may lead to question, though it cannot induce myself to doubt, the genuineness of the former performances of Mr. E. S.—*Truths in Popular Superstitions.*

WITCHCRAFT.

STORY OF THE LADY ALICE KYTELER.

It was late in the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans first set their feet in Ireland as conquerors, and before the end of the thirteenth, when the portion of that island which has since received the name of the English Pale, was already covered with flourishing towns and cities, which bore witness to the rapid increase of commerce in the hands of the enterprising and industrious settlers from the shores of Great Britain. The county of Kilkenny, attractive by its beauty and by its various resources, was one of the districts first occupied by the invaders, and at the time of which we are speaking, its chief town, named also Kilkenny, was a strong city with a commanding castle, and was inhabited by wealthy merchants, one of whom was a rich banker and money-lender, named William Outlawe.

This William Outlawe married a lady of property named Alice Kyteler, or Le Kyteler, who was, perhaps, the sister or a near relative of a William Kyteler, incidentally mentioned as holding the office of sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny. William Outlawe died some time before 1302; and his widow became the wife of Adam le Blond, of Callan, of a family which, by its English name of White, held considerable estates in Kilkenny and Tipperary in later times. This second husband was dead before 1311; for in that year the Lady Alice appears as the wife of Richard de Valle; and at the time of the events narrated in the following pages, she was the spouse of a fourth husband, Sir John le Poer. By her first husband she had a son, named also William Outlawe, who appears to have been the heir to his father's property, and succeeded him as a banker.

He was his mother's favourite child, and seems to have inherited also a good portion of the wealth of the lady Alice's second and third husbands.

The few incidents relating to this family previous to the year 1324, which can be gathered from the entries on the Irish records, seem to show that it was not altogether free from the turbulent spirit which was so prevalent among the Anglo-Irish in former ages. It apppears that in 1302 Adam le Blond and Alice his wife intrusted to the keeping of William Outlawe the younger the sum of three thousand pounds in money, which William Outlawe, for the better security, buried in the earth within his house, a method of concealing treasure which accounts for many of our antiquarian discoveries. This was soon noised abroad; and one night William le Kyteler, the sheriff above mentioned, with others, by precept of the seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny, broke into the house *vi et armis*, as the record has it, dug up the money, and carried it off, along with a hundred pounds belonging to William Outlawe himself, which they found in the house. Such an outrage as this could not pass in silence; but the perpetrators attempted to shelter themselves under the excuse that being dug up from the ground it was *treasure-trove*, and as such belonged to the king; and, when Adam le Blond and his wife Alice attempted to make good their claims, the sheriff trumped up a charge against them that they had committed homicide and other crimes, and that they had concealed Roesia Outlawe (perhaps the sister of William Outlawe the younger), accused of theft, from the agents of justice, under which pretences he threw into prison all three, Adam, Alice, and Roesia. They were, however, soon afterwards liberated, but we do not learn if they recovered their money. William Outlawe's riches, and his mother's partiality for him, appear to have drawn upon them both the jealousy and hatred of many of their neighbours, and even of some of their kindred, but they were too powerful and too highly connected to be reached in any ordinary way.

At this time, Richard de Ledrede, a turbulent intriguing prelate, held the see of Ossory, to which he had been consecrated in 1318 by mandate from Pope John XXII., the

same pontiff to whom we owe the first bull against sorcery (*contra magos magicasque superstitiones*), which was the ground-work of the inquisitorial persecutions of the following ages. In 1324, Bishop Richard made a visitation of his diocese, and "found," as the chronicler of these events informs us, "by an inquest in which were five knights and other noblemen in great multitude, that in the city of Kilkenny there had long been, and still were, many sorcerers using divers kinds of witchcraft, to the investigation of which the Bishop proceeding, as he was obliged by duty of his office, found a certain rich lady, called the Lady Alice Kyteler, the mother of William Outlawe, with many of her accomplices, involved in various such heresies." Here, then, was a fair occasion for displaying the zeal of a follower of the sorcery-hating Pope John, and also perhaps for indulging some other passions.

The persons accused as Lady Alice's accomplices were her son the banker William Outlawe, a clerk named Robert de Bristol, John Galrussyn, William Payn of Boly, Petronilla de Meath, Petronilla's daughter Sarah, Alice the wife of Henry the Smith, Annota Lange, Helena Galrussyn, Sysok Galrussyn, and Eva de Brounstoun. The charges brought against them were distributed under seven formidable heads. First, it was asserted that, in order to give effect to their sorcery, they were in the habit of denying totally the faith of Christ and of the Church for a year or month, according as the object to be attained was greater or less, so that during the stipulated period they believed in nothing that the Church believed, and abstained from worshipping the body of Christ, from entering a church, from hearing mass, and from participating in the sacrament. Second, that they propitiated the demons with sacrifices of living animals, which they divided member from member, and offered, by scattering them in cross-roads, to a certain demon who caused himself to be called Robin Artisson (*filius Artis*), who was "one of the poorer class of hell." Third, that by their sorceries they sought counsel and answers from demons. Fourth, that they used the ceremonies of the church in their nightly conventicles, pronouncing, with lighted candles of wax, sentence of excom-

munication, even against the persons of their own husbands, naming expressly every member, from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, and at length extinguishing the candles with the exclamation "Fie! fie! fie! Amen." Fifth, that with the intestines and other inner parts of cocks sacrificed to the demons, with "certain horrible worms," various herbs, the nails of dead men, the hair, brains, and clothes of children which had died unbaptized, and other things equally disgusting, boiled in the skull of a certain robber who had been beheaded, on a fire made of oak-sticks, they had made powders and ointments, and also candles of fat boiled in the said skull, with certain charms,—which things were to be instrumental in exciting love or hatred, and in killing and otherwise afflicting the bodies of faithful Christians, and in effecting various other purposes. Sixth, that the sons and daughters of the four husbands of the Lady Alice Kyteler had made their complaint to the Bishop, that she, by such sorcery, had procured the death of her husbands, and had so infatuated and charmed them, that they had given all their property to her and her son, to the perpetual impoverishment of their own sons and heirs; insomuch that her present husband, Sir John le Poer, was reduced to a most miserable state of body by her powders, ointments, and other magical operations; but being warned by her maid-servant, he had forcibly taken from his wife the keys of her boxes, in which he found a bag filled with the "detestable" articles above enumerated, which he had sent to the Bishop. Seventh, that there was an unholy connexion between the said Lady Alice and the demon called Robin Artisson, who sometimes appeared to her in the form of a cat, sometimes in that of a black shaggy dog, and at others in the form of a black man, with two tall and equally swarthy companions, each carrying an iron rod in his hand. It is added by some of the old chroniclers, that her offering to the demon was nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes, at a certain stone bridge at a cross-road; that she had a certain ointment with which she rubbed a beam of wood "called a coulter," upon which she and her accomplices were carried to any part of the world they wished, without hurt or stoppage; that "she swept the stretes of Kilkennie betweene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the

doores of hir sonne William Outlawe, murmuring secretlie with hir selfe these words:

> 'To the house of William my sonne,
> Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie town;'"

and that in her house was seized a wafer of consecrated bread, on which the name of the devil was written.

The Bishop of Ossory resolved at once to enforce in its utmost rigour the recent papal bull against offenders of this class; but he had to contend with greater difficulties than he expected. The mode of proceeding was new; for hitherto in England sorcery was looked upon as a crime of which the secular law had cognizance, and not as belonging to the ecclesiastical court; and this is said to have been the first trial of the kind in Ireland that had attracted any public attention. Moreover, the Lady Alice, who was the person chiefly attacked, had rich and powerful supporters. The first step taken by the Bishop was to require the Chancellor to issue a writ for the arrest of the persons accused. But it happened that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland at this time was Roger Outlawe, Prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a kinsman of William Outlawe. This dignitary, in conjunction with Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, expostulated with the Bishop, and tried to persuade him to drop the suit. When, however, the latter refused to listen to them, and persisted in demanding the writ, the Chancellor informed him that it was not customary to issue a writ of this kind, until the parties had been regularly proceeded against according to law. The Bishop indignantly replied that the service of the Church was above the forms of the law of the land; but the Chancellor now turned a deaf ear, and the Bishop sent two apparitors with a formal attendance of priests to the house of William Outlawe, where Lady Alice was residing, to cite her in person before his court. The lady refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in this case; and, on the day she was to appear, the Chanceller, Roger Outlawe, sent advocates, who publicly pleaded her right to defend herself by her counsel, and not to appear in person. The Bishop, regardless of this plea, pronounced against her

the sentence of excommunication, and cited her son William Outlawe to appear on a certain day and answer to the charge of harbouring and concealing his mother in defiance of the authority of the church.

On learning this, the seneschal of Kilkenny, Arnold le Poer, repaired to the priory of Kells, where the Bishop was lodged, and made a long and touching appeal to him to mitigate his anger, until at length, wearied and provoked by his obstinacy, he left his presence with threats of vengeance. The next morning, as the Bishop was departing from the priory to continue his visitation in other parts of the diocese, he was stopped at the entrance to the town of Kells by one of the seneschal's officers, Stephen le Poer, with a body of armed men, who conducted him as a prisoner to the castle of Kilkenny, where he was kept in custody until the day was past on which William Outlawe had been cited to appear in his court. The Bishop, after many protests on the indignity offered in his person to the Church, and on the protection given to sorcerers and heretics, was obliged to submit. It was a mode of evading the form of law, characteristic of an age in which the latter was subservient to force, and the Bishop's friends believed that the king's officers were bribed by William Outlawe's wealth. They even reported afterwards, to throw more discredit on the authors of this act of violence, that one of the guards was heard to say to another, as they led him to prison, "That fair steed which William Outlawe presented to our lord Sir Arnald last night draws well, for it has drawn the Bishop to prison."

This summary mode of proceeding against an ecclesiastic appears to have caused astonishment even in Ireland, and during the first day multitudes of people of all classes visited the Bishop in his confinement, to feed and comfort him, the general ferment increasing with the discourses he pronounced to his visitors. To hinder this, the seneschal ordered him to be more strictly confined, and forbade the admission of any visitors, except a few of the Bishop's especial friends and servants. The Bishop at once placed the whole diocese under an interdict. It was necessary to prepare immediately some excuse for these proceedings, and the seneschal issued a proclamation calling upon all who had any com-

plaints to make against the Bishop of Ossory to come forward; and at an inquest held before the justices itinerant, many grievous crimes of the Bishop were rehearsed, but none would venture personally to charge him with them. All these circumstances, however, show that the Bishop was not faultless; and that his conduct would not bear a very close examination is evident, from the fact, that on more than one occasion in subsequent times he was obliged to shelter himself under the protection of the king's pardon for all past offences. William Outlawe now went to the archives of Kilkenny, and there found a former deed of accusation against the Bishop of Ossory for having defrauded a widow of the inheritance of her husband. The Bishop's party said that it was a cancelled document, the case having been taken out of the secular court; and that William had had a new copy made of it to conceal the evidence of this fact, and had then rubbed the fresh parchment with his shoes in order to give his copy the appearance of an old document. However, it was delivered to the seneschal, who now offered to release his prisoner on condition of his giving sufficient bail to appear and answer in the secular court the charge thus brought against him. This the Bishop refused to do, and after he had remained eighteen days in confinement, he was unconditionally set free.

The Bishop marched from his prison in triumph, full-dressed in his pontifical robes, and immediately cited William Outlawe to appear before him in his court on another day; but before that day arrived, he received a royal writ, ordering him to appear before the Lord Justice of Ireland without any delay, on penalty of a fine of a thousand pounds, to answer to the king for having placed his diocese under interdict, and also to make his defence against the accusations of Arnald le Poer. He received a similar summons from the Dean of St. Patrick's, to appear before him as the vicarial representative of the Archbishop of Dublin. The Bishop of Ossory made answer that it was not safe for him to undertake the journey, because his way lay through the lands and lordship of his enemy, Sir Arnald; but this excuse was not admitted, and the diocese was relieved from the interdict.

Other trials were reserved for the mortified prelate. On

the Monday after the Octaves of Easter, the seneschal, Arnald le Poer, held his court of justice in the judicial hall of the city of Kilkenny, and there the Bishop of Ossory resolved to present himself and invoke publicly the aid of the secular arm to his assistance in seizing the persons accused of sorcery. The seneschal forbade him to enter the court on his peril; but the Bishop persevered, and, "robed in his pontificals, carrying in his hands the body of Christ (the consecrated host) in a vessel of gold," and attended by a numerous body of friars and clergy, he entered the hall and forced his way to the tribunal. The seneschal received him with reproaches and insults, and caused him to be ignominiously turned out of court. At the repeated protest, however, of the offended prelate, and the intercession of some influential persons there present, he was allowed to return, and the seneschal ordered him to take his place at the bar allotted for criminals, upon which the Bishop cried out that Christ had never been treated so since he stood at the bar before Pontius Pilate. He then called upon the seneschal to cause the persons accused of sorcery to be seized and delivered into his hands, and, upon his refusal to do this, he held open the book of the decretals, and said, "You, Sir Arnald, are a knight, and instructed in letters, and that you may not have the plea of ignorance in this place, we are prepared here to show in these decretals that you and your officials are bound to obey my order in this respect under heavy penalties."

"Go to the church with your decretals," replied the seneschal, "and preach there, for here you will not find an attentive audience."

The Bishop then read aloud the names of the offenders, and the crimes imputed to them, summoned the seneschal to deliver them up to the jurisdiction of the church, and retreated from the court.

Sir Arnald le Poer and his friends had not been idle on their part, and the Bishop was next cited to defend himself against various charges in the parliament to be held at Dublin, while the Lady Alice indicted him in a secular court for defamation. The Bishop is represented as having narrowly escaped the snares which were laid for him on his

way to Dublin. He there found the Irish prelates not much inclined to advocate his cause, because they looked upon him as a foreigner and an interloper, and he was spoken of as a truant monk from England, who came thither to represent the "Island of Saints" as a nest of heretics, and to plague them with papal bulls of which they never heard before. It was, however, thought expedient to preserve the credit of the Church, and some of the more influential of the Irish ecclesiastics interfered to effect at least an outward reconciliation between the seneschal and the Bishop of Ossory. After encountering an infinity of new obstacles and disappointments, the latter at length obtained the necessary power to bring the alleged offenders to a trial, and most of them were imprisoned; but the chief object of the Bishop's proceedings, the Lady Alice, had been conveyed secretly away, and she is said to have passed the rest of her life in England. When her son, William Outlawe, was cited to appear before the Bishop in his court in the church of St. Mary at Kilkenny, he went "armed to the teeth" with all sorts of armour, and attended with a very formidable company, and demanded a copy of the charges objected against him, which extended through thirty-four chapters. He for the present was allowed to go at large, because nobody dared to arrest him; and when the officers of the crown arrived, they showed so openly their favour towards him, as to take up their lodgings at his house. At length, however, having been convicted in the Bishop's court at least of harbouring those accused of sorcery, he consented to go into prison, trusting, probably, to the secret protection of the great barons of the land.

The only person mentioned by name as punished for the extreme crime of sorcery was Petronilla de Meath, who was, perhaps, less provided with worldly interests to protect her, and who appears to have been made an expiatory sacrifice for her superiors. She was, by order of the Bishop, six times flogged, and then, probably to escape a further repetition of this cruel and degrading punishment, she made a public confession, accusing not only herself, but all the others against whom the Bishop had proceeded. She said, that in all England, "perhaps in the whole world," there was not a person more deeply skilled in the practices of sorcery than

the Lady Alice Kyteler, who had been their mistress and teacher in the art. She confessed to most of the charges contained in the Bishop's articles of accusation, and said that she had been present at the sacrifices to the demon, and had assisted in making the unguents of the intestines of the cocks offered on this occasion, mixed with spiders and certain black worms like scorpions, with a certain herb called millefoil, and other herbs and worms, and with the brains and clothes of a child that had died without baptism, in the manner before related; that with these unguents they had produced various effects upon different persons, making the faces of certain ladies appear horned like goats; that she had been present at the nightly conventicles, and with the assistance of her mistress had frequently pronounced the sentence of excommunication against her own husband, with all the ceremonies required by their unholy rites, and that she had been with the Lady Alice when demon, Robin Artisson, appeared to her. The wretched woman, having made this public confession, was carried out into the city, and publicly burnt. This, says the relater, was the first witch who was ever burnt in Ireland.

The rage of the Bishop of Ossory appears now to have been, to a certain degree, appeased. He was prevailed upon to remit the offences of William Outlawe, enjoining him, as a reparation for his contempt of the Church, that within the period of four years he should cover with lead the whole roof of his cathedral from the steeple eastward, as well as that of the chapel of the Holy Virgin. The rest of the Lady Alice's "pestiferous society" were punished in different ways, with more or less severity; one or two of them, we are told, were subsequently burnt; others were flogged publicly in the market-place and through the city; others were banished from the diocese; and a few, like their mistress, fled to a distance, or concealed themselves so effectually as to escape the hands of justice.

There was one person concerned in the foregoing events whom the Bishop had not forgotten nor forgiven. That was Arnald le Poer, the seneschal of Kilkenny, who had so strenuously advocated the cause of William Outlawe and his mother, and who had treated with so much rudeness the Bishop himself

The Latin narrative of this history, published for the Camden Society by the writer of this paper, gives no further information respecting him; hut we learn from other sources that the Bishop now accused him of heresy, had him excommunicated, and obtained a writ by which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Dublin. Here he remained in 1328, when Roger Outlawe was made Lord Justice of Ireland, who attempted to mitigate his sufferings. The Bishop of Ossory, enraged at the Lord Justice's humanity, accused him also of heresy and of abetting heretics; upon which a parliament was called, and the different accusations having been duly examined, Arnald le Poer himself would probably have been declared innocent and liberated from confinement, but before the end of the investigation he died in prison, and his body, lying under sentence of excommunication, remained long unburied.

The Bishop, who had been so great a persecutor of heresy in others, was at last accused of the same crime himself, and the case being laid before the Archbishop of Dublin, he appealed to the apostolic see, fled the country privately, and repaired to Italy. Subsequent to this, he appears to have experienced a variety of troubles, and he suffered banishment during nine years. He died at a very great age in 1360. The Bishop's party boasted that the "nest" of sorcerers which had infested Ireland was entirely rooted out by the prosecution of the Lady Alice Kyteler and her accomplices. It may, however, be well doubted if the belief in witchcraft were not rather extended by the publicity and magnitude of these events.

Ireland would no doubt afford many equally remarkable cases in subsequent times, had the chroniclers thought them as well worth recording as the process of a lady of rank, which involved some of the leading people in the English Pale, and which agitated the whole state during several successive years.—*Wright's Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, Vol. i.

AFRICAN WITCHES.

Obeah, a pretended sort of witchcraft, arising from a superstitious credulity prevailing among the negroes, has ever been considered as a most dangerous practice, to suppress which, in our West India colonies, the severest laws have been enacted. The Obeah is considered as a potent and most irresistible spell, withering and paralyzing, by indescribable terrors and unusual sensations, the devoted victim. One negro who desires to be revenged on another, and is afraid to make an open and manly attack on his adversary, has usually recourse to this practice. Like the witches' cauldron in Macbeth, it is a combination of many strange and ominous things. Earth gathered from a grave, human blood, a piece of wood fastened in the shape of a coffin, the feathers of the carrion crow, a snake or alligator's tooth, pieces of egg-shell, and other nameless ingredients, compose the fatal mixture. The whole of these articles may not be considered as absolutely necessary to complete the charm, but two or three are at least indispensable.

Mr. Long gives the following account of the furniture of the house of an Obi-woman, or African witch, in Jamaica: "The whole inside of the roof (which was of thatch), and every crevice of the walls, were stuck with the implements of her trade, consisting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thousand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, close covered, contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay, of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside, and variously compounded, some with hair and rags, or feathers of all sorts, and strongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper section of the skulls of cats, or set round with cats' teeth and claws, and with human or dogs' teeth, and some glass beads of different colours. There were also a great many egg-shells filled with a viscous or gummy substance, the qualities of which were neglected to be examined; and many little bags filled with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot, at this distance of time, be recollected." Shakespeare and Dryden have left us poetical accounts of the composition of European *Obies* or charms,

with which, and with more historical descriptions, the above may be compared. The midnight hours of the professors of Obi are also to be compared with the witches of Europe. Obi, therefore, is the serpent-worship. The Pythoness, at Delphos, was an Obi-woman. With the serpent-worship is joined that of the sun and moon, as the governors of the visible world, and emblems of human nature and of the god-head; and to the cat, on account of her nocturnal prowlings, is ascribed a mysterious relationship to the moon. The dog and the wolf, doubtless for the same reason, are similarly circumstanced.

It will of course be conceived that the practice of Obeah can have little effect unless a negro is conscious that it is practised upon him, or thinks so; for, as the whole evil consists in the terrors of a superstitious imagination, it is of little consequence whether it be practised or not if he only imagines that it is. But if the charm fails to take hold of the mind of the proscribed person, another and more certain expedient is resorted to—the secret administration of poison This saves the reputation of the sorcerer, and effects the purpose he had in view.

An Obeah man or woman (for it is practised by both sexes) is a very dangerous person on a plantation; and the practice of it is made felony by law, punishable with death where poison has been administered, and with transportation where only the charm has been used. But numbers have, and may be swept off by its infatuation before the crime is detected; for, strange as it may appear, so much do the negroes stand in awe of these Obeah professors, so much do they dread their malice and their power, that, though knowing the havoc they have made and are still making, they are afraid to discover them to the whites; and others, perhaps, are in league with them for sinister purposes of mischief and revenge.

A negro under the infatuation of Obeah can only be cured of his terrors by being made a Christian: refuse him this boon, and he sinks a martyr to imagined evils. A negro, in short, considers himself as no longer under the influence of this sorcery when he becomes a Christian. And instances are known of negroes who, being reduced by the fatal influence of Obeah to the lowest state of dejection and debility, from

which there were little hopes of recovery, have been surprisingly and rapidly restored to health and cheerfulness by being baptised Christians. The negroes believe also in apparitions, and stand in great dread of them, conceiving that they forebode death, or some other great evil, to those whom they visit,—in short, that the spirits of the dead come upon the earth to be revenged upon those who did them evil when in life. Thus we see that, not only from the remotest antiquity, but even among slaves and barbarians, the belief in supernatural agencies has been a popular creed,—not, in fact, confined to any distinct race or tribe of people; and, what is still more surprising, there is a singular and most remarkable identity in the notion or conception of their infernal ministry.

In the British West Indies, the negroes of the windward coast are called *Mandingoes*, a name which is here taken as descriptive of a peculiar race or nation. There seems reason, however, to believe that a *Mandingo* or *Mandinga*-man is properly the same with an Obi-man. A late traveller in Brazil gives us the following anecdotes of the *Mandinga* and *Mandingueiro* of the negroes in that country:—"One day," says Mr. Koster, "an old man (a negro named Apollinario) came to me with a face of dismay to show me a ball of leaves, tied up with a plant called *cypo*, which he had found under a couple of boards, upon which he slept, in an out-house. The ball was about the size of an apple. I could not imagine what had caused his alarm until he said that it was *Mandinga* which had been set for the purpose of killing him; and he bitterly bewailed his fate, that at his age any one should wish to hasten his death, and to carry him from this world, before our Lady thought fit to send him. I knew that two of the black women were at variance, and suspicion fell upon one of them, who was acquainted with the old *Mandingueiro* of Engenho Velho; therefore she was sent for. I judged that the *Mandinga* was not set for Apollonario, but for the negress whose business it was to sweep the out-house. I threatened to confine the suspected woman at Gara unless she discovered the whole affair. She said the Mandinga was placed there to make one of the negresses dislike her fellow slaves, and prefer her to the other. The ball of *Mandinga* was formed of five or six kinds of leaves of trees, among which was the pomegranate leaf; there were likewise two or

three bits of rag, each of a peculiar kind; ashes, which were the bones of some animals; and there might be other ingredients besides, but these were what I could recognise. This woman either could not from ignorance, or would not, give any information respecting the several things of which the ball was composed. I treated this matter of the *Mandinga* seriously, from knowing the faith which not only many of the negroes have in it, but also some of the mulatto people. There is another name for this kind of charm; it is called *feitiço*, and the initiated are called *feiteçeros*. Of these there was formerly one at the plantation of St. Joam, who became so much dreaded that his master sold him to be sent to Maranham."

It is remarkable that, while the etymology of *Obi* has been sought in the names of ancient deities of Egypt, and in that of the serpent in the language of the coast, the actual name of the evil deity, or *Devil*, in the same language appears to have escaped attention. That name is written by Mr. Edwards, *Obboney;* and the bearer of it is described as a malicious deity, the author of all evil, the inflictor of perpetual diseases, and whose anger is to be appeased only by human sacrifices. This evil deity is the Satan of our own faith; and it is the worship of Satan which, in all parts of the world, constitutes the essence of sorcery.

If this name of *Obboney* has any relation to the Ob of Egypt, and if the Ob, both anciently in Egypt, and to this day in the west of Africa, signifies "a serpent," what does this discover to our view but that Satan has the name of *serpent* among the Negro nations as well as among those of Europe? How it has happened that the serpent, which, in some systems, is the emblem of the good spirit, should in others be the emblem of the evil one, is a topic which belongs to a more extensive inquiry. This is enough for our present satisfaction, to remember that the profession of, and belief in sorcery or witchcraft, supposes the existence of two deities,—the one the author of good, and the other the author of evil; the one worshipped by good men for good things and good purposes, and the other by bad men for bad things and purposes; and that this worship is sorcery and the worshippers sorcerers.

It will be seen that, since African charms are to prevent

evil, and others to procure it, the first belong to the worship, and are derived from the power, of the good spirit; and the second are from the opposite source. It is to be concluded, then, that the superstition of *Obi* is no other than the practice of and belief in the worship of *Obboney* or *Oboni*, the evil deity of the Africans, the serpent of Africa and of Europe, and the old serpent and Satan of the Scriptures; and that the witchcraft of the negroes is evidently the same with our own. It might, indeed, be further shown that the latter have their temporary transformations of men into alligators, wolves, and the like; as the French have their loups-garoux, the Germans their war-wolves, wolf-men, and the rest.—*Thaumaturgia, or Elucidations of the Marvellous.*

VAMPIRES.

ACCOUNT OF A VAMPIRE, TAKEN FROM THE JEWISH LETTERS (LETTRES JUIVES), LETTER 137.

We have just had in this part of Hungary a scene of vampirism, which is duly attested by two officers of the tribunal of Belgrade, who went down to the places specified, and by an officer of the emperor's troops at Graditz, who was an ocular witness of the proceedings.

In the beginning of September there died in the village of Kisilova, three leagues from Graditz, an old man who was sixty-two years of age. Three days after he had been buried he appeared in the night to his son, and asked him for something to eat; the son having given him something, he ate and disappeared. The next day the son recounted to his neighbours what had happened. That night the father did not appear, but the following night he showed himself, and asked for something to eat. They know not whether the son gave him anything or not, but the next day he was found dead in his bed. On the same day five or six persons fell suddenly ill in the village, and died one after the other in a few days.

The officer or bailiff of the place, when informed of what had happened, sent an account of it to the tribunal of Bel-

grade, which despatched to the village two of these officers and an executioner to examine into this affair. The imperial officer from whom we have this account repaired thither from Graditz, to be witness of a circumstance which he had so often heard spoken of.

They opened the graves of those who had been dead six weeks. When they came to that of the old man, they found him with his eyes open, having a fine colour, with natural respiration, nevertheless motionless as the dead; whence they concluded that he was most evidently a vampire. The executioner drove a stake into his heart; they then raised a pile and reduced the corpse to ashes. No mark of vampirism was found either on the corpse of the son, or on the others.

Thanks be to God, we are by no means credulous. We avow that all the light which science can throw on this fact discovers none of the causes of it. Nevertheless, we cannot refuse to believe that to be true which is juridically attested, and by persons of probity. We will here relate what happened in 1732, and which is inserted in the *Glaneur*, No. XVIII.

OTHER INSTANCES OF GHOSTS—CONTINUATION OF THE GLEANER.

In a certain canton of Hungary, named in Latin *Oppida Heidanum*, beyond the Tibisk, *vulgo* Theiss,—that is to say, between that river which waters the fortunate territory of Tokay and Transylvania,—the people known by the name of *Heyducs* believe that certain dead persons, whom they call vampires, suck all the blood from the living, so that these become visibly attenuated, whilst the corpses, like leeches, fill themselves with blood in such abundance, that it is seen even oozing through the pores. This opinion has just been confirmed by several facts which cannot be doubted, from the rank of the witnesses who have certified them. We will here relate some of the most remarkable.

About five years ago, a certain Heyduc, inhabitant of Madreiga, named Arnald Paul, was crushed to death by the fall of a waggon-load of hay. Thirty days after his death four persons died suddenly, and in the same manner in which,

according to the tradition of the country, those die who are molested by vampires. They then remembered that this Arnald Paul had frequently related that, in the environs of Cassovia, and on the frontiers of Turkish Servia, he had often been tormented by a Turkish vampire; for they believe, also, that those who have been passive vampires during life become active ones after their death,—that is to say, that those who have been sucked suck also in their turn; but that he had found means to cure himself by eating earth from the grave of the vampire, and smearing himself with his blood,—a precaution which, however, did not prevent him from becoming also a vampire after his death, since, on being exhumed forty days after his interment, they found on his corpse all the indications of an arch-vampire. His body was red, his hair, nails, and beard had all grown again, and his veins were replete with fluid blood, which flowed from all parts of his body upon the winding-sheet which encompassed him. The Hadnagi, or baillie of the village, in whose presence the exhumation took place, and who was skilled in vampirism, had, according to custom, a very sharp stake driven into the heart of the defunct Arnald Paul, and which pierced his body through and through, which made him, as they say, utter a frightful shriek, as if he had been alive: that done, they cut off his head and burnt the whole body. After that they performed the same on the corpses of the four other persons who died of vampirism, fearing that they in their turn might cause the death of others.

All these performances, however, could not prevent the recommencement of similar fatal prodigies towards the end of last year (1732),—that is to say, five years after,—when several inhabitants of the same village perished miserably. In the space of three months seventeen persons of different sexes and different ages died of vampirism; some without being ill, and others after languishing two or three days. It is reported, amongst other things, that a girl named Stanoska, daughter of the Heyducq Jotiüsto, who went to bed in perfect health, awoke in the middle of the night in a great trembling, uttering terrible shrieks, and saying that the son of Heyducq Millo, who had been dead nine weeks, had nearly strangled her in her sleep. She fell into a languid state from that moment, and at the end of three days she

died. What this girl had said of Millo's son made him known at once for a vampire: he was exhumed, and found to be such. The principal people of the place, with the doctors and surgeons, examined how vampirism could have sprung up again after the precautions they had taken some years before.

They discovered at last, after much search, that the defunct Arnald Paul had killed not only the four persons of whom we have spoken, but also several oxen, of which the new vampires had eaten, and, amongst others, the son of Millo. Upon these indications they resolved to disinter all those who had died within a certain time, &c. Amongst forty, seventeen were found with all the most evident signs of vampirism; therefore they transfixed their hearts, and cut off their heads also, and then cast their ashes into the river.

All the informations and executions we have just mentioned were made juridically, in proper form, and attested by several officers who were garrisoned in the country, by the chief surgeons of the regiments, and by the principal inhabitants of the place. The verbal process of it was sent, towards the end of last January, to the Imperial Council of War at Vienna, which had established a military commission to examine into the truth of all these circumstances.

Such was the declaration of the Hadnagi Barriarar and the ancient Heyducqs, and it was signed by Battuer, first lieutenant of the regiment of Alexander of Wurtemburg, Clickstenger, surgeon-in-chief of the regiment of Frustemburch, three other surgeons of the company, and Guoichitz, captain at Stallach.—*Phantom World*, Vol. ii.

AMULETS AND CHARMS.

Boyle, says the author of the Demonologia, is persuaded that some of these external medicaments answer; for that, being himself subject to a bleeding from the nose, and obliged to use several remedies to check this discharge, he found the moss of a dead man's skull, though only applied so as to touch the skin until the

moss became warm from being in contact with it, to be the most efficacious remedy. A remarkable instance of this nature was communicated to Zwelfer, by the chief physician to the states of Moravia, who, having prepared some troches, or lozenges of toads, after the manner of Van Helmont, not only found that, being worn as amulets, they preserved him, his domestics, and friends from the plague, but that, when applied to the carbuncles or buboes, a consequence of this disease, in others, they found themselves greatly relieved, and many even saved by them.

The learned Dr. Warburton is evidently wrong when he assigns the origin of these magical instruments to the age of the Ptolemies, which was not more than 300 years before Christ. For Galen tells us that the Egyptian king, Nechepsus, who lived 630 years before the Christian era, had written that a green jasper cut into the form of a dragon surrounded with rays, if applied externally, would strengthen the stomach and organs of digestion. We have, moreover, the authority of the Scriptures in support of this opinion; for what were the ear-rings which Jacob buried under the oak of Sechem, as related in Genesis, but amulets? And we are informed by Josephus, in his Antiquities of the Jews (lib. viii. c. ii. v.), that Solomon discovered a plant efficacious in the cure of epilepsy, and that he employed the aid of a charm or spell for the purpose of assisting its virtues. The root of the herb was concealed in a ring, which was applied to the nostrils of the demoniac: and Josephus remarks that he himself saw a Jewish priest practise the art of Solomon with complete success in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, and the tribunes of the Roman army. Nor were such means confided to the dark and barbarous ages. Theophrastus pronounced Pericles to be insane, because he discovered that he wore an amulet about his neck; and in the declining era of the Roman Empire this superstitious custom was so general, that the Emperor Caracalla was induced to make a public edict, ordaining that no man should wear any superstitious amulets about his person.

Dr. Chamberlayne's anodyne necklace for a long time was the *sine quâ non* of mothers and nurses, until its virtue was

lost by its reverence being destroyed, and those which have succeeded it have nearly run their race. The Grey Liverwort was at one time thought not only to have cured hydrophobia, but, by wearing it about the person, to have prevented the bite of mad dogs. Calvert paid devotions to St. Hubert for the recovery of his son, who was cured by this means. The son also performed the necessary rites at the shrine, and was cured not only of the hydrophobia, "but of the worser frenzy with which his father had instilled him." Cramp rings were also used, and eel-skins tied round the limbs, to prevent this spasmodic affection; and sticks laid crosswise on the floor on going to bed have also performed the like service. Numerous are the charms, amulets, and incantations used even in the present day for the removal of warts. We are told by Lord Verulam (vol. iii. p. 234) that, when he was at Paris, he had above a hundred warts on his hands, and that the English ambassador's lady, then at court, and a woman far above superstition, removed them all by rubbing them with the fat side of the rind of a piece of bacon, which was afterwards nailed to a post with the fat side towards the south. "In five weeks," says my lord, "they were all removed."

As Lord Verulam is allowed to have been as great a genius as this country ever produced, it may not be irrelevant to the present subject to give, in his own words, what he has observed respecting the power of amulets. After deep metaphysical observations in nature, and arguments in palliation of sorcery, witchcraft, and divination, effects that far outstrip the belief in amulets, he observes, "We should not reject all of this kind, because it is not known how far those contributing to superstition depend on natural causes. Charms have not their power from contracts with evil spirits, but proceed wholly from strengthening the imagination, in the same manner that images and their influence have prevailed in religion; being called, from a different way of use and application, sigils, incantations, and spells.

There are many enthusiastic and equally credulous authors who have encouraged the belief in the reality of philters, and who adduce facts in confirmation of their opinions, as in all doubtful cases. Among these may

be quoted Van Helmont, who says that, by holding a certain herb in his hand, and afterwards taking a little dog by the foot with the same hand, the animal followed him wherever he went, and quite deserted his former master. He also adds that philters only require a confirmation of Mumia. [By Mumia is here understood that which was used by some ancient physicians for some kind of implanted spirit, found chiefly in carcases, when the infused spirit is fled; a kind of sympathetic influence, communicated from one body to another, by which magnetic cures, etc. were said to be performed.] On the principle of sympathetic influence he accounts for the phenomena of love transplanted by the touch of an herb; "for," says he, "the heat communicated to the herb, not coming alone, but animated by the emanations of the natural spirits, determines the herb towards the man, and identifies it to him. Having then received this ferment, it attracts the spirit of the other object magnetically, and gives it an amorous motion." But all this is mere absurdity, and has fallen to the ground with the other irrational hypothesis from the same source.—*Demonologia.*

ON THE ORIGIN AND SUPERSTITIOUS INFLUENCE OF RINGS.

According to the accounts of the heathen mythologists, Prometheus, who, in the first times, had discovered a great number of secrets, having been delivered from the charms by which he was fastened to Mount Caucasus for stealing fire from heaven, in memory or acknowledgment of the favour he received from Jupiter, made himself of one of those chains a ring, in whose collet he represented the figure of part of the rock where he had been detained,—or rather, as Pliny says, set it in a bit of the same rock, and put it on his finger. This was the first ring and the first stone. But we otherwise learn that the use of rings is very ancient, and the Egyptians were the first inventors of them; which seems confirmed by the person of Joseph, who, as we read (Genesis, chap. xi.) for having interpreted Pharaoh's dream, received not only his liberty, but was rewarded with his

prince's ring, a collar of gold, and the superintendency of Egypt.

Josephus, in the third Book of Jewish Antiquities, says the Israelites had the use of them after passing the Red Sea, because Moses, at his return from Mount Sinai, found that they had forged the golden calf from their wives' rings, enriched with precious stones. The same Moses, upwards of 400 years before the wars of Troy, permitted to the priests whom he had established the use of gold rings, enriched with precious stones. The high priest wore upon his ephod, which was a kind of camail, rich rings, that served as clasps: a large emerald was set and engraved with mysterious names. The ring he wore on his finger was of inestimable value and celestial virtue. Had not Aaron, the high priest of the Hebrews, a ring on his finger, whereof the diamond, by its virtues, operated prodigious things? For it changed its vivid lustre into a dark colour, when the Hebrews were to be punished by death for their sins. When they were to fall by the sword it appeared of a blood-red colour; if they were innocent it sparkled as usual.

It is observable that the ancient Hebrews used rings even in the time of the wars of Troy. Queen Jezebel, to destroy Nabath, as it is related in the first Book of Kings, made use of the ring of Ahab, King of the Israelites, her husband, to seal the counterfeit letters that ordered the death of that unfortunate man. Did not Judah, as mentioned in the 38th chapter of Genesis, give to his daughter-in-law, Thamar, who had disguised herself, his ring and bracelets as a pledge of the faith he had promised her.

Though Homer is silent in regard to rings, both in his Iliad and Odyssey, they were, notwithstanding, used in the time of the Greeks and Trojans, and from them they were received by several other nations. The Lacedemonians, as related by Alexander ab. Alexandro, pursuant to the orders of their king, Lycurgus, had only iron rings, despising those of gold: either their king was thereby willing to retrench luxury or to prohibit the use of them.

The ring was reputed by some nations a symbol of liberality, esteem, and friendship, particularly among the Persians, none being permitted to wear any except they were

given by the king himself. This is what may be also remarked in the person of Apolloneus Thyaneus, who, as a token of singular esteem and liberality, received one from the great Iarchas, prince of the Gymnosophists, who were the ancient priests of India, and dwelt in forests, as our ancient bards and Druids, where they applied themselves to the study of wisdom, and to the observation of the heaven and the stars. This philosopher, by the means of that ring, learned every day the secrets of nature.

Though the ring found by Gyges, shepherd to the King of Lydia, has more of fable than of truth in it, it will not, however, be amiss to relate what is said concerning Herodotus Cœlius, after Plato and Cicero, in the third Book of his Offices. This Gyges, after a great flood, passed into a very deep cavity in the earth, where, having found in the belly of a brazen horse, with a large aperture in it, a human body of enormous size, he pulled off from one of the fingers a ring of surprising virtue; for the stone on the collet rendered him who wore it invisible, or when the collet was turned towards the palm of the hand, the party could see, without being seen, all manner of persons and things. Gyges, having made trial of its efficacy, bethought himself that it would be a means for ascending the throne of Lydia, and for gaining the queen to wife. He succeeded in his designs, having killed Candaules, her husband. The dead body to whom this ring belonged was that of an ancient Brahman, who, in his time, was chief of that sect.

In a Polyglot dictionary, published in the year 1625, by John Minshew, our attention was attracted by the following observations under the article "Ring Finger:"—"Vetus versiculus singulis digitis Annulum trebuens Miles, Mercator, Stultus, Maritus, Amator. Pollici adscribitur Militi, seu Doctor. Mercatorum à pollice secundum, stultorum, tertium. Nuptorum vel studiosorum quartum. Amatorum ultimum."

By which it appears that the fingers on which annuli were anciently worn were directed by the calling or peculiarity of the party. Were it

A soldier or doctor, to him was assigned the thumb;

A sailor, the finger next the thumb;

A fool, the middle finger;
A married or diligent person, the fourth or ring finger;
A lover, the last or little finger.

The medicinal or curative powers of rings are numerous, and, as a matter of course, founded on imaginary qualities. Thus the wedding ring rubbed upon that little abscess called the stye, which is frequently seen on the tarsi of the eyes, is said to remove it. Certain rings are worn as talismans, either on the fingers or suspended from the neck, the efficacy of which may be referred to the effects usually produced by these charms.—*Thaumaturgia.*

NARCOTICS.

There is reason to believe that the Pagan priesthood were under the influence of some narcotic during the display of their oracular powers; but the effects produced would seem rather to resemble those of opium, or perhaps of stramonium, than of prussic acid. Monardus tells us, that the priests of the American Indians, whenever they were consulted by their chiefs, or *caciques*, as they are called, took certain leaves of the tobacco, and cast them into the fire, and then received the smoke thus produced in their mouths, in consequence of which they fell down upon the ground; and that after having remained for some time in a stupor, they recovered, and delivered the answers, which they pretended to have received during their supposed intercourse with the world of spirits. The sedative powers of the garden lettuce were known in the earliest times. Among the fables of antiquity we read, that after the death of Adonis, Venus threw herself upon a bed of lettuces, to lull her grief. The sea-onion, or *squill*, was administered by the Egyptians in cases of dropsy, under the mystic title of the Eye of Typhon. The practices of incision and scarification were employed in the camp of the Greeks before Troy, and the application of spirit to wounds was also understood, for we find the experienced Nestor applying a

cataplasm, composed of cheese, onion, and meal, mixed up with the wine of Pramnos, to the wounds of Machaon.—*Demonologia.*

FAIRIES.

WELSH FAIRIES.

Amongst other tales connected with Pantshonshenkin, is the following:—

A young man had just quitted an adjacent farm-house early one fine summer's morning, when he heard a little bird singing in the most enchanting strain on a tree close by: allured by the melody, he sat down under it until the music ceased, when he arose, supposing a few minutes only had elapsed, but his surprise may well be imagined, when he saw the tree withered and barkless. Returning full of astonishment to the house, he found that changed too, and no one within but an old man whom he had never seen before. He asked him what he was doing there? upon which the old man abruptly enquired who was he that dared insult him in his own house? "In your own house! where's my father and mother," said he, "whom I left here a few minutes since, while I listened to the most charming music under yon tree, which, when I arose, was withered and leafless, and all things, too, seemed changed." "Under the tree!—music!—what is your name?" "John," said he. "Poor John," cried out the old man, "I heard my grandfather, who was your father, often speak of you, and long did he bewail your absence; fruitless enquiries were made of you, but old Catti Madlen, of Brechfa, said that you were under the power of fairies, and would not be released until the last sap of that sycamore tree was dried up." "Embrace, embrace, my dear uncle, your nephew!" The old man was about to embrace him, but he suddenly crumbled into dust!

In ancient days, a door in a rock near the lake was found open upon a certain day every year,—I think it was May-day; those who had the curiosity and resolution to enter, were conducted by a secret passage which terminated in a

small island in the centre of the lake: here the visitors were surprised with the prospect of a most enchanting garden, stored with choicest fruits and flowers, and inhabited by the Tylwyth Teg, or Fair Family, a kind of fairies, whose beauty could be equalled only by the courtesy and affability which they exhibited to those who pleased them: they gathered fruits and flowers for each of their guests, entertained them with the most exquisite music, disclosed to them many secrets of futurity, and invited them to stay as long as they should find their attention agreeable; but the island was secret, and nothing of the produce must be carried away. The whole of this scene was invisible to those who stood without the margin of the lake; only an indistinct mass was seen in the middle, and it was observed that no bird would fly over the water, and that a soft strain of music at times breathed with rapturous sweetness in the breeze of the morning.

It happened upon one of these annual visits that a sacrilegious wretch, when about to leave the garden, put a flower, with which he had been presented, in his pocket; but the theft boded him no good. As soon as he had touched unhallowed ground, the flower vanished, and he lost his senses. Of this injury the Fair Family took no notice at the time; they dismissed their guests with their accustomed courtesy, and the door was closed as usual, but their resentment ran high, for though, as the tale goes, the Tylwyth Teg and their garden undoubtedly occupy the spot to this day, though the birds still keep at a respectful distance from the lake, and some broken strains of music are still heard at times, yet the door which led to the island was never reopened, and from the date of this sacrilegious act, the Cymry have been unfortunate.

Some time after this, an adventurous person attempted to draw off the water, in order to discover its contents, when a terrific form arose from the midst of the lake, commanding him to desist, or otherwise he would drown the country.—*Cambrian Superstitions.*

SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS.

Amongst the various mysterious manifestations that have been treated of in the preceding pages, few have created more attention than the so-called spiritual manifestations; which, originating in America, have yet not been wholly confined to that continent. It will be our endeavour to give the reader, first, a succinct and impartial narrative of the movement; and, secondly, by the help of kindred phenomena we may somewhat attempt to elucidate the mystery.

This movement originated in the village of Hydesville, township of Arcadia, Wayne county, New York, at the close of March, 1848, or, more accurately, on the 11th of Dec. 1847. A Mr. Michael Weekman was troubled about this period with knockings, without being able to detect their cause. Soon after this his house was occupied by Mr. John D. Fox, of Rochester, when the disturbance increased and varied in character, assuming the form of moving chairs, etc., without any apparent cause. At length the raps assumed a certain regularity, and responded to the knocks or questions of the family, till an alphabetic and telegraphic correspondence was established between members of the Fox family and the mysterious invisible agent. Two daughters of Mr. Fox appear to have been the principal media in the communications thus far; and to these was added shortly afterwards a widowed daughter of Mrs. Fox, named Mrs. Fish. One Margaretta Fox, aged fourteen, proceeding on a visit to Mrs. Fish at Rochester, the sounds accompanied her as if they "had packed the thing among the beds." The intelligence of these phenomena spread rapidly, and created a great sensation; public meetings were held, and committees examined the question without arriving at any solution. The manifestations were ultimately heard even at the house of a wealthy resident at Rochester, Mr. Grainger, without the presence of either Mrs. Fish or her sister.

The movement extended very speedily throughout the Union; indeed, the rapidity of its diffusion is almost without a parallel in the history of the development of religious truths or delusions.

In 1852, Philadelphia alone reckoned three hundred circles or channels of communication between the known and the unknown; and it was calculated that in September, 1853, there were thirty thousand media in the United States.

Before we dismiss the Fox family, it is as well to observe that, even amid conflicting accounts, respectable authorities in the United States vouch for the perfect honesty and good faith of the Fox family. It is true that one opponent arose threatening to demolish them, but they weathered the storm. Mrs. Culver, a connection of the family, endeavoured to expose the whole trick, by stating that Catherine Fox had taught her the way in which the sounds were produced with her toes. Unfortunately, many of Mrs. Culver's statements were subsequently found to be falsehoods, and she seems to have been gifted with a remarkably inventive faculty: hence the success of the Fox family and the movement was not affected by her disclosures. Other difficulties were started by some opponents, who professed to be able to make the same sounds with their knee and ankle-joints.

Leaving the Foxes, we have to remark that two years subsequently similar occurrences took place in the house of a Dr. Phelps, at Stratford, Connecticut. This gentleman, who is a Presbyterian minister, is said to enjoy the reputation of being a most worthy, intelligent, and upright man. We cannot enter into the particulars of his case, but it will suffice to say that all kinds of extraordinary phenomena disturbed his residence, which he and his numerous visitors professed themselves incapable of accounting for by any known agency; that he met with much annoyance and persecution on this subject, that he threw his house open to all visitors, challenged enquiry, and at length offered to present his house and all it contained to any one who would detect the cause. Among innumerable singular and unaccountable manifestations, we can only find space to introduce the following statement of Dr. Phelps:—I have seen things in motion more than a thousand times, and in most cases where no visible power existed by which the motion could have been produced. There have been broken from my windows *seventy-one panes of glass*, more than thirty of which I have seen break with my own eyes. I have seen

objects, such as brushes, tumblers, candlesticks, snuffers, etc. which but a few minutes before I knew to be at rest, fly against the glass and dash it to pieces, where it was utterly impossible, from the direction in which they moved, that any visible power should have caused their motion. As to the reality of the facts, they can be proved by testimony a hundred-fold greater than is ordinarily required in our courts of justice in cases of life and death."

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into a circumstantial narration of the movement. It will be quite sufficient to give a brief statement of the convictions held by the advocates of this movement, of the various forms of manifestation recently developed, and of the most singular cases on record.

As the movement gradually progressed, it naturally excited the greatest attention, and became ultimately united with certain religious convictions that have rapidly spread notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, much persecution. Many of the earlier media or vehicles of these communications, persons whose peculiar nervous and electric temperament was thought to favour intercourse with departed spirits, asserted, and their friends confirmed the fact, that these invisible powers, by certain distinct knockings, corresponding to the place of the letters in the alphabet, were able to convey messages. Such was the initial and elementary form of spiritual communication, of which more will be said presently. By means of this correspondence it was asserted that messages were conveyed from departed spirits, some of an admonitory, others of a consolatory character. These messages differed according to circumstances, as would be natural, proceeding from the necessary diversities of character in earthly or disembodied spirits. Some messages were of a sublime tendency, some indifferent, more puerile, and but few, if any, morally injurious. In dogmatical and theological matters the messages also varied, but commonly agreed in teaching naturalistic faith; in denouncing the tyranny and selfishness of certain churches; in condemning the dreadful doctrines of hell and damnation; in enforcing brotherly love, purity, charity, and truthfulness; and in directing persevering efforts to spread this new re-

formation. The messages proceeded to assert that a new era is dawning on mankind, when more familiar intercourse with the world of spirits would be held; that the progress man has made in science and wisdom is preparing for this happy consummation; and that it has been the researches of scientific spirits, especially Franklin's, which have discovered the means of holding intercourse with the children of earth through the medium of powerful vital electro-magnetic currents! With regard to the question of the utility of these manifestations, many messages appear to describe them as sent to comfort the mourner, to convert the sceptic, and to heal the diseased; and it is said that this assertion has been extensively justified by experience in America.

The manifestations first took the form of rappings; but these rappings assumed protean forms. They would occur inside and outside a door together, at opposite doors simultaneously, on the floor, on the walls, when the feet of the media were isolated on glass stools, etc., and many knocks with various sounds would occur at the same time in the same table. But the rappings, it is said, soon became the least remarkable of the phenomena. Musical media, writing media, bird media, etc. etc. we are assured have been since developed. Media with no taste for music, when impressed, would play well on the piano; others would paint creditably who had no knowledge of the art; pianos and violoncellos would play of themselves, without visible contact; and the hand and pen of media would write various messages mechanically, without any effort of volition or thought. The minds of the media would be impressed with important messages and interesting scenes, partaking of the nature of clairvoyance and prevision; writing would take place without human agency; tables, furniture, etc. would move with and without contact, in opposition to great pressure, and with tremendous force. A very humble phase of these developments has crossed the Atlantic, and visited the conservative countries in Europe under the form of table-turning. The bigots have fancied they detected satanic agency in the novelty and the mystery of this movement; Professor Faraday, and other scientific men,

have explained all by involuntary muscular action, though the believers in these marvels assure us that there are scores of well-attested cases, where no muscle was within three, or even six, feet of the moving tables; and, in short, as usual with all new and unaccountable phenomena, it has been hushed up or laughed down.

Our space will not permit us to dwell on all the singular forms of development presented by this movement; but it will be obvious to the reader, from what has been said, that the dancing tables, as the French style them, present a remarkable analogy to the epidemic called St. Vitus's Dance, in the middle ages; and that whatever the cause of these singular movements—whether it be subjective or objective—it is evidently a psychological as well as a physiological phenomenon, and that all attempted explanations that keep to bone and muscle will fail to solve the mystery. As it will be our endeavour presently to offer some additional elucidations on this point, we shall confine ourselves for the moment to a farther consideration of the most striking recent manifestations in America. And here we cannot do better than cite the authority and follow the statements of Judge Edmonds, a man of high integrity and intelligence, but evidently of a highly nervous temperament, and who has been expelled from the American Senate for his advocacy of spiritualism.

It was in January, 1851, that the attention of Judge Edmonds was first directed to the subject of Spiritual Intercourse. He was at that time withdrawn from society, and labouring under great depression of spirits. He occupied his leisure in reading on the subject of death, and man's existence afterwards. He had heard so many conflicting and contradictory opinions on this suject from the pulpit, that he hardly knew what to believe: he was anxiously seeking to know if after death we should again meet those whom we had loved here. In this uncertainty he was invited by a friend to witness the "Rochester Knockings." He complied, more to please his friend and as a diversion, than for any other purpose. He was a good deal impressed by what he witnessed, and determined to investigate the matter thoroughly. If it were a delusion or

a deception, he thought that he could detect it. For four months he devoted two evenings in the week to witnessing the phenomenon in all its phases. He kept a careful record of all he witnessed, and from time to time compared his notes to detect contradictions and inconsistencies. He read all books on the subject that he could procure, especially such as professed to be exposures of the humbug. He went from place to place, seeing different mediums, meeting with different parties of persons, often with persons whom he had never met before, and sometimes where he was himself entirely unknown—sometimes in the dark, and sometimes in the light,—often with inveterate unbelievers, and more frequently with zealous believers. In fine, he availed himself of every opportunity that was afforded, thoroughly to sift the matter to the bottom. All this time he was a sceptic, and tried the patience of believers sorely by his obdurate refusal to yield his belief. He saw around him some who yielded a ready faith after one or two sittings; others, under the same circumstances, avowing a determined unbelief; some refused to witness anything, and yet remained confirmed sceptics. Judge Edmonds would not imitate either of these parties, but refused to yield, unless upon most irrefragable testimony. At length the evidence came, and to his mind, in such force, that no sane man could withhold his faith.

The question hitherto uninvestigated by him was, whether what he saw was produced by mere mortal means, or by some invisible unknown agency: in short, if it were deception, or produced by some unknown cause. He proceeds to give a general idea of what commonly characterised his hypothetical interviews, numbering several hundred already. Most of them took place in the presence of others. He preserved the names of the witnesses, but generally refuses to publish them, to avoid their incurring the obloquy and persecution that he has personally endured. He asserts that the following considerations grow out of the facts:—1st, that he has thus very many witnesses whom he can invoke to confirm the truth of his statements; and 2ndly, that if he has been deceived and did not see what he thought he saw, his delusion has been shared

by many as intelligent, honest, and enlightened persons as can be found in the Union.

His attention was first called to the manifestations by the rappings, the then most usual, and now the most inconsiderable mode of intercourse. He was naturally suspicious of deception, and at first trusted to his senses and the conclusions drawn by his intellect from their evidence. But he was at a loss to account for the media causing what he witnessed under the following circumstances: the media walking the length of a suite of parlours, forty or fifty feet, and the rappings being distinctly heard five or six feet behind them, the whole distance, backward and forward several times; being heard near the top of a mahogany door above where the medium could reach, and as if struck hard with a fist; being heard on the bottom of a carriage when travelling on a railroad, and on the floor and the table, when seated in court, at an eating-house and by the side of the road; being heard at different parts of the room, sometimes several feet distant from the medium, and where he could not reach,—sometimes on the table, and immediately after on the floor, and then at different parts of the table, in rapid succession, enabling the spectators and auditors to feel the vibration, as well as hear the sounds,—sometimes when the hands and feet of the medium were both firmly and carefully held by some one of the party, and sometimes on a table when no one touched it.

After depending on his senses as to these various phases of the phenomena, Judge Edmonds had recourse to the aid of science with the help of an accomplished electrician and his apparatus, besides which eight or ten intelligent, educated persons, examined the matter. They continued their investigation for several days, and established to their perfect satisfaction two things,—first, that the sounds were not generated by the agency of any present or near them; second, that they were not forthcoming at their will and pleasure.

Meanwhile another feature attracted his attention,—*i. e.* the physical manifestations, as they are termed. Thus the Judge affirms that he has known a deal table with four legs lifted bodily from the floor, in the centre of a circle of six or eight persons, turned upside down and laid on its top at

their feet, then lifted up over their heads, and put leaning against the back of the sofa on which they sat. He adds that he has known that same table to be lifted up on two legs, its top at an angle with the floor of 45 degrees, when it neither fell over of itself, nor could any person present put it back on its four legs. He states that he has seen a mahogany table having only a centre leg, and with a lamp burning upon it, lifted from the floor at least a foot, in spite of the efforts of those present, and shaken backwards and forwards as one would shake a goblet in his hand, and the lamp retain its place, though the glass pendants rang again. He has seen the same table tipped up, with the same lamp upon it, so far that the lamp must have fallen off unless retained there by something else than its own gravity; yet it neither fell nor stirred. He has known a dinner bell taken from a high shelf in a closet, rung over the heads of four or five persons in that closet, then rung around the room over the heads of twelve or fifteen persons in the back parlour, and then borne through the folding doors to the farther end of the front parlour, and there dropped on the floor. He has frequently known persons pulled about with a force which it was impossible for them to resist, and once when all his own strength was added in vain to that of the person thus influenced. He has known a mahogany chair thrown on its side and moved rapidly backwards and forwards without any person touching it, through a room in which at least a dozen people were seated, yet nobody was touched; and it repeatedly stopped within a few inches of the judge when it was coming with a velocity which, if not arrested, must have broken his legs!

The judge affirms that this is not a hundredth part of what he has witnessed, but enough to show the general character of what he has seen. Yet he adds that he has heard of yet more extraordinary transactions from others whose testimony would be credited in any human transaction.

During this time Judge Edmunds read the exposures and explanations of the humbug, and declares that he could not but smile at the rashness and futility of the explanations; for while some learned professors were chuckling on having detected the secret in the toe and knee-joints, the manifestations at New York changed to ringing a bell placed under the table.

Thus far our authority has confined himself to what he witnessed in the presence of others. He has preferred, he says, not to subject his individual veracity to the judgment of those who would have persecuted Galileo for discovering the planetary system, and have united in the cry of "folly" at Fulton's steamboat, "humbug" at Morse's telegraph, and "insanity" at Grey's iron road.

Having by patient inquiry satisfied himself on this point, the Judge proceeded to inquire whence comes the intelligence that is behind it all; for he considers that intelligence as a remarkable feature of the phenomenon. He states that he has known mental questions answered—*i. e.* questions merely framed in the mind of the interrogator, and not revealed by him or known to others. Before joining a circle he has often prepared a series of questions, and found them answered in the same order without his having even taken a memorandum of them in his pocket. His most secret thoughts—those which he has never uttered to mortal man or woman—have been as freely replied to as if he had uttered them. Purposes which he has secretly entertained have been publicly revealed, and he has been repeatedly admonished that his every thought could be disclosed by the intelligence manifesting itself.

He has heard the media use Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French words, when they knew no language but their own; and he asserts that it is a well-attested fact that there has been much talking and writing in tongues with which the media were unacquainted.

Judge Edmonds meets the objection of all these latter phenomena being perhaps only the reflection of the minds of the circle, by stating that facts were often communicated, unknown then, but afterwards found to be true. Also thoughts have been uttered on subjects not then in his mind, and utterly at variance with his views.

"These are not apocryphal cases," observes the Judge; "the parties are at hand, and in our very midst, and any person that pleases may make the investigation as I have done."

But all this, and much more of a cognate nature, goes to show, in the opinion of our authority, that there is

a high order of intelligence involved in this new phenomenon—an intelligence beyond mere mortal agency.

He directed his attention to this inquiry, devoting all his leisure hours for more than two years to the task. He went from circle to circle, from medium to medium, seeking knowledge on all hands on the subject, either from books or observations, and bringing to bear on the subject all the acuteness with which he had been gifted by nature, and which, we might suppose, had been sharpened by his professional experience.

He states that there were many ways in which this secret intelligence communed with them besides the rappings and table-liftings, and that through those other modes there came very many communications remarkable for their eloquence, their high order of intellect, and their pure and lofty moral tone, at the same time that he discovered many inconsistencies and contradictions calculated to mislead, and that he endeavoured to elicit something valuable from this chaos. He refers the public to his book in evidence of his success.

To such as imagine that he overrates the importance of the subject, he replies that scarcely four years have elapsed since the Rochester knockings were first known in America. Then media could be counted by units, but now by thousands; then believers could be numbered by hundreds, now by tens of thousands. It is believed by the best informed that the whole number in the United States must be several hundred thousand, and that in New York and its vicinity there must be from twenty-five to thirty thousand. There are ten or twelve newspapers and periodicals, some of which have already attained a circulation of more than ten thousand copies. Besides the undistinguished multitude, there are many men of high standing and talent ranked among them,—doctors, lawyers, and clergymen in great numbers, a Protestant bishop, the learned and reverend president of a college, judges of their higher courts, members of Congress, foreign ambassadors, and ex-members of the National Senate.

It is the opinion of Judge Edmonds that a movement which has spread with such marvellous celerity, in spite of

the ridicule which has deterred so many from an open avowal, and which has attracted the attention of so many of the best minds among the Americans, cannot be unworthy of investigation. Judge Edmonds originally went into the inquiry considering the whole a deception, and intending to publish his exposure of it; but, having arrived at a different conclusion, he felt the obligation to be equally important to make the result known.

Such is a brief summary of the defence of himself, and of the movement by its most able and eminent advocate. We shall only add a few facts from other sources to this statement.

There are other authenticated facts open to scrutiny, among the most striking of which we will allude to the following:—The witness, a Mr. John B. Wolf, visiting at the house of Mr. J. Koons, at Ushfield, Dover Township, Athens County, Ohio, wrote Nov. 5, 1853, saying—"I have had one extended and one brief interview with spirits. I have again seen them, talked with them, and shook hands with them as really and *substantially* as one man shakes hands with another.... Again, writing was done without human hands; and, indeed, volumes are written in this way, and in no other way. During the circle's continuance the hand is visible while the writing is done; the pencil and paper are also visible,—visible alike to believer and sceptic." Remarkable phenomenon, certainly, and very useful to authors if these communications were good for anything!

At the Spiritual Conference at Dodsworth's Hall on the 29th of February, 1853, it was stated by a Mr. Whittaker, of Troy, *who knew the fact to be true*, that a medium residing in that city being at one time indisposed, was ordered by the spirits to take at a single dose one hundred grains of arsenic in a mixture of lemon-juice and spirits of nitre; and that he took the prescription according to the direction, and, so far from experiencing any inconvenience, was greatly benefited by it!

A Mr. Henry Gordon, a well-known medium for spiritual manifestations, being at a circle in New York one evening, was repeatedly raised from his seat and carried through the air without any visible power touching him.

Many witnesses affirm that the laws of gravity are often suspended by these unknown powers, that things otherwise hurtful are rendered innocuous by some invisible agency, that material objects are displaced and removed to immense distances without any traceable cause, that inveterate maladies have been rapidly and easily cured, and, in short, that phenomena are constantly occurring which former ages would have reckoned supernatural.

A word must be said regarding table-turnings, which are the most elementary of all the manifestations, and those best known in England. Evangelical clergymen, and French Catholics in England, have found that tables maintained doctrines conformable to their education, and that they have mutually anathematized each other like good Christians. In these cases it must be admitted that appearances favour the view that the reverend gentlemen charged the tables, and converted them into passive vehicles of their respective views, and that, if any evil spirits were present, they must have been incarnate in the orthodox operations.

But table-moving has been so superficially treated in Europe that we must go to America to embrace the whole scope of the question. There we find that tables are not only moved when no mortal hand is within twenty feet of them, but raised from the floor, out of the reach of any person, turned upside-down, or revolve with extreme velocity, carrying heavy men seated upon them. It might be imagined that these phenomena, resting on the evidence of countless respectable witnesses, point to a new and mysterious locomotive force.

Various attempts have been made to solve this problem, but as yet no full solution has been found. The theory of muscular or involuntary pressure is supposed by many good authorities to be disproved by undeniable facts. To suppose them merely to be delusion or deception is in many cases equally unjust, though fraud has undoubtedly been mixed up with them, as with all popular movements. If the phenomena cannot be referred to ponderable, it is as difficult to account for them by imponderable matter alone, unless we give intelligence to these forces. Hence the inquirer is drawn from one position to another, till he has

no refuge save in the labyrinth of psychology, which is tantamount to having no explanation at all; and here, even, the difficulty occurs as to whether the phenomena are self-originated and spontaneous, or come from other intelligences. And after all, we are reduced to admit that it would be vain, with our present imperfect knowledge of the question, to pronounce a judgment on its cause. We do not, however, encounter so much difficulty when we trace the characteristics of its development to what have been styled the psychological epidemics of past ages.

A case of psychological sympathy has recently occurred in Europe, which,by its connection with spirituality and pure morality, may be viewed as a more satisfactory, though still an imperfect, illustration of the manifestations in America.

That portion of Southern Sweden formerly called Smäland, and which now comprises the provinces of Kalmar, Wexio, and Jön Kopping, though one of the poorest parts of the kingdom, is inhabited by a laborious and contented people. Their lot, which is one of extreme suffering and privation, is rendered endurable to them by their natural simplicity of character and deep religious feeling. About sixty years ago a very strong religious movement took place among them, which, for political reasons or otherwise, government thought fit to put a violent stop to, and with great difficulty it was done. Whether there be a predisposition among these simple but earnest people for religious excitement we cannot tell; but certain it is that, at the commencement of 1842, the singular phenomenon of which we are about to speak made its appearance among them, and, from its rapid spread, and apparently contagious character, and from the peculiar nature of its manifestations, it was popularly called the Preaching Epidemic.

Dr. J. A. Butsch, Bishop of Skara, in Westgöthland, wrote a long letter on this subject to Dr. C. F. Wingärd, Archbishop of Upsala, and Primate of all Sweden, which letter is considered so perfect an authority on the matter, that it is published in an appendix to Archbishop Wingärd's "Review of the Church of Christ," an excellent little work, which has been translated into English by G. W. Carlsen, late Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy in London, a gentleman of

great erudition and accomplishments. To this letter we shall have frequent occasion to refer.

The reader will naturally ask, as the Bishop himself does, what is the Preaching Epidemic? What it really was nobody as yet has been able to say. Among the peasantry, the most general belief was, that it was an immediate divine miracle, in order to bestow grace on such as were afflicted with the disease, and as a means of warning and exhortation to those who saw and heard the patients. Among others, somewhat above the class of peasants, many denied altogether the existence of the disease, declaring the whole to be either intentional deception, in the desire of gain or notoriety; or else self-delusion, produced partly by an overstrained religious feeling, or by that passion of imitation which is common to the human mind. The Bishop himself was of opinion that it was a disease originally physical, but affecting the mind in a peculiar way: he arrived at this conclusion by attentively studying the phenomenon itself. At all events, bodily sickness was an ingredient in it, as was proved from the fact, that although every one affected by it, in describing the commencement of their state, mentioned a spiritual excitement as its original cause, close examination proved that an internal bodily disorder, attended by pain, had preceded or accompanied this excitement. Besides, there were persons who, against their own will, were affected by the quaking fits, which were one of its most striking early outward symptoms, without any previous religious excitement; and these, when subjected to medical treatment, soon recovered.

The Bishop must have been a bold man, and not afraid of ridicule; for, though writing to an archbishop, he says that though he will not give the disease a name, still he will venture to express an opinion, which opinion is, that the disease corresponds very much with what he has heard and read respecting the effects of animal magnetism. He says that he carefully studied the effect of sulphur and the magnet upon several sick persons, and found the symptoms of the Preaching Epidemic to correspond with the effect of animal magnetism as given in Kluge's "Versuch einer Darstellung des animalischen Magnetismus als Heilmittel." In both

cases there was an increase of activity of the nervous and muscular system; and, further, frequent heaviness in the head, heat at the pit of the stomach, prickling sensation in the extremities, convulsions and quakings; and, finally, the falling, frequently with a deep groan, into a profound fainting fit or trance. In this trance, the patient was in so perfect a state of insensibility to outward impressions, that the loudest noise or sound would not awaken him, nor would he feel a needle thrust deeply into his body. Mostly, however, during this trance, he would hear questions addressed to him, and reply to them; and, which was extraordinary, invariably in these replies applied to everyone the pronoun *thou*. The power of speech, too, in this state, was that of great eloquence, lively declamation, and the command of much purer language than was usual, or apparently possible, for him in his natural state. The invariable assertions of all the patients, when in this state, were, that they were exceedingly well, and that they had never been so happy before; they declared that the words they spoke were given to them by some one else, who spoke by them. Their disposition of mind was pious and calm; they seemed disposed for visions and predictions. Like the early Quakers, they had an aversion to certain words and phrases, and testified in their preaching against places of amusement, gaming, excess in drinking, may-pole festivities, gay clothing, and the crooked combs which the peasant women wear in their hair, and which, no doubt, were objects of vanity and display.

There was in some families a greater liability to this strange influence than in others; it was greater also in children and females than in grown-up people and men; and amongst men, those of a sanguine, choleric temperament were most susceptible. The patients invariably showed a strong desire to be together, and seemed to feel a sort of attraction or spiritual affinity to each other. In places of worship, they would all sit together; and it was remarked that when a person afflicted with the preaching epidemic was questioned about the disease in himself, individually, he always gave his answer on behalf of them all; and thus said "*we*" when the inquirer naturally expected "*I!*"

From these facts the learned bishop infers that the preaching epidemic belonged to that class of operations which have been referred to animal magnetism. He says, that "whatever may be the cause of this singular agency or influence, no doubt exists of its always producing a religious state of mind, which was strengthened by the apparently miraculous operations from within. He goes then into the question, whether the religious impression produced be in accordance with the established notions of the operations of "grace on the heart," and decides this not to be the case, because the excited person, immediately after he begins to quake, experiences an unspeakable peace, joy, and blessedness, not on account of new-born faith, through atoning grace, but by a certain immediate and miraculous influence from God. These are the bishop's own words. But with the polemical question we have nothing to do. However, the bishop goes on to say, that "whatever the origin of the disease may be, it characterizes itself by Christian language, and makes its appearance with many truly Christian thoughts and feelings:" and that "probably the disease has universally met with something Christian, previously implanted in the heart, to which it has, in an exciting way, allied itself."

With respect to the conduct and conversation of the patients during the time of their seizure, he says he never saw anything improper, although many strange rumours to the contrary were circulated and believed, to the great disadvantage of the poor people themselves. In the province of Elfsborg, where the disease prevailed to a great extent, bands of children and young people under its influence went about singing what are called Zion's hymns, the effect of which was singularly striking, and even affecting. He says, that "to give a complete and detailed description of the nature of the disease would be difficult, because, like 'animal magnetism,'—we use his own words—"it seems to be infinite in its modification and form." In the above-mentioned province of Elfsborg, it was often said, "such and such a person has began to quake, but he has not as yet dropped down, nor has seen visions, nor has preached."

This quaking, of which so much is said, appear to have been the first outward sign of the influence, the inward

vision and the preaching being its consummation; though, when this consummation was reached, the fit mostly commenced by the same sign. Nevertheless, in some patients, the quaking decreased in proportion to the strength which the disease gained. These quakings also seem to have come on at the mention of certain words, the introduction of certain ideas or the proximity of certain persons or things, which in some mysterious manner appeared inimical or unholy to the patient. Sometimes, also, those very things and words which at first affected the patient ceased to do so as he advanced to the higher stages of the disease; and other words or things which hitherto had produced no effect, began to agitate him in the same way. One of the patients explained this circumstance thus—that according as his spiritual being advanced upwards, "he found that there existed in himself, and in the world, many things which were worse than that which previously he had considered as the worst." In some cases, the patients were violently affected by the simple words "yes" and "no;" the latter word in particular was most painful and repulsive to them, and has frequently been described by them as "one of the worst demons, tied with the chains of darkness in the deepest abyss." It was remarked also that they frequently acted as if they had a strong temptation to speak falsehood, or to say more than they were at liberty to say. They would therefore exhort each other to speak the truth; and so frequently answered dubiously, and even said they did not know, when a contrary answer might have been confidently expected, that an unpleasant impression was frequently produced on the mind of the hearer; and some persons imbibed from this very circumstance unfavourable ideas of their truthfulness, when, in fact, this very caution and hesitation was a peculiarity of the disease.

In the province of Skaraborg, the bishop says he has seen several persons fall at once into the trance, without any preparatory symptom. In the province of Elfsborg, the patients preached with their eyes open, and standing; whilst in his own province of Skaraborg, he himself saw and heard them preaching in a recumbent posture, and with closed eyes, and altogether, as far as he could discover, in a state

of perfect insensibility to outward impressions. He gives an account of three preaching girls in the parish of Warnham, of ages varying from eight to twelve. This account, but principally as relates to one of them, we will lay before the reader.

It was shortly before the Christmas of 1842, when he went, together with a respectable farmer of the neighbourhood, the Rev. Mr. Zingvist, and the Rev. Mr. Smedmark, to the cottage where a child lived, who by all accounts had advanced to the highest stage of the disease. Many persons besides himself and his friends were present. As regards all the three children, he says, that for their age, as is generally the case in Sweden, they were tolerably well-informed on religious matters, and could read well. They were naturally of good disposition, and now, since they had been subject to the disease, were remarkable for their gentleness and quiet demeanour. Their manners were simple as those of peasant children, but, being bashful and timid, were not inclined to give much description of their feelings and experience; still, from the few words they spoke, it was evident that, like the rest of the peasantry and their own relatives, they considered it a divine influence, but still asserted that they knew not exactly what to think, either of themselves or of their situations. When in the trance, they declared that they were exceedingly well; that they never had been so cheerful, or felt so much pleasure before. On being awoke, however, they complained, sometimes even with tears, of weakness in the limbs, pain in the chest, headache, etc.

In the particular case of the one child to which we have referred, the symptoms were precisely the same: there came on, in the first place, a violent trembling or quaking of the limbs, and she fell backwards with so much violence as to give the spectator a most painful sensation; but no apparent injury ensued. The patient was now in the trance, or state of total unconsciousness; and this trance, which lasted several hours, divided itself into two stages, acts or scenes, totally different in character. In the first place, she rose up violently, and all her actions were of a rapid and violent character. She caught at the hands of the people round her; some she instantly flung aside, as if the effect produced

by them was repugnant to her; others she held gently, patted and rubbed softly; and these the people called "good hands." Sometimes she made signs, as if she were pouring out something, which she appeared to drink; and it was said by her father and another man present, that she could detect any one in the company who had been dram-drinking; and she would in this way represent every glass he had taken. She went through—for what purpose it seems impossible to say—the operation of loading, presenting, and firing a gun, and performed most dramatically a pugilistic combat, in which she alone sustained and represented the action of both parties; she likewise acted the part of a person dressing; and what rendered all this most extraordinary was, that though she was but a simple, bashful, peasant child, clad in her peasant's dress—a sheep-skin jacket—yet all her actions and movements were free, and full of the most dramatic effect: powerful and vigorous when representing manly action, and so indescribably graceful and easy, and full of sentiment, when personating female occupations, as to amaze the more cultivated spectators; and, as the bishop says, "to be far more like the motions of an image in a dream, than a creature of flesh and blood." Another circumstance is peculiar: although these children differed from each other in their natural state, yet, while under the influence of the disease, their countenances became so similar, as greatly to resemble each other.

The child next passed into the second stage of the trance, which was characterized by a beautiful calmness and quietness, and with her arms meekly folded she began to preach. Her manner in speaking was that of purest oratory; her tones were earnest and solemn, and the language of that spiritual character which, when awake, it would have been impossible for her to use. The bishop noted down her little discourse on his return home, and an analysis of it shows it to be an edifying practical address, perfectly conformable to the pure spirit of the Gospel, and suited to an unsophisticated audience. During its delivery the child had something saint-like in her appearance. Her utterance was soft and clear, not a word was retracted or repeated; and her voice, which in her waking state had a peculiar hoarseness, had now a wonderful brilliancy and clearness of tone, which

produced great effect. The whole assembly observed the deepest silence, and many wept. The parents of these children informed the bishop that they had during this time tolerable appetites, but that they preferred milk and fruits. Many of the patients were cured by medicines administered by the bishop, who concludes by saying that the phenomenon lies out of the sphere of human knowledge, but that its extraordinary character has produced a great religious movement and wrought much good. It has sent multitudes to church who never went there, and many have been thereby reclaimed from the error of their ways. Many passages in their history will strikingly remind the reader of the early Quakers. The number of persons affected in the province of Skaraborg alone, where the disease did not prevail so generally as in other parts, amounted in 1843 to 3000; but in many places impostors affected the disease to gain a livelihood, and brought the real patients into discredit. The clergy and the doctors everywhere used all their endeavours to extinguish the movement, and by the end of 1843 it had almost ceased. Nothing of the kind has since appeared, but the good effect it produced on the mind of many a hardened sinner remains to testify of its truth and reality, although no one, whether learned in the science of physical or spiritual life, can yet explain the cause and nature of this extraordinary mental phenomenon.

The Preaching Epidemic has several features in common with the American manifestations, in which young children, even under five years of age, have acted as media. Both retain also the common feature of being an epidemic or sympathetic affection, though the cause in both cases must remain at present involved in difficulty and mystery.

To the same cause we are inclined to attribute the frenzy which raged at one time in New England, and is familiar to all readers of American History as the Salem witchcraft.

The New England mind was singularly susceptible to impressions of a spiritual and supernatural character, and the period of her history in which this peculiar frenzy prevailed was one of difficulty and despondency. Indian wars of the most fearful character had ravaged her frontiers, and

the English Government, jealous of the growing independency of her colonies, and especially of Massachusetts, not only curtailed her liberties, but threatened her with the loss of her charter; a circumstance which the whole of New England regarded as a national calamity, an infliction of Divine wrath for supposed sins and shortcomings. More especially, however, was this the case as regarded Massachusetts, in which a spirit of latitudinarianism and unbelief, the natural reaction of that extreme rigidity of Puritanism which had been the glory of the generation now passing away, began to prevail: to oppose this freedom of religious faith, and to meet in a spirit of humiliation the sorrows of the time, Puritan Massachusetts increased the strictness of her religious observances, humbled herself as in sackcloth and ashes, and sought with fasting and prayer the causes of the Divine displeasure. It was at this time, when the public mind, as will be easily seen, was in a state of extreme susceptibility, that the first cases of witchcraft occurred.

The laws of England, which admitted witchcraft, and punished it with death, had been adopted in Massachusetts, strengthened by the Scriptural Judaic command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live;" and as early as 1645 the mania commenced, and persons at Boston and other towns were taken up and tried, and one individual executed for this supposed crime.

"Among other evidences," says the historian Hildreth, "of a departure from the ancient landmarks, and of the propagation even in New England of a spirit of doubt, were the growing suspicions of the reality of that every-day supernaturalism which formed so prominent a feature of the Puritan theology. Against this rising incredulity, Increase Mather had, in 1684, published a book of 'Remarkable Providences,' which enumerated and testified to the truth of all the supposed cases of witchcraft which had occurred in New England, with arguments to prove their reality."

As the sight of an execution for murder creates in the mind of the debased a morbid passion for the committal of the crime, so did the publication of this work soon give rise to a supposed case of witchcraft. A house at Newbury was said to be haunted or bewitched, and the wife of the occu-

pant, a wretched old woman, was accused as a witch. Seventeen people came forward on her trial to charge her with misfortunes which had happened to them in the course of their lives, and, but for the firmness and good sense of Simon Bradstreet, and the abrogation of the charter which just then took place, and gave people something else to think of, she would have been executed on the charge.

Mather, however, had sown seed which fell into fruitful ground, and in due course sprang up, being fostered in the meantime by the republication, in Boston, of the works of Richard Baxter and the authority of Sir Matthew Hale. In 1688, therefore, the morbid imaginations of the people, already predisposed, being excited by this mental food, cases of witchcraft were discovered. The four children of a "pious family" in Boston, the eldest a girl of thirteen, began to be strangely affected, barking like dogs, purring like cats, being at times deaf, dumb, or blind; having their limbs distorted, and complaining of being pricked, pinched, pulled, and cut. A pious minister was called in, witchcraft was suspected, and an old Irish woman, an indented servant of the family, who had scolded the children in Irish because her daughter was accused of theft, was taken up on the charge. Five ministers held a day of fasting and prayer, and the old woman was tried, found guilty, and executed.

"Though Increase Mather," says Hildreth, "was absent, he had a zealous representative in his son, Cotton Mather, a young minister of five-and-twenty, a prodigy of learning, eloquence, and piety, recently settled as colleague with his father over Boston North Church. Cotton Mather had an extraordinary memory, stuffed with all sorts of learning. His application was equal to that of a German professor. His lively imagination, trained in the school of puritan theology, and nourished on the traditionary legends of New England, of which he was a voracious and indiscriminate collector, was still further stimulated by fasts, vigils, prayers, and meditations, almost equal to those of any Catholic saint. Like the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, he often believed himself, during his devotional exercises, to have direct and personal communication with the Deity. In every piece of good fortune he saw an answer to his

prayers; in every calamity or mortification, the especial personal malice of the devil or his agents."

In order to study these cases of witchcraft at his leisure, Cotton Mather took one of the bewitched to his house, and the devil within her flattered his religious vanity to the extreme. He preached and prayed on the subject, calling witchcraft "a most nefandous treason against the Majesty on High," and wrote another book of "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possession," in which he defied the modern Sadducee any longer to doubt. Four ministers testified to the unanswerable arguments which he thus set forth, as did also Richard Baxter in London.

Public attention thus turned to the subject, other cases of the same character soon occurred. Two young girls of Salem, the daughter and niece of Samuel Parris, the minister, began to be "moved by strange caprices," and being pronounced bewitched by a physician at Boston, Tituba, an old Indian woman, the servant of the family, was suspected, principally because she had volunteered to discover the witch by some magical rites. Of course, nothing was talked of but these girls; it was quite an interesting excitement; ministers met to pray; the whole town of Salem fasted and prayed, and a fast was ordered throughout the colony. The rage for notoriety, or the effects of these cases on the imagination of similarly nervous temperaments, soon produced their results, and not only were several girls affected in the same way, but poor old John, the Indian husband of Tituba.

The whole of Salem was agog, and the magistrates took up the matter solemnly. Accusations spread; two women —the one crazy, the other bed-ridden—were suspected, in addition to the others. Parris preached the next Sunday on the cases, and the sister of one of the accused left the church, which was enough to throw suspicion upon her. The deputy-governor of the colony came to Salem, and a great court was held in the meeting-house, five other magistrates and "a great crowd being present." Parris was the general accuser. The accused were held with their arms extended and their hands held open, lest by the least motion of their fingers they might inflict torments on their victims,

who sometimes appeared to be struck dumb or knocked down by the mere glance of their eye.

In the examinations in Salem meeting-house, some very extraordinary scenes occurred. "Look there," cried one of the afflicted, "there is Goody Procter on the beam." (This Goody Procter's husband, firmly protesting the innocence of his wife, had attended her to the court, and, in consequence, was charged by some of "the afflicted" with being a wizard.) At the above exclamation many, if not all, the bewitched, had grievous fits. *Question by the Court:* "Ann Putnam, who hurts you?" *Answer:* "Goodman Procter, and his wife too." Then some of the afflicted cry out, "There is Procter going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet;" and immediately her feet are taken up. *Question by the Court:* "What do you say, Goodman Procter, to these things?" *Answer:* "I know not; I am innocent!" Abigail Williams, another of the afflicted, cries out, "There is Goodman Procter going to Mrs. Pope;" and immediately the said Pope falls into a fit. *A Magistrate to Procter:* "You see the devil will deceive you; the children (so the afflicted were called) could see what you were going to do before the woman was hurt. I would advise you to repentance, for you see the devil is bringing you out!" Abigail Williams again cries out, "There is Goodman Procter going to hurt Goody Bibber;" and immediately Bibber falls also into a fit. And so on. But it was on evidence such as this that people were believed to be witches, and were hurried to prison and tried for their lives.

Tituba was flogged into confession; others yielded to influence more stringent than blows. Weak women, astonished at the charges and confessions of their accusers assured that they were witches, and urged to confess as the only means of saving their lives, were easily prevailed upon to admit any absurdities: journeys through the air on broomsticks, to attend a witch sacrament—a sort of travesty on the Christian ordinance—at which the devil appeared in the shape of a "small black man;" signing the devil's book renouncing their former baptism, and being baptised anew by the devil in "Wenham Pond," after the Anabaptist fashion. Called upon to tell who were present at these

sacrifices, the confessing witches wound up with new accusations. In a very short time near a hundred persons were in prison. Nor was the mischief limited to Salem; many persons were accused in Andover, Boston, and other towns.

On the 2d of June a special court at Salem was appointed for the trial of a poor old friendless woman, one Bridget Bishop, who was accused by Samuel Parris. Another poor woman, Deliverance Hobbs by name, among other things, was accused, as Cotton Mather relates, "of giving a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem, and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She protested her innocence, but was hanged on the 10th of June.

Cotton Mather, and the other ministers of Boston and Charlestown, were loud in their gratitude and praise of this zeal in the cause, and the accusations and trials and condemnations proceeded. It was a chapter out of the history of the middle ages.

It remained for the science and better knowledge of the present day to explain these witch phenomena according to psychological and natural laws. At that time they were believed to be no less than the work of the devil, and as such were punished. "We recommend," said the minister of that stern puritan religion which had now grown rampant in severity, "the speedy and rigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious;" and the court accordingly, on the 30th of June, condemned five women of blameless lives, all protesting their innocence. Of these five, Rebecca Nurse, whose sister had left the church when Samuel Parris was preaching a violent sermon against witches, was at first acquitted on insufficient evidence, and a reprieve was granted by Governor Phipps. But Parris, who seemed to have been a man of a virulent disposition, could not bear to see an especial object of his hatred—one against whom he had preached and denounced from the pulpit—escape. The subservient governor recalled the reprieve, and the following communion-day she was taken in chains to the meeting-house, excommunicated, and hanged with the rest.

The frenzy increased. On August 3d, six more were arraigned; and John Willard, an officer who had been em-

ployed to arrest suspected persons, declining to serve any longer, was accused by the "afflicted,"—*afflicted*, indeed!—condemned, and hanged. Among those who suffered with Willard was Procter, the husband of Elizabeth Procter, her execution having been delayed on account of her pregnancy. He had truly and manfully maintained his wife's innocence, and, as we have already related, been himself accused; others witnessed against him under the agony of torture, and he was condemned. He was a man of firm and clear character, and petitioned for trial in Boston, but to no purpose. The behaviour and execution of this man sank deep into the public mind, and offended many. Still greater was the effect produced by the execution of George Burroughs, himself a minister, who was accused of witchcraft because he denied its possibility. He was formerly the minister at Salem; afterwards at Saco, whence he had been driven by the Indian war, and was now, to his own sorrow, once more in Salem, where he had many enemies. Among other things charged against him was the fact that, though small of size, he was remarkably strong, whence it was argued that his strength was the gift of the devil. "On the ladder," says Bancroft, "he cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, and by repeating the Lord's Prayer composedly and exactly with a fervency that astonished all. Tears flowed to the eyes of many; it seemed as if the spectators would rise up to hinder the execution. Cotton Mather, on horseback, among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs as no true minister, insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light; and the hanging proceeded."

On September 9th, six women were found guilty and condemned; and a few days later, again eight women; while Giles Cory, an old man of eighty, who refused to plead, was pressed to death—a barbarous usage of the English law, which, however, was never again followed in the colonies. On the 23rd of this month, the afflicted are stated by Hildreth to have amounted to about fifty; fifty-five had confessed themselves witches and turned accusers; twenty persons had already suffered death; eight more were under sentence. The jails were full of prisoners, and new accu-

sations were added every day. Such was the state of things when the court adjourned to the first Monday in November. The interval was employed by Cotton Mather in preparing his "Wonders of the Invisible World," containing a triumphant account of the trials, and vaunting the good offices of the late executions, which he considered a cause of pious thankfulness to God. Although the president of Harvard College approved, the governor commended, and Stoughton expressed his thanks for the work of Cotton Mather, yet a spirit was abroad in the colony, and becoming more demonstrative every day, which was very adverse to these outrages on humanity and their promoters.

In the interim between the last executions and the sitting of the adjourned court, the representatives of the people assembled, and the church of Andover, with their minister at their head, protested against these witch-trials. "We know not," said they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children and others under a diabolical influence shall be received against persons of good fame." Very truly and reasonably did they say so; for even now one of the Andover ministers was accused, and the wife of the minister of Beverley; and when the son of old Governor Bradstreet now refused as a magistrate to grant any more warrants, he himself was accused, and shortly after his brother, for bewitching a dog, and both were obliged to flee for their lives, their property being immediately seized. And more than this, when Lady Phipps, in the absence of her husband, the governor, interfered to obtain the discharge of a prisoner from jail, accusations were whispered even against her!

The frenzy of delusion becoming weaker, Cotton Mather wrote, and circulated in manuscript, the account of a case of witchcraft in his own parish in Boston. This called forth a reply from Robert Calef, a clear-headed, fearless man, who, by the weapons of reason and ridicule, overcame and put to flight, in an astonishingly short time, both witches and devils. It was in vain that Cotton Mather denounced him as "a coal from hell;" the sentiment of the people went with him; and though a circular from Harvard College, signed by the president, Increase Mather, solicited a return

from all the ministers of the neighbourhood of the apparitions, possessions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world is more sensibly demonstrated, the next ten years produced scarcely five returns.

The invisible world was indeed becoming *invisible;* and, as is always the case, the superstition, when it ceased to be credited, lost its power of delusion. Cotton Mather and his party were too self-righteous to follow the example of William Penn and the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or they might soon have cleared Massachusetts of its witches. The Swedes who emigrated to the banks of the Delaware, took with them all the terrors and superstitions which the wild and gloomy Scandinavian mythology had engrafted upon Christianity, and a woman was accused of witchcraft by them in 1684. The case was brought to trial; William Penn sat as judge; and the jury, composed principally of Quakers, found the woman "guilty of the common fame of being a witch; but not guilty as she stood indicted." No notoriety could be obtained by witchcraft in Pennsylvania; it furnished the excitement neither of preaching, praying, nor fasting; and the psychological epidemic not finding there a moral atmosphere capable of sustaining the infection, died out. There were no more cases of witchcraft in Pennsylvania.

Here we leave the subject. The power of supposed witchcraft and of spiritual manifestation seem to us identical, but the cause problematic. All we can say is, that it appears to us psycho-physical, of an epidemic or sympathetic character, and that it possesses many features which seem to imply a close connection with the mysterious agency called Animal Magnetism.

THE END

LONDON
WILSON AND OGILVY,
Skinner Street.

*** *To equalize the thickness of the volumes, it has been thought advisable to place the* INDEX *in the* FIRST.

CATALOGUE OF

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

740 Volumes, £158 19s. 6d.

The Publishers are now issuing the Libraries in a NEW AND MORE ATTRACTIVE STYLE OF BINDING. The original bindings endeared to many book-lovers by association will still be kept in stock, but henceforth all orders will be executed in the New binding, unless the contrary is expressly stated.

New Volumes of Standard Works in the various branches of Literature are constantly being added to this Series, which is already unsurpassed in respect to the number, variety, and cheapness of the Works contained in it. The Publishers beg to announce the following Volumes as recently issued or now in preparation:—

Goethe's Faust. Part I. The Original Text, with Hayward's Translation and Notes, carefully revised, with an Introduction and Bibliography, by C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature at King's College, London. [*In the Press.*

Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland. Edited by A. W. Hutton, Librarian, National Liberal Club. [*Preparing.*

Ricardo on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Edited with Notes by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A., Lecturer, University College, Liverpool. [*See p.* 19.

Schopenhauer's Essays. Selected and Translated. By E. Belfort Bax. [*See p.* 9.

Voltaire's Tales. Translated by R. B. Boswell. Vol. I. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*See p.* 8.

Count Grammont's Memoirs of the Court of Charles II. With the Boscobel Tracts, &c. New Edition. 3*s.* 6*d.* [*See p.* 5.

Gray's Letters. New Edition. Edited by the Rev. D. C. Tovey, M.A. [*In the press.*

Schools and Masters of Fence. By C. Egerton Castle. New Edition. With numerous Illustrations. [*In the press.*

Montaigne's Essays. Cotton's Translation, revised by W. C. Hazlitt. New Edition. 3 Vols. [*In the press.*

Descartes' Principal Works. Edited by Professor G. Croom Robertson and Thomas Whittaker. 2 Vols.

Hartley Coleridge's Essays and Marginalia. Edited by the Lord Chief Justice. [*Preparing.*

Hoffmann's Works. Translated by Lieut.-Colonel Ewing. Vol. II. [*In the press.*

Bohn's Handbooks of Games. New enlarged edition. In 2 vols. [*See p.* 21.

Vol. I.—Table Games, by Major-General Drayson, R.A., R. F. Green, and 'Berkeley.'
II.—Card Games, by Dr. W. Pole, F.R.S., R. F. Green, 'Berkeley,' and Baxter-Wray.

Bohn's Handbooks of Athletic Sports. 8 Vols. [*See p.* 21.

For BOHN'S SELECT LIBRARY, see p. 23.

BOHN'S LIBRARIES.

STANDARD LIBRARY.

338 *Vols. at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (59*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*)

ADDISON'S Works. Notes of Bishop Hurd. Short Memoir, Portrait, and 8 Plates of Medals. 6 vols.
This is the most complete edition of Addison's Works issued.

ALFIERI'S Tragedies. In English Verse. With Notes, Arguments, and Introduction, by E. A. Bowring, C.B. 2 vols.

AMERICAN POETRY. — *See Poetry of America.*

BACON'S Moral and Historical Works, including Essays, Apophthegms, Wisdom of the Ancients, New Atlantis, Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Henry Prince of Wales, History of Great Britain, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus Cæsar. With Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes by J. Devey, M.A. Portrait.

— *See also Philosophical Library.*

BALLADS AND SONGS of the Peasantry of England, from Oral Recitation, private MSS., Broadsides, &c. Edit. by R. Bell.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER. Selections. With Notes and Introduction by Leigh Hunt.

BECKMANN (J.) History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. With Portraits of Beckmann and James Watt. 2 vols.

BELL (Robert).—*See Ballads, Chaucer, Green.*

BOSWELL'S Life of Johnson, with the TOUR in the HEBRIDES and JOHNSONIANA. New Edition, with Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. A. Napier, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Holkham, Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the 'Theological Works of Barrow.' With Frontispiece to each vol. 6 vols.

BREMER'S (Frederika) Works. Trans. by M. Howitt. Portrait. 4 vols.

BRINK (B. ten). Early English Literature (to Wiclif). By Bernhard ten Brink. Trans. by Prof. H. M. Kennedy.

BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works. Edit. by S. Wilkin, with Dr. Johnson's Life of Browne. Portrait. 3 vols.

BURKE'S Works. 6 vols.

— **Speeches on the Impeachment** of Warren Hastings; and Letters. 2 vols.

— **Life.** By Sir J. Prior. Portrait.

BURNS (Robert). Life of. By J. G. Lockhart, D.C.L. A new and enlarged edition. With Notes and Appendices by W. Scott Douglas. Portrait.

BUTLER'S (Bp.) Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; with Two Dissertations on Identity and Virtue, and Fifteen Sermons. With Introductions, Notes, and Memoir. Portrait.

CAMOËN'S Lusiad, or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem. Trans. from the Portuguese, with Dissertation, Historical Sketch, and Life, by W. J. Mickle. 5th edition.

CARAFAS (The) of Maddaloni. Naples under Spanish Dominion. Trans. from the German of Alfred de Reumont. Portrait of Massaniello.

CARREL. The Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II., by Armand Carrel; with Fox's History of James II. and Lord Lonsdale's Memoir of James II. Portrait of Carrel.

CARRUTHERS. — *See Pope, in Illustrated Library.*

CARY'S Dante. The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. Trans. by Rev. H. F. Cary, M.A. With Life, Chronological View of his Age, Notes, and Index of Proper Names. Portrait.
This is the authentic edition, containing Mr. Cary's last corrections, with additional notes.

CELLINI (Benvenuto). Memoirs of, by himself. With Notes of G. P. Carpani. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portrait.

CERVANTES' Galatea. A Pastoral Romance. Trans. by G. W. J. Gyll.

—— **Exemplary Novels.** Trans. by W. K. Kelly.

—— **Don Quixote de la Mancha.** Motteux's Translation revised. With Lockhart's Life and Notes. 2 vols.

CHAUCER'S Poetical Works. With Poems formerly attributed to him. With a Memoir, Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary, by R. Bell. Improved edition, with Preliminary Essay by Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. Portrait. 4 vols.

CLASSIC TALES, containing Rasselas, Vicar of Wakefield, Gulliver's Travels, and The Sentimental Journey.

COLERIDGE'S (S. T.) Friend. A Series of Essays on Morals, Politics, and Religion. Portrait.

—— **Aids to Reflection. Confessions** of an Inquiring Spirit; and Essays on Faith and the Common Prayer-book. New Edition, revised.

—— **Table-Talk and Omniana.** By T. Ashe, B.A.

—— **Lectures on Shakespeare and** other Poets. Edit. by T. Ashe, B.A.
Containing the lectures taken down in 1811-12 by J. P. Collier, and those delivered at Bristol in 1813.

—— **Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical** Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions; with Two Lay Sermons.

—— **Miscellanies, Æsthetic and** Literary; to which is added, THE THEORY OF LIFE. Collected and arranged by T. Ashe, B.A.

COMMINES.—*See Philip.*

CONDÉ'S History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Trans. by Mrs. Foster. Portrait of Abderahmen ben Moavia. 3 vols.

COWPER'S Complete Works, Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. Edit. with Memoir by R. Southey. 45 Engravings. 8 vols.

COXE'S Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. With his original Correspondence, from family records at Blenheim. Revised edition. Portraits. 3 vols.
*** An Atlas of the plans of Marlborough's campaigns, 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

COXE'S History of the House of Austria. From the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Death of Leopold II., 1218-1792. By Archdn. Coxe. With Continuation from the Accession of Francis I. to the Revolution of 1848. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

CUNNINGHAM'S Lives of the most Eminent British Painters. With Notes and 16 fresh Lives by Mrs. Heaton. 3 vols.

DEFOE'S Novels and Miscellaneous Works. With Prefaces and Notes, including those attributed to Sir W. Scott. Portrait. 7 vols.

DE LOLME'S Constitution of England, in which it is compared both with the Republican form of Government and the other Monarchies of Europe. Edit., with Life and Notes, by J. Macgregor.

DUNLOP'S History of Fiction. New Edition, revised. By Henry Wilson. 2 vols., 5*s.* each.

EDGEWORTH'S Stories for Children. With 8 Illustrations by L. Speed.

ELZE'S Shakespeare.—*See Shakespeare*

EMERSON'S Works. 3 vols.
Vol. I.—Essays, Lectures, and Poems.
Vol. II.—English Traits, Nature, and Conduct of Life.
Vol. III.—Society and Solitude—Letters and Social Aims—Miscellaneous Papers (hitherto uncollected)—May-Day, &c.

FOSTER'S (John) Life and Correspondence. Edit. by J. E. Ryland. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures at Broadmead Chapel.** Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Critical Essays contributed to** the 'Eclectic Review.' Edit. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Essays: On Decision of Charac**ter; on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself; on the epithet Romantic; on the aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion.

—— **Essays on the Evils of Popular** Ignorance, and a Discourse on the Propagation of Christianity in India.

—— **Essay on the Improvemen of** Time, with Notes of Sermons and other Pieces.

—— **Fosteriana:** selected from periodical papers, edit. by H. G. Bohn.

FOX (Rt. Hon. C. J.)—*See Carrel.*

GIBBON'S Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Complete and unabridged, with variorum Notes; including those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and others. 7 vols. 2 Maps and Portrait.

GOETHE'S Works. Trans. into English by E. A. Bowring, C.B., Anna Swanwick, Sir Walter Scott, &c. &c. 14 vols.

Vols. I. and II.—Autobiography and Annals. Portrait.

Vol. III.—Faust. Complete.

Vol. IV.—Novels and Tales: containing Elective Affinities, Sorrows of Werther, The German Emigrants, The Good Women, and a Nouvelette.

Vol. V.—Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.

Vol. VI.—Conversations with Eckerman and Soret.

Vol. VII.—Poems and Ballads in the original Metres, including Hermann and Dorothea.

Vol. VIII.—Götz von Berlichingen, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, Iphigenia, Clavigo, Wayward Lover, and Fellow Culprits.

Vol. IX.—Wilhelm Meister's Travels. Complete Edition.

Vol. X.—Tour in Italy. Two Parts. And Second Residence in Rome.

Vol. XI.—Miscellaneous Travels, Letters from Switzerland, Campaign in France, Siege of Mainz, and Rhine Tour.

Vol. XII.—Early and Miscellaneous Letters, including Letters to his Mother, with Biography and Notes.

Vol. XIII.—Correspondence with Zelter.

Vol. XIV.—Reineke Fox, West-Eastern Divan and Achilleid. Translated in original metres by A. Rogers.

—— Correspondence with Schiller. 2 vols.—*See Schiller.*

—— Faust.—*See Collegiate Series.*

GOLDSMITH'S Works. 5 vols.

Vol. I.—Life, Vicar of Wakefield, Essays, and Letters.

Vol. II.—Poems, Plays, Bee, Cock Lane Ghost.

Vol. III.—The Citizen of the World, Polite Learning in Europe.

Vol. IV.—Biographies, Criticisms, Later Essays.

Vol. V.—Prefaces, Natural History, Letters, Goody Two-Shoes, Index.

GRAMMONT (Count). Memoirs of the Court of Charles II. With the Boscobel Tracts, &c. New Edition.

GREENE, MARLOWE, and BEN JONSON (Poems of). With Notes and Memoirs by R. Bell.

GREGORY'S (Dr.) The Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion.

GRIMM'S Household Tales. With the Original Notes. Trans. by Mrs. A. Hunt. Introduction by Andrew Lang, M.A. 2 vols.

GUIZOT'S History of Representative Government in Europe. Trans. by A. R. Scoble.

—— English Revolution of 1640. From the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portrait.

—— History of Civilisation. From the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. Portraits. 3 vols.

HALL'S (Rev. Robert) Works and Remains. Memoir by Dr. Gregory and Essay by J. Foster. Portrait.

HAUFF'S Tales. The Caravan—The Sheikh of Alexandria—The Inn in the Spessart. Translated by Prof. S. Mendel.

HAWTHORNE'S Tales. 3 vols.

Vol. I.—Twice-told Tales, and the Snow Image.

Vol. II.—Scarlet Letter, and the House with Seven Gables.

Vol. III.—Transformation, and Blithedale Romance.

HAZLITT'S (W.) Works. 7 vols.

—— Table-Talk.

—— The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays.

—— English Poets and English Comic Writers.

—— The Plain Speaker. Opinions on Books, Men, and Things.

—— Round Table. Conversations of James Northcote, R.A.; Characteristics.

—— Sketches and Essays, and Winterslow.

—— Spirit of the Age; or, Contemporary Portraits. New Edition, by W. Carew Hazlitt.

HEINE'S Poems. Translated in the original Metres, with Life by E. A. Bowring, C.B.

—— Travel-Pictures. The Tour in the Harz, Norderney, and Book of Ideas, together with the Romantic School. Trans. by F. Storr. With Maps and Appendices.

HOFFMANN'S Works. The Serapion Brethren. Vol. I. Trans. by Lt.-Col. Ewing. *[Vol. II. in the press.*

HOOPER'S (G.) Waterloo: The Downfall of the First Napoleon: a History of the Campaign of 1815. By George Hooper. With Maps and Plans. New Edition, revised.

HUGO'S (Victor) Dramatic Works: Hernani—Ruy Blas—The King's Diversion. Translated by Mrs. Newton Crosland and F. L. Slous.

—— **Poems,** chiefly Lyrical. Collected by H. L. Williams.

HUNGARY: its History and Revolution, with Memoir of Kossuth. Portrait.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel). Memoirs of. By his Widow, with her Autobiography, and the Siege of Lathom House. Portrait.

IRVING'S (Washington) Complete Works. 15 vols.

—— **Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, Pierre E. Irving. With Index and a Portrait. 2 vols.

JAMES'S (G. P. R.) Life of Richard Cœur de Lion. Portraits of Richard and Philip Augustus. 2 vols.

—— **Louis XIV.** Portraits. 2 vols.

JAMESON (Mrs.) Shakespeare's Heroines. Characteristics of Women. By Mrs. Jameson.

JEAN PAUL.—*See Richter.*

JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets. Edited, with Notes, by Mrs. Alexander Napier. And an Introduction by Professor J. W. Hales, M.A. 3 vols.

JONSON (Ben). Poems of.—*See Greene.*

JOSEPHUS (Flavius), The Works of. Whiston's Translation. Revised by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A. With Topographical and Geographical Notes by Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B. 5 vols.

JUNIUS'S Letters. With Woodfall's Notes. An Essay on the Authorship. Facsimiles of Handwriting. 2 vols.

LA FONTAINE'S Fables. In English Verse, with Essay on the Fabulists. By Elizur Wright.

LAMARTINE'S The Girondists, or Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution. Trans. by H. T. Ryde. Portraits of Robespierre, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday. 3 vols.

—— **The Restoration of Monarchy** in France (a Sequel to The Girondists). 5 Portraits. 4 vols.

—— **The French Revolution of 1848.** Portraits.

LAMB'S (Charles) Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition. Portrait.

LAMB'S (Charles) Specimens of English Dramatic Poets of the time of Elizabeth. With Notes and the Extracts from the Garrick Plays.

—— **Talfourd's Letters of Charles** Lamb. New Edition, by W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols.

LANZI'S History of Painting in Italy, from the Period of the Revival of the Fine Arts to the End of the 18th Century. With Memoir and Portraits. Trans. by T. Roscoe. 3 vols.

LAPPENBERG'S England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings. Trans. by B. Thorpe, F.S.A. 2 vols.

LESSING'S Dramatic Works. Complete. By E. Bell, M.A. With Memoir by H. Zimmern. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Laokoon, Dramatic Notes, and** Representation of Death by the Ancients. Trans. by E. C. Beasley and Helen Zimmern. Frontispiece.

LOCKE'S Philosophical Works, containing Human Understanding, Controversy with Bishop of Worcester, Malebranche's Opinions, Natural Philosophy, Reading and Study. With Introduction, Analysis, and Notes, by J. A. St. John. Portrait. 2 vols.

—— **Life and Letters,** with Extracts from his Common-place Books. By Lord King.

LOCKHART (J. G.)—*See Burns.*

LUTHER'S Table-Talk. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Life by A. Chalmers, and LUTHER'S CATECHISM. Portrait after Cranach.

—— **Autobiography.**—*See Michelet.*

MACHIAVELLI'S History of Florence, THE PRINCE, Savonarola, Historical Tracts, and Memoir. Portrait.

MARLOWE. Poems of.—*See Greene.*

MARTINEAU'S (Harriet) History of England (including History of the Peace) from 1800-1846. 5 vols.

MENZEL'S History of Germany, from the Earliest Period to the Crimean War. Portraits. 3 vols.

MICHELET'S Autobiography of Luther. Trans. by W. Hazlitt. With Notes.

—— **The French Revolution** to the Flight of the King in 1791. Frontispiece.

MIGNET'S The French Revolution, from 1789 to 1814. Portrait of Napoleon.

MILTON'S Prose Works. With Preface, Preliminary Remarks by J. A. St. John, and Index. 5 vols. Portraits.

—— **Poetical Works.** With 120 Wood Engravings. 2 vols.

MITFORD'S (Miss) Our Village. Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery. 2 Engravings. 2 vols.

MOLIÈRE'S Dramatic Works. In English Prose, by C. H. Wall. With a Life and a Portrait. 3 vols.

'It is not too much to say that we have here probably as good a translation of Molière as can be given.'—*Academy.*

MONTAGU. Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lord Wharncliffe's Third Edition. Edited by W. Moy Thomas. New and revised edition. With steel plates. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.

MONTESQUIEU'S Spirit of Laws. Revised Edition, with D'Alembert's Analysis, Notes, and Memoir. 2 vols.

NEANDER (Dr. A.) History of the Christian Religion and Church. Trans. by J. Torrey. With Short Memoir. 10 vols.

—— **Life of Jesus Christ, in its Historical** Connexion and Development.

—— **The Planting and Training of** the Christian Church by the Apostles. With the Antignosticus, or Spirit of Tertullian. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the History of** Christian Dogmas. Trans. by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

—— **Memorials of Christian Life in** the Early and Middle Ages; including Light in Dark Places. Trans. by J. E. Ryland.

NORTH'S Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guildford, the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North. By the Hon. Roger North. Edited by A. Jessopp, D.D. With 3 Portraits. 3 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

'Lovers of good literature will rejoice at the appearance of a new, handy, and complete edition of so justly famous a book, and will congratulate themselves that it has found so competent and skilful an editor as Dr. Jessopp.'—*Times.*

OCKLEY (S.) History of the Saracens and their Conquests in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. Comprising the Lives of Mohammed and his Successors to the Death of Abdalmelik, the Eleventh Caliph. By Simon Ockley, B.D., Portrait of Mohammed.

PASCAL'S Thoughts. Translated from the Text of M. Auguste Molinier by C. Kegan Paul. 3rd edition.

PERCY'S Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, consisting of Ballads, Songs, and other Pieces of our earlier Poets, with some few of later date. With Essay on Ancient Minstrels, and Glossary. 2 vols.

PHILIP DE COMMINES. Memoirs of. Containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. With the History of Louis XI., by Jean de Troyes. Translated, with a Life and Notes, by A. R. Scoble. Portraits. 2 vols.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES. Translated, with Notes and Life, by A. Stewart, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and G. Long, M.A. 4 vols.

POETRY OF AMERICA. Selections from One Hundred Poets, from 1776 to 1876. With Introductory Review, and Specimens of Negro Melody, by W. J. Linton. Portrait of W. Whitman.

RACINE'S (Jean) Dramatic Works. A metrical English version, with Biographical notice. By R. Bruce Boswell, M.A. Oxon. 2 vols.

RANKE (L.) History of the Popes, their Church and State, and their Conflicts with Protestantism in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Trans. by E. Foster. Portraits. 3 vols.

—— **History of Servia.** Trans. by Mrs. Kerr. To which is added, The Slave Provinces of Turkey, by Cyprien Robert.

—— **History of the Latin and Teu**tonic Nations. 1494–1514. Trans. by P. A. Ashworth, translator of Dr. Gneist's 'History of the English Constitution.'

REUMONT (Alfred de).—*See Carafas.*

REYNOLDS' (Sir J.) Literary Works. With Memoir and Remarks by H. W. Beechy. 2 vols.

RICHTER (Jean Paul). Levana, a Treatise on Education; together with the Autobiography, and a short Memoir.

—— **Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces,** or the Wedded Life, Death, and Marriage of Siebenkaes. Translated by Alex. Ewing. The only complete English translation.

ROSCOE'S (W.) Life of Leo X., with Notes, Historical Documents, and Dissertation on Lucretia Borgia. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lorenzo de' Medici,** called 'The Magnificent,' with Copyright Notes, Poems, Letters, &c. With Memoir of Roscoe and Portrait of Lorenzo.

RUSSIA, History of, from the earliest Period to the Crimean War. By W. K. Kelly. 3 Portraits. 2 vols.

SCHILLER'S Works. 7 vols.

Vol. I.—History of the Thirty Years' War. Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. Portrait.

Vol. II.—History of the Revolt in the Netherlands, the Trials of Counts Egmont and Horn, the Siege of Antwerp, and the Disturbance of France preceding the Reign of Henry IV. Translated by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison and L. Dora Schmitz.

Vol. III.—Don Carlos. R. D. Boylan—Mary Stuart. Mellish—Maid of Orleans. Anna Swanwick—Bride of Messina. A. Lodge, M.A. Together with the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy (a short Essay). Engravings.

These Dramas are all translated in metre.

Vol. IV.—Robbers—Fiesco—Love and Intrigue—Demetrius—Ghost Seer—Sport of Divinity.

The Dramas in this volume are in prose.

Vol. V.—Poems. E. A. Bowring, C.B.

Vol. VI.—Essays, Æsthetical and Philosophical, including the Dissertation on the Connexion between the Animal and Spiritual in Man.

Vol. VII.—Wallenstein's Camp. J. Churchill. — Piccolomini and Death of Wallenstein. S. T. Coleridge.—William Tell. Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., LL.D.

SCHILLER and GOETHE. Correspondence between, from A.D. 1794-1805. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols.

SCHLEGEL (F.) Lectures on the Philosophy of Life and the Philosophy of Language. Trans. by A. J. W. Morrison.

—— **The History of Literature,** Ancient and Modern.

—— **The Philosophy of History.** With Memoir and Portrait. Trans. by J. B. Robertson.

—— **Modern History,** with the Lectures entitled Cæsar and Alexander, and The Beginning of our History. Translated by L. Purcell and R. H. Whitelock.

—— **Æsthetic and Miscellaneous** Works, containing Letters on Christian Art, Essay on Gothic Architecture, Remarks on the Romance Poetry of the Middle Ages, on Shakspeare, the Limits of the Beautiful, and on the Language and Wisdom of the Indians. By E. J. Millington.

SCHLEGEL (A. W.) Dramatic Art and Literature. By J. Black. With Memoir by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison. Portrait.

SCHUMANN (Robert), His Life and Works. By A. Reissmann. Trans. by A. L. Alger.

—— **Early Letters.** Translated by May Herbert. With Preface by Sir G. Grove.

SHAKESPEARE'S Dramatic Art. The History and Character of Shakspeare's Plays. By Dr. H. Ulrici. Trans. by L. Dora Schmitz. 2 vols.

SHAKESPEARE (William). A Literary Biography by Karl Elze, Ph.D., LL.D. Translated by L. Dora Schmitz. 5s.

SHERIDAN'S Dramatic Works. With Memoir. Portrait (after Reynolds).

SISMONDI'S History of the Literature of the South of Europe. Trans. by T. Roscoe. Portraits. 2 vols.

SMITH'S (Adam) Theory of Moral Sentiments; with Essay on the First Formation of Languages, and Critical Memoir by Dugald Stewart.

—— *See Economic Library.*

SMYTH'S (Professor) Lectures on Modern History; from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the close of the American Revolution. 2 vols.

—— **Lectures on the French Revolution.** With Index. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY.—*See Cowper, Wesley, and (Illustrated Library) Nelson.*

STURM'S Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day. Trans. by W. Johnstone, M.A.

SULLY. Memoirs of the Duke of, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. With Notes and Historical Introduction. 4 Portraits. 4 vols.

TAYLOR'S (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying, with Prayers, containing the Whole Duty of a Christian and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions. Portrait.

TEN BRINK.—*See Brink.*

THIERRY'S Conquest of England by the Normans; its Causes, and its Consequences in England and the Continent. By W. Hazlitt. With short Memoir. 2 Portraits. 2 vols.

ULRICI (Dr.)—*See Shakespeare.*

VASARI. Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. By Mrs. J. Foster, with selected Notes. Portrait. 6 vols., Vol. VI. being an additional Volume of Notes by Dr. J. P. Richter.

VOLTAIRE'S Tales. Translated by R. B. Boswell. Vol. I., containing 'Babouc,' Memnon, Candide, L'Ingénu, and other Tales.

WERNER'S Templars in Cyprus. Trans. by E. A. M. Lewis.

WESLEY, the Life of, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. Portrait. 5s.

WHEATLEY. A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer.

YOUNG (Arthur) Travels in France. Edited by Miss Betham Edwards. With a Portrait.

HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

22 *Volumes at* 5*s. each.* (5*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

EVELYN'S Diary and Correspondence, with the Private Correspondence of Charles I. and Sir Edward Nicholas, and between Sir Edward Hyde (Earl of Clarendon) and Sir Richard Browne. Edited from the Original MSS. by W. Bray, F.A.S. 4 vols. 45 Engravings (after Vandyke, Lely, Kneller, and Jamieson, &c.).

N.B.—This edition contains 130 letters from Evelyn and his wife, printed by permission, and contained in no other edition.

PEPYS' Diary and Correspondence. With Life and Notes, by Lord Braybrooke. With Appendix containing additional Letters and Index. 4 vols., with 31 Engravings (after Vandyke, Sir P. Lely, Holbein, Kneller, &c.).

N.B.—This is a reprint of Lord Braybrooke's fourth and last edition, containing all his latest notes and corrections, the copyright of the publishers.

JESSE'S Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. 3 vols. With Index and 42 Portraits (after Vandyke, Lely, &c.).

—— **Memoirs of the Pretenders and** their Adherents. 6 Portraits.

NUGENT'S (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party and Times. With Memoir. 12 Portraits (after Vandyke and others).

STRICKLAND'S (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest. From authentic Documents, public and private. 6 Portraits. 6 vols.

—— **Life of Mary Queen of Scots.** 2 Portraits. 2 vols.

—— **Lives of the Tudor and Stuart** Princesses. With 2 Portraits.

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY.

17 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (3*l.* 19*s. per set.*)

BACON'S Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. With Notes by J. Devey, M.A.

BAX. A Handbook of the History of Philosophy, for the use of Students. By E. Belfort Bax, Editor of Kant's 'Prolegomena.'

COMTE'S Philosophy of the Sciences. An Exposition of the Principles of the *Cours de Philosophie Positive.* By G. H. Lewes, Author of 'The Life of Goethe.'

DRAPER (Dr. J. W.) A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. 2 vols.

HEGEL'S Philosophy of History. By J. Sibree, M.A.

KANT'S Critique of Pure Reason. By J. M. D. Meiklejohn.

—— **Prolegomena and Metaphysical** Foundations of Natural Science, with Biography and Memoir by E. Belfort Bax. Portrait.

LOGIC, or the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. Devey.

MILLER (Professor). History Philosophically Illustrated, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. With Memoir. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

SCHOPENHAUER on the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and on the Will in Nature. Trans. from the German.

—— **Essays.** Selected and Translated by E. Belfort Bax.

SPINOZA'S Chief Works. Trans. with Introduction by R. H. M. Elwes. 2 vols.

Vol. I.—Tractatus Theologico-Politicus —Political Treatise.

Vol. II.—Improvement of the Understanding—Ethics—Letters.

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.

15 *Vols. at* 5*s. each* (*except Chillingworth,* 3*s.* 6*d.*). (3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BLEEK. Introduction to the Old Testament. By Friedrich Bleek. Trans. under the supervision of Rev. E. Venables, Residentiary Canon of Lincoln. 2 vols.

CHILLINGWORTH'S Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

EUSEBIUS. Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea. Trans. by Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. With Notes, Life, and Chronological Tables.

EVAGRIUS. History of the Church. —*See Theodoret.*

HARDWICK. History of the Articles of Religion; to which is added a Series of Documents from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1615. Ed. by Rev. F. Proctor.

HENRY'S (Matthew) Exposition of the Book of Psalms. Numerous Woodcuts.

PEARSON (John, D.D.) Exposition of the Creed. Edit. by E. Walford, M.A. With Notes, Analysis, and Indexes.

PHILO-JUDÆUS, Works of. The Contemporary of Josephus. Trans. by C. D. Yonge. 4 vols.

PHILOSTORGIUS. Ecclesiastical History of.—*See Sozomen.*

SOCRATES' Ecclesiastical History. Comprising a History of the Church from Constantine, A.D. 305, to the 38th year of Theodosius II. With Short Account of the Author, and selected Notes.

SOZOMEN'S Ecclesiastical History. A.D. 324-440. With Notes, Prefatory Remarks by Valesius, and Short Memoir. Together with the ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS, as epitomised by Photius. Trans. by Rev. E. Walford, M.A. With Notes and brief Life.

THEODORET and EVAGRIUS. Histories of the Church from A.D. 332 to the Death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, A.D. 427; and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544. With Memoirs.

WIESELER'S (Karl) Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. Trans. by Rev. Canon Venables.

ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

35 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (8*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. — *See Bede.*

ASSER'S Life of Alfred.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

BEDE'S (Venerable) Ecclesiastical History of England. Together with the ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. With Notes, Short Life, Analysis, and Map. Edit. by J. A. Giles, D.C.L.

BOETHIUS'S Consolation of Philosophy. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of. With an English Translation on opposite pages, Notes, Introduction, and Glossary, by Rev. S. Fox, M.A. To which is added the Anglo-Saxon Version of the METRES OF BOETHIUS, with a free Translation by Martin F. Tupper, D.C.L.

BRAND'S Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar and Provincial Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions. By Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S. Frontispiece. 3 vols.

CHRONICLES of the CRUSADES. Contemporary Narratives of Richard Cœur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade at Saint Louis, by Lord John de Joinville. With Short Notes. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

DYER'S (T. F. T.) British Popular Customs, Present and Past. An Account of the various Games and Customs associated with different Days of the Year in the British Isles, arranged according to the Calendar. By the Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A.

EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. Comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Sæwulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De la Brocquière, and Maundrell; all unabridged. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright. Map of Jerusalem.

ELLIS (G.) Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, relating to Arthur, Merlin, Guy of Warwick, Richard Cœur de Lion, Charlemagne, Roland, &c. &c. With Historical Introduction by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Illuminated Frontispiece from an old MS.

ETHELWERD. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER'S Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History from the Departure of the Romans to the Reign of Edward I. Trans., with Notes, by Thomas Forester, M.A.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories invented by the Monks. Trans. with Notes by the Rev. Charles Swan. Edit. by W. Hooper, M.A.

GILDAS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS' Historical Works. Containing Topography of Ireland, and History of the Conquest of Ireland, by Th. Forester, M.A. Itinerary through Wales, and Description of Wales, by Sir R. Colt Hoare.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to the Accession of Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, and the Letter to Walter. By T. Forester, M.A. Frontispiece from an old MS.

INGULPH'S Chronicles of the Abbey of Croyland, with the CONTINUATION by Peter of Blois and others. Trans. with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A.

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Fairy Mythology, illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries. Frontispiece by Cruikshank.

LEPSIUS'S Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; to which are added, Extracts from his Chronology of the Egyptians, with reference to the Exodus of the Israelites. By L. and J. B. Horner. Maps and Coloured View of Mount Barkal.

MALLET'S Northern Antiquities, or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religions, and Literature of the Ancient Scandinavians. Trans. by Bishop Percy. With Translation of the PROSE EDDA, and Notes by J. A. Blackwell. Also an Abstract of the 'Eyrbyggia Saga' by Sir Walter Scott. With Glossary and Coloured Frontispiece.

MARCO POLO'S Travels; with Notes and Introduction. Edit. by T. Wright.

MATTHEW PARIS'S English History, from 1235 to 1273. By Rev. J. A. Giles, D.C.L. With Frontispiece. 3 vols.—*See also Roger of Wendover.*

MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER'S Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain, from the beginning of the World to A.D. 1307. By C. D. Yonge. 2 vols.

NENNIUS. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ORDERICUS VITALIS' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. With Notes, Introduction of Guizot, and the Critical Notice of M. Delille, by T. Forester, M.A. To which is added the CHRONICLE OF ST. EVROULT. With General and Chronological Indexes. 4 vols.

PAULI'S (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. To which is appended Alfred's ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS. With literal Translation interpaged, Notes, and an ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR and Glossary, by B. Thorpe. Frontispiece.

RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER. Chronicle of.—*See Six O. E. Chronicles.*

ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S Annals of English History, comprising the History of England and of other Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. With Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

ROGER OF WENDOVER'S Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. With Notes and Index by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols.

SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES: viz., Asser's Life of Alfred and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester. Edit., with Notes, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Portrait of Alfred.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S Chronicle of the Kings of England, from the Earliest Period to King Stephen. By Rev. J. Sharpe. With Notes by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. Frontispiece.

YULE-TIDE STORIES. A Collection of Scandinavian and North-German Popular Tales and Traditions, from the Swedish, Danish, and German. Edit. by B. Thorpe.

ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

78 *Vols. at 5s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (19*l.* 7*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

ALLEN'S (Joseph, R.N.) Battles of the British Navy. Revised edition, with Indexes of Names and Events, and 57 Portraits and Plans. 2 vols.

ANDERSEN'S Danish Fairy Tales. By Caroline Peachey. With Short Life and 120 Wood Engravings.

ARIOSTO'S Orlando Furioso. In English Verse by W. S. Rose. With Notes and Short Memoir. Portrait after Titian, and 24 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

BECHSTEIN'S Cage and Chamber Birds: their Natural History, Habits, &c. Together with SWEET'S BRITISH WARBLERS. 43 Coloured Plates and Woodcuts.

BONOMI'S Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ. 7 Plates and 294 Woodcuts.

BUTLER'S Hudibras, with Variorum Notes and Biography. Portrait and 28 Illustrations.

CATTERMOLE'S Evenings at Haddon Hall. Romantic Tales of the Olden Times. With 24 Steel Engravings after Cattermole.

CHINA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. Map, and nearly 100 Illustrations.

CRAIK'S (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Numerous Woodcut Portraits.

CRUIKSHANK'S Three Courses and a Dessert; comprising three Sets of Tales, West Country, Irish, and Legal; and a Mélange. With 50 Illustrations by Cruikshank.

— Punch and Judy. The Dialogue of the Puppet Show; an Account of its Origin, &c. 24 Illustrations and Coloured Plates by Cruikshank.

DANTE, in English Verse, by I. C. Wright, M.A. With Introduction and Memoir. Portrait and 34 Steel Engravings after Flaxman.

DIDRON'S Christian Iconography; a History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. By the late A. N. Didron. Trans. by E. J. Millington, and completed, with Additions and Appendices, by Margaret Stokes. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations.

Vol. I. The History of the Nimbus, the Aureole, and the Glory; Representations of the Persons of the Trinity.

Vol. II. The Trinity; Angels; Devils; The Soul; The Christian Scheme. Appendices.

DYER (Dr. T. H.) Pompeii: its Buildings and Antiquities. An Account of the City, with full Description of the Remains and Recent Excavations, and an Itinerary for Visitors. By T. H. Dyer, LL.D. Nearly 300 Wood Engravings, Map, and Plan. 7*s.* 6*d.*

— Rome: History of the City, with Introduction on recent Excavations. 8 Engravings, Frontispiece, and 2 Maps.

GIL BLAS. The Adventures of. From the French of Lesage by Smollett. 24 Engravings after Smirke, and 10 Etchings by Cruikshank. 612 pages. 6*s.*

GRIMM'S Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, containing 42 Fairy Tales. By Edgar Taylor. Numerous Woodcuts after Cruikshank and Ludwig Grimm. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOLBEIN'S Dance of Death and Bible Cuts. Upwards of 150 Subjects, engraved in facsimile, with Introduction and Descriptions by the late Francis Douce and Dr. Dibdin.

INDIA, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times. 100 Engravings on Wood and Map.

JESSE'S Anecdotes of Dogs. With 40 Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick, and others; and 34 Steel Engravings after Cooper and Landseer.

KING'S (C. W.) Natural History of Precious Stones and Metals. Illustrations. 6*s.*

LODGE'S Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs. 240 Portraits engraved on Steel, with the respective Biographies unabridged. Complete in 8 vols.

LONGFELLOW'S Poetical Works, including his Translations and Notes. 24 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others, and a Portrait.

—— Without the Illustrations, 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Prose Works.** With 16 full-page Woodcuts by Birket Foster and others.

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Entertaining Naturalist. Popular Descriptions, Tales, and Anecdotes, of more than 500 Animals. Numerous Woodcuts.

MARRYAT'S (Capt., R.N.) Master-man Ready; or, the Wreck of the *Pacific.* (Written for Young People.) With 93 Woodcuts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Mission; or, Scenes in Africa.** (Written for Young People.) Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Pirate and Three Cutters.** (Written for Young People.) With a Memoir. 8 Steel Engravings after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Privateersman.** Adventures by Sea and Land One Hundred Years Ago. (Written for Young People.) 8 Steel Engravings. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Settlers in Canada.** (Written for Young People.) 10 Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Poor Jack.** (Written for Young People.) With 16 Illustrations after Clarkson Stanfield, R.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Midshipman Easy.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

—— **Peter Simple.** With 8 full-page Illustrations. Small post 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAXWELL'S Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. Frontispiece and 4 Portraits.

MICHAEL ANGELO and RAPHAEL, Their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremère de Quincy. Portraits and Engravings, including the Last Judgment, and Cartoons.

MUDIE'S History of British Birds. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. 52 Figures of Birds and 7 coloured Plates of Eggs. 2 vols.

NAVAL and MILITARY HEROES of Great Britain; a Record of British Valour on every Day in the year, from William the Conqueror to the Battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieut. P. H. Nicolas, R.M. Indexes. 24 Portraits after Holbein, Reynolds, &c. 6*s.*

NICOLINI'S History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. 8 Portraits.

PETRARCH'S Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems, in English Verse. With Life by Thomas Campbell. Portrait and 15 Steel Engravings.

PICKERING'S History of the Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution; with AN ANALYTICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN. By Dr. Hall. Map of the World and 12 coloured Plates.

PICTORIAL HANDBOOK OF Modern Geography on a Popular Plan. Compiled from the best Authorities, English and Foreign, by H. G. Bohn. 150 Woodcuts and 51 coloured Maps.

—— Without the Maps, 3*s.* 6*d.*

POPE'S Poetical Works, including Translations. Edit., with Notes, by R. Carruthers. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations.

—— **Homer's Iliad,** with Introduction and Notes by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs.

—— **Homer's Odyssey,** with the BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE, Hymns, &c., by other translators including Chapman. Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. With Flaxman's Designs.

—— **Life,** including many of his Letters. By R. Carruthers. Numerous Illustrations.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, and other objects of Vertu. Comprising an Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection, with the prices and names of the Possessors. Also an Introductory Lecture on Pottery and Porcelain, and an Engraved List of all Marks and Monograms. By H. G. Bohn. Numerous Woodcuts.

—— With coloured Illustrations, 10*s.* 6*d.*

PROUT'S (Father) Reliques. Edited by Rev. F. Mahony. Copyright edition, with the Author's last corrections and additions. 21 Etchings by D. Maclise, R.A. Nearly 600 pages.

RECREATIONS IN SHOOTING. With some Account of the Game found in the British Isles, and Directions for the Management of Dog and Gun. By 'Craven.' 62 Woodcuts and 9 Steel Engravings after A. Cooper, R.A.

RENNIE. Insect Architecture. Revised by Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. 186 Woodcuts.

ROBINSON CRUSOE. With Memoir of Defoe, 12 Steel Engravings and 74 Woodcuts after Stothard and Harvey.

—— Without the Engravings, 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. An Account in 1817 of the Ruins of the Ancient City, and Monuments of Modern Times. By C. A. Eaton. 34 Steel Engravings. 2 vols.

SHARPE (S.) The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. 2 Maps and upwards of 400 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

SOUTHEY'S Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes, Facsimiles of Nelson's Writing, Portraits, Plans, and 50 Engravings, after Birket Foster, &c.

STARLING'S (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. With 14 Steel Portraits.

STUART and REVETT'S Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece; with Glossary of Terms used in Grecian Architecture. 71 Steel Plates and numerous Woodcuts.

SWEET'S British Warblers. 5*s.*—*See Bechstein.*

TALES OF THE GENII; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Trans. by Sir C. Morrell. Numerous Woodcuts.

TASSO'S Jerusalem Delivered. In English Spenserian Verse, with Life, by J. H. Wiffen. With 8 Engravings and 24 Woodcuts.

WALKER'S Manly Exercises; containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. 44 Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

WALTON'S Complete Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, by Izaak Walton and Charles Cotton. With Memoirs and Notes by E. Jesse. Also an Account of Fishing Stations, Tackle, &c., by H. G. Bohn. Portrait and 203 Woodcuts, and 26 Engravings on Steel.

—— **Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker,** &c., with Notes. A New Edition, revised by A. H. Bullen, with a Memoir of Izaak Walton by William Dowling. 6 Portraits, 6 Autograph Signatures, &c.

WELLINGTON, Life of. From the Materials of Maxwell. 18 Steel Engravings.

—— **Victories of.**—*See Maxwell.*

WESTROPP (H. M.) A Handbook of Archæology, Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman. By H. M. Westropp. Numerous Illustrations.

WHITE'S Natural History of Sel-borne, with Observations on various Parts of Nature, and the Naturalists' Calendar. Sir W. Jardine. Edit., with Notes and Memoir, by E. Jesse. 40 Portraits and coloured Plates.

CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK AND LATIN.

103 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (25*l.* 3*s. per set.*)

ACHILLES TATIUS.—*See Greek Romances.*

ÆSCHYLUS, The Dramas of. In English Verse by Anna Swanwick. 4th edition.

—— **The Tragedies of.** In Prose, with Notes and Introduction, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. History of Rome during the Reigns of Constantius, Julian, Jovianus, Valentinian, and Valens, by C. D. Yonge, B.A. Double volume. 7*s.* 6*d.*

ANTONINUS (M. Aurelius), The Thoughts of. Translated, with Notes. Biographical Sketch, and Essay on the Philosophy, by George Long, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.* Fine Paper edition on hand-made paper. 6*s.*

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. 'The Argonautica.' Translated by E. P. Coleridge.

APULEIUS, The Works of. Comprising the Golden Ass, God of Socrates, Florida, and Discourse of Magic, &c. Frontispiece.

ARISTOPHANES' Comedies. Trans., with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. Hickie. Portrait. 2 vols.

ARISTOTLE'S Nicomachean Ethics. Trans., with Notes, Analytical Introduction, and Questions for Students, by Ven. Archdn. Browne.

— **Politics and Economics.** Trans., with Notes, Analyses, and Index, by E. Walford, M.A., and an Essay and Life by Dr. Gillies.

— **Metaphysics.** Trans., with Notes, Analysis, and Examination Questions, by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, M.A.

— **History of Animals.** In Ten Books. Trans., with Notes and Index, by R. Cresswell, M.A.

— **Organon;** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry. With Notes, Analysis, and Introduction, by Rev. O. F. Owen, M.A. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Trans., with Hobbes' Analysis, Exam. Questions, and Notes, by T. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

ATHENÆUS. The Deipnosophists. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. With an Appendix of Poetical Fragments. 3 vols.

ATLAS of Classical Geography. 22 large Coloured Maps. With a complete Index. Imp. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BION.—*See Theocritus.*

CÆSAR. Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, with the Supplementary Books attributed to Hirtius, including the complete Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Portrait.

CATULLUS, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. Trans. with Notes and Biographical Introduction. To which are added, Metrical Versions by Lamb, Grainger, and others. Frontispiece.

CICERO'S Orations. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A. 4 vols.

— **On Oratory and Orators.** With Letters to Quintus and Brutus. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

— **On the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, Consulship. Trans. by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

— **Academics,** De Finibus, and Tusculan Questions. By C. D. Yonge, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophers mentioned by Cicero.

CICERO'S Works.—*Continued.*

— **Offices;** or, Moral Duties. Cato Major, an Essay on Old Age; Lælius, an Essay on Friendship; Scipio's Dream; Paradoxes; Letter to Quintus on Magistrates. Trans., with Notes, by C. R. Edmonds. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

DEMOSTHENES' Orations. Trans., with Notes, Arguments, a Chronological Abstract, and Appendices, by C. Rann Kennedy. 5 vols. (One, 3*s.* 6*d.*; four, 5*s.*)

DICTIONARY of LATIN and GREEK Quotations; including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms and Phrases. With the Quantities marked, and English Translations. With Index Verborum (622 pages).

— Index Verborum to the above, with the *Quantities* and Accents marked (56 pages), limp cloth. 1*s.*

DIOGENES LAERTIUS. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Trans., with Notes, by C. D. Yonge, B.A.

EPICTETUS. The Discourses of. With the Encheiridion and Fragments. With Notes, Life, and View of his Philosophy, by George Long, M.A.

EURIPIDES. Trans. by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 2 vols.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY. In English Prose by G. Burges, M.A. With Metrical Versions by Bland, Merivale, and others.

GREEK ROMANCES of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius; viz., The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea; Amours of Daphnis and Chloe; and Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. R. Smith, M.A.

HELIODORUS.—*See Greek Romances.*

HERODOTUS. Literally trans. by Rev. Henry Cary, M.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HESIOD, CALLIMACHUS, and Theognis. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Notices by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. Together with the Metrical Versions of Hesiod, by Elton; Callimachus, by Tytler; and Theognis, by Frere.

HOMER'S Iliad. In English Prose, with Notes by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait.

— **Odyssey,** Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. In English Prose, with Notes and Memoir by T. A. Buckley, B.A.

HORACE. In Prose by Smart, with Notes selected by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

JULIAN THE EMPEROR. Containing Gregory Mazianzen's Two Invectives and Libanus' Monody, with Julian's Theosophical Works. By the Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS, and Eutropius. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A.

JUVENAL, PERSIUS, SULPICIA, and Lucilius. In Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, by L. Evans, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius by Gifford. Frontispiece.

LIVY. The History of Rome. Trans. by Dr. Spillan and others. 4 vols. Portrait.

LONGUS. Daphnis and Chloe.—*See Greek Romances.*

LUCAN'S Pharsalia. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley.

LUCIAN'S Dialogues of the Gods, of the Sea Gods, and of the Dead. Trans. by Howard Williams, M.A.

LUCRETIUS. In Prose, with Notes and Biographical Introduction by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. To which is added the Metrical Version by J. M. Good.

MARTIAL'S Epigrams, complete. In Prose, with Verse Translations selected from English Poets, and other sources. Dble. vol. (670 pages). *7s. 6d.*

MOSCHUS.—*See Theocritus.*

OVID'S Works, complete. In Prose, with Notes and Introduction. 3 vols.

PAUSANIAS' Description of Greece. Trans., with Notes and Index, by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols.

PHALARIS. Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop. With Introduction and Notes by Prof. W. Wagner, Ph.D.

PINDAR. In Prose, with Introduction and Notes by Dawson W. Turner. Together with the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore. Portrait.

PLATO'S Works. Trans. by Rev. H. Cary, H. Davis, and G. Burges. 6 vols.

—— Dialogues. A Summary and Analysis of. With Analytical Index to the Greek text of modern editions and to the above translations, by A. Day, LL.D.

PLAUTUS'S Comedies. In Prose, with Notes by H. T. Riley, B.A. 2 vols.

PLINY'S Natural History. Trans., with Notes, by J. Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. 6 vols.

PLINY. The Letters of Pliny the Younger. Melmoth's Translation, revised, with Notes and short Life, by Rev. F. C. T. Bosanquet, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S Morals. Theosophical Essays. Trans. by Rev. C. W. King, M.A.

—— Ethical Essays. Trans. by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, M.A.

—— Lives. *See page 7.*

PROPERTIUS, The Elegies of. With Notes, translated by Rev. P. J. F. Gantillon, M.A., with metrical versions of Select Elegies by Nott and Elton. *3s. 6d.*

QUINTILIAN'S Institutes of Oratory. Trans., by Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. 2 vols.

SALLUST, FLORUS, and VELLEIUS Paterculus. Trans., with Notes and Biographical Notices, by J. S. Watson, M.A.

SENECA DE BENEFICIIS. Translated by Aubrey Stewart, M.A. *3s. 6d.*

SENECA'S Minor Essays. Translated by A. Stewart, M.A.

SOPHOCLES. The Tragedies of. In Prose, with Notes, Arguments, and Introduction. Portrait.

STRABO'S Geography. Trans., with Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton. Copious Index, giving Ancient and Modern Names. 3 vols.

SUETONIUS' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars and Lives of the Grammarians. The Translation of Thomson, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester.

TACITUS. The Works of. Trans., with Notes. 2 vols.

TERENCE and PHÆDRUS. In English Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by H. T. Riley, B.A. To which is added Smart's Metrical Version of Phædrus. With Frontispiece.

THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS, and Tyrtæus. In Prose, with Notes and Arguments, by Rev. J. Banks, M.A. To which are appended the METRICAL VERSIONS of Chapman. Portrait of Theocritus.

THUCYDIDES. The Peloponnesian War. Trans., with Notes, by Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. 2 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

TYRTÆUS.—*See Theocritus.*

VIRGIL. The Works of. In Prose, with Notes by Davidson. Revised, with additional Notes and Biographical Notice, by T. A. Buckley, B.A. Portrait. *3s. 6d.*

XENOPHON'S Works. Trans., with Notes, by J. S. Watson, M.A., and Rev. H. Dale. Portrait. In 3 vols.

COLLEGIATE SERIES.

11 *Vols. at* 5*s. each.* (2*l.* 15*s. per set.*)

DANTE. The Inferno. Prose Trans., with the Text of the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by John A. Carlyle, M.D. Portrait.

— **The Purgatorio.** Prose Trans., with the Original on the same page, and Explanatory Notes, by W. S. Dugdale.

DOBREE'S Adversaria. (Notes on the Greek and Latin Classics.) Edited by the late Prof. Wagner. 2 vols.

DONALDSON (Dr.) The Theatre of the Greeks. With Supplementary Treatise on the Language, Metres, and Prosody of the Greek Dramatists. Numerous Illustrations and 3 Plans. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D.

GOETHE'S Faust. Part I. German Text, with Hayward's Prose Translation and Notes. Revised, with Introduction and Bibliography, by Dr. Ç. A. Buchheim. 5*s.*

KEIGHTLEY'S (Thomas) Mythology of Ancient Greece and Italy. Revised by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. 12 Plates.

HERODOTUS, Notes on. Original and Selected from the best Commentators. By D. W. Turner, M.A. Coloured Map.

— **Analysis and Summary of,** with a Synchronistical Table of Events—Tables of Weights, Measures, Money, and Distances—an Outline of the History and Geography—and the Dates completed from Gaisford, Baehr, &c. By J. T. Wheeler.

NEW TESTAMENT (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the Readings of Mill and Scholz, and Parallel References. Also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. Two Fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts. 650 pages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

— or bound up with a Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (250 pages additional, making in all 900). 5*s.*

The Lexicon separately, 2*s.*

THUCYDIDES. An Analysis and Summary of. With Chronological Table of Events, &c., by J. T. Wheeler.

SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

48 *Vols. at* 5*s. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (12*l.* 10*s. per set.*)

AGASSIZ and GOULD. Outline of Comparative Physiology. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. With Index and 300 Illustrative Woodcuts.

BOLLEY'S Manual of Technical Analysis; a Guide for the Testing and Valuation of the various Natural and Artificial Substances employed in the Arts and Domestic Economy, founded on the work of Dr. Bolley. Edit. by Dr. Paul. 100 Woodcuts.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.

— **Bell (Sir Charles) on the Hand;** its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as evincing Design. Preceded by an Account of the Author's Discoveries in the Nervous System by A. Shaw. Numerous Woodcuts.

— **Kirby on the History, Habits,** and Instincts of Animals. With Notes by T. Rymer Jones. 100 Woodcuts. 2 vols.

— **Buckland's Geology and Mineralogy.** With Additions by Prof. Owen, Prof. Phillips, and R. Brown. Memoir of Buckland. Portrait. 2 vols. 15*s.* Vol. I. Text. Vol. II. 90 large plates with letterpress.

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES. *Continued.*

— **Chalmers on the Adaptation of** External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. With Memoir by Rev. Dr. Cumming. Portrait.

— **Prout's Treatise on Chemistry,** Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, with reference to Natural Theology. Edit. by Dr. J. W. Griffith. 2 Maps.

— **Roget's Animal and Vegetable** Physiology. 463 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

— **Kidd on the Adaptation of External** Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CARPENTER'S (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. A Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief Forms of Fossil Remains. Revised by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Numerous Woodcuts. 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

— **Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy,** and Horology. A Popular Exposition. 181 Woodcuts.

CARPENTER'S Works.—*Continued.*

— **Vegetable Physiology and Systematic Botany.** A complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. Revised by E. Lankester, M.D., &c. Numerous Woodcuts. *6s.*

— **Animal Physiology.** Revised Edition. 300 Woodcuts. *6s.*

CHEVREUL on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their Application to the Arts; including Painting, Decoration, Tapestries, Carpets, Mosaics, Glazing, Staining, Calico Printing, Letterpress Printing, Map Colouring, Dress, Landscape and Flower Gardening, &c. Trans. by C. Martel. Several Plates.

— With an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours, *7s. 6d.*

ENNEMOSER'S History of Magic. Trans. by W. Howitt. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Second Sight, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. 2 vols.

HOGG'S (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Being an Easy Introduction to the Study of Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. 400 Woodcuts.

HUMBOLDT'S Cosmos; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Trans. by E. C. Otté, B. H. Paul, and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. Portrait. 5 vols. *3s. 6d.* each, excepting vol. v., *5s.*

— **Personal Narrative of his Travels** in America during the years 1799–1804. Trans., with Notes, by T. Ross. 3 vols.

— **Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of** Creation, with Scientific Illustrations. Trans. by E. C. Otté.

HUNT'S (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, Professor at the School of Mines.

JOYCE'S Scientific Dialogues. A Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. For Schools and Young People. Numerous Woodcuts.

JUKES-BROWNE'S Student's Handbook of Physical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, of the Geological Survey of England. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations, *6s.*

JUKES-BROWNE'S Works.—*Cont.*

— **The Student's Handbook of** Historical Geology. By A. J. Jukes-Brown, B.A., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey of England and Wales. With numerous Diagrams and Illustrations. *6s.*

— **The Building of the British** Islands. A Study in Geographical Evolution. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, F.G.S. *7s. 6d.*

KNIGHT'S (Charles) Knowledge is Power. A Popular Manual of Political Economy.

LILLY. Introduction to Astrology. With a Grammar of Astrology and Tables for calculating Nativities, by Zadkiel.

MANTELL'S (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and along the Dorset Coast. Numerous Woodcuts and Geological Map.

— **Petrifactions and their Teachings.** Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. Numerous Woodcuts. *6s.*

— **Wonders of Geology; or, a** Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. A coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and 200 Woodcuts. 2 vols. *7s. 6d.* each.

SCHOUW'S Earth, Plants, and Man. Popular Pictures of Nature. And Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Trans. by A. Henfrey, F.R.S. Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.

SMITH'S (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Scriptures and Geological Science. With Memoir.

STANLEY'S Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, including an Account of some of the early German Masters. By George Stanley.

STAUNTON'S Chess Works.—*See page 21.*

STÖCKHARDT'S Experimental Chemistry. A Handbook for the Study of the Science by simple Experiments. Edit. by C. W. Heaton, F.C.S. Numerous Woodcuts.

URE'S (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an Introductory View of its Comparative State in Foreign Countries. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. 150 Illustrations. 2 vols.

— **Philosophy of Manufactures,** or an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain. Revised by P. L. Simmonds. Numerous Figures. 800 pages. *7s. 6d.*

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

GILBART'S History, Principles, and Practice of Banking. Revised to 1881 by A. S. Michie, of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Portrait of Gilbart. 2 vols. *10s.*

RICARDO on the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. Edited by E. C. K. Gonner, M.A., Lecturer, University College, Liverpool. *5s.*

SMITH (Adam). The Wealth of Nations. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of. Edited by E. Belfort Bax. 2 vols. *7s.*

REFERENCE LIBRARY.

32 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (*8l. 3s. per set.*)

BLAIR'S Chronological Tables. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Russian Treaty of Peace, April 1856. By J. W. Rosse. 800 pages. *10s.*

—— **Index of Dates.** Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the Earliest to the Present, alphabetically arranged; being a complete Index to the foregoing. By J. W. Rosse. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

BOHN'S Dictionary of Quotations from the English Poets. 4th and cheaper Edition. *6s.*

BOND'S Handy-book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era. 4th Edition. *5s.*

BUCHANAN'S Dictionary of Science and Technical Terms used in Philosophy, Literature, Professions, Commerce, Arts, and Trades. By W. H. Buchanan, with Supplement. Edited by Jas. A. Smith. *6s.*

CHRONICLES OF THE TOMBS. A Select Collection of Epitaphs, with Essay on Epitaphs and Observations on Sepulchral Antiquities. By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A. *5s.*

CLARK'S (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. Revised by J. R. Planché. *5s.* 950 Illustrations.

—— *With the Illustrations coloured*, *15s.*

COINS, Manual of.—*See Humphreys.*

COOPER'S Biographical Dictionary, Containing concise notices of upwards of 15,000 eminent persons of all ages and countries. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

DATES, Index of.—*See Blair.*

DICTIONARY of Obsolete and Provincial English. Containing Words from English Writers previous to the 19th Century. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

EPIGRAMMATISTS (The). A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times. With Introduction, Notes, Observations, Illustrations, an Appendix on Works connected with Epigrammatic Literature, by Rev. H. Dodd, M.A. *6s.*

GAMES, Handbook of. Edited by Henry G. Bohn. Numerous Diagrams. *5s.* (*See also page 21.*)

HENFREY'S Guide to English Coins. Revised Edition, by C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A. With an Historical Introduction. *6s.*

HUMPHREYS' Coin Collectors' Manual. An Historical Account of the Progress of Coinage from the Earliest Time, by H. N. Humphreys. 140 Illustrations. 2 vols. *5s.* each.

LOWNDES' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. Containing an Account of Rare and Curious Books published in or relating to Great Britain and Ireland, from the Invention of Printing, with Biographical Notices and Prices, by W. T. Lowndes. Revised Edition by H. G. Bohn. 6 vols. cloth, *5s.* each, or in 4 vols., half morocco, *2l. 2s.*

MEDICINE, Handbook of Domestic, Popularly Arranged. By Dr. H. Davies. 700 pages. *5s.*

NOTED NAMES OF FICTION. Dictionary of. Including also Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, &c. By W. A. Wheeler, M.A. *5s.*

POLITICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. A Dictionary of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge; forming a Work of Reference on subjects of Civil Administration, Political Economy, Finance, Commerce, Laws, and Social Relations. 4 vols. *3s. 6d.* each.

PROVERBS, Handbook of. Containing an entire Republication of Ray's Collection, with Additions from Foreign Languages and Sayings, Sentences, Maxims, and Phrases. 5*s.*

—— **A Polyglot of Foreign.** Comprising French, Italian, German, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. With English Translations. 5*s.*

SYNONYMS and ANTONYMS; or, Kindred Words and their Opposites, Collected and Contrasted by Ven. C. J. Smith, M.A. 5*s.*

WRIGHT (Th.)—*See Dictionary.*

NOVELISTS' LIBRARY.

13 *Volumes at* 3*s.* 6*d. each, excepting those marked otherwise.* (2*l.* 8*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BJÖRNSON'S Arne and the Fisher Lassie. Translated from the Norse with an Introduction by W. H. Low, M.A.

BURNEY'S Evelina; or, a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By F. Burney (Mme. D'Arblay). With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis, Author of 'Sylvestra,' &c.

—— **Cecilia.** With Introduction and Notes by A. R. Ellis. 2 vols.

DE STAËL. Corinne or Italy. By Madame de Staël. Translated by Emily Baldwin and Paulina Driver.

EBERS' Egyptian Princess. Trans. by Emma Buchheim.

FIELDING'S Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. With Roscoe's Biography. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.*

—— **Amelia.** Roscoe's Edition, revised. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 5*s.*

—— **History of Tom Jones, a Foundling.** Roscoe's Edition. *Cruikshank's Illustrations.* 2 vols.

GROSSI'S Marco Visconti. Trans. by A. F. D.

MANZONI. The Betrothed: being a Translation of 'I Promessi Sposi.' Numerous Woodcuts. 1 vol. 5*s.*

STOWE (Mrs. H. B.) Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. 8 full-page Illustrations.

ARTISTS' LIBRARY.

9 *Volumes at Various Prices.* (2*l.* 8*s.* 6*d. per set.*)

BELL (Sir Charles). The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression, as Connected with the Fine Arts. 5*s.* Illustrated.

DEMMIN. History of Arms and Armour from the Earliest Period. By Auguste Demmin. Trans. by C. C. Black, M.A., Assistant Keeper, S. K. Museum. 1900 Illustrations. 7*s.* 6*d.*

FAIRHOLT'S Costume in England. Third Edition. Enlarged and Revised by the Hon. H. A. Dillon, F.S.A. With more than 700 Engravings. 2 vols. 5*s.* each.
Vol. I. History. Vol. II. Glossary.

FLAXMAN. Lectures on Sculpture. With Three Addresses to the R.A. by Sir R. Westmacott, R.A., and Memoir of Flaxman. Portrait and 53 Plates. 6*s.*

HEATON'S Concise History of Painting. New Edition, revised by W. Cosmo Monkhouse. 5*s.*

LECTURES ON PAINTING by the Royal Academicians, Barry, Opie, Fuseli. With Introductory Essay and Notes by R. Wornum. Portrait of Fuseli. 5*s.*

LEONARDO DA VINCI'S Treatise on Painting. Trans. by J. F. Rigaud, R.A. With a Life and an Account of his Works by J. W. Brown. Numerous Plates. 5*s.*

PLANCHÉ'S History of British Costume, from the Earliest Time to the 19th Century. By J. R. Planché. 400 Illustrations. 5*s.*

LIBRARY OF SPORTS AND GAMES.

14 Volumes at 3s. 6d. and 5s. each. (2l. 18s. per set.)

BOHN'S Handbooks of Athletic Sports. With numerous Illustrations. In 8 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Vol. I.—Cricket, by Hon. and Rev. E. Lyttelton; Lawn Tennis, by H. W. W. Wilberforce; Tennis, Rackets, and Fives, by Julian Marshall, Major Spens, and J. A. Tait; Golf, by W. T. Linskill; Hockey, by F. S. Creswell.

Vol. II.—Rowing and Sculling, by W. B. Woodgate; Sailing, by E. F. Knight; Swimming, by M. and J. R. Cobbett.

Vol. III.—Boxing, by R. G. Allanson-Winn; Single Stick and Sword Exercise, by R. G. Allanson-Winn and C. Phillipps-Wolley; Wrestling, by Walter Armstrong; Fencing, by H. A. Colmore Dunn.

Vol. IV.—Rugby Football, by Harry Vassall; Association Football, by C. W. Alcock; Baseball, by Newton Crane; Rounders, Field Ball, Bowls, Quoits, Curling, Skittles, &c., by J. M. Walker, M.A., and C. C. Mott.

Vol. V.—Cycling and Athletics, by H. H. Griffin; Skating, by Douglas Adams.

Vol. VI.—Practical Horsemanship, including Riding for Ladies. By W. A. Kerr, V.C.

Vol. VII.—Driving, and Stable Management. By W. A. Kerr, V.C. [*Preparing.*

Vol. VIII.—Gymnastics, by A. F. Jenkin; Clubs and Dumb-bells, by G. T. B. Cobbett and A. F. Jenkin. [*In the press.*

BOHN'S Handbooks of Games. New Edition, entirely rewritten. 2 volumes. 3s. 6d. each.

Vol. I. TABLE GAMES.

Contents:—Billiards, with Pool, Pyramids, and Snooker, by Major-Gen. A. W. Drayson, F.R.A.S., with a preface by W. J. Peall—Bagatelle, by 'Berkeley'—Chess, by R. F. Green—Draughts, Backgammon, Dominoes, Solitaire, Reversi, Go Bang, Rouge et noir, Roulette, E.O., Hazard, Faro, by 'Berkeley.'

Vol. II. CARD GAMES.

Contents:—Whist, by Dr. William Pole, F.R.S., Author of 'The Philosophy of Whist, &c.'—Solo Whist, by R. F. Green; Piquet, Ecarté, Euchre, Bézique, and Cribbage, by 'Berkeley;' Poker, Loo, Vingt-et-un, Napoleon, Newmarket, Rouge et Noir, Pope Joan, Speculation, &c. &c., by Baxter-Wray.

CHESS CONGRESS of 1862. A collection of the games played. Edited by J. Löwenthal. New edition, 5s.

MORPHY'S Games of Chess, being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with explanatory and analytical Notes by J. Löwenthal. With short Memoir and Portrait of Morphy. 5s.

STAUNTON'S Chess-Player's Handbook. A Popular and Scientific Introduction to the Game, with numerous Diagrams. 5s.

—— Chess Praxis. A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing the most important modern Improvements in the Openings; Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Morphy's Games. Annotated. 636 pages. Diagrams. 5s.

—— Chess-Player's Companion. Comprising a Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, including the French Match with M. St. Amant, and a Selection of Original Problems. Diagrams and Coloured Frontispiece. 5s.

—— Chess Tournament of 1851. A Collection of Games played at this celebrated assemblage. With Introduction and Notes. Numerous Diagrams. 5s.

BOHN'S CHEAP SERIES.

Price 1s. *each.*

A Series of Complete Stories or Essays, mostly reprinted from Vols. in Bohn's Libraries, and neatly bound in stiff paper cover, with cut edges, suitable for Railway Reading.

ASCHAM (Roger). Scholemaster. By Professor Mayor.

CARPENTER (Dr. W. B.). Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence.

EMERSON. England and English Characteristics. Lectures on the Race, Ability, Manners, Truth, Character, Wealth, Religion. &c. &c.

— **Nature:** An Essay. To which are added Orations, Lectures, and Addresses.

— **Representative Men:** Seven Lectures on PLATO, SWEDENBORG, MONTAIGNE, SHAKESPEARE, NAPOLEON, and GOETHE.

— **Twenty Essays on Various Subjects.**

— **The Conduct of Life.**

FRANKLIN (Benjamin). Autobiography. Edited by J. Sparks.

HAWTHORNE (Nathaniel). Twice-told Tales. Two Vols.

— **Snow Image,** and Other Tales.

— **Scarlet Letter.**

— **House with the Seven Gables.**

— **Transformation;** or the Marble Fawn. Two Parts.

HAZLITT (W.). Table-talk: Essays on Men and Manners. Three Parts.

— **Plain Speaker:** Opinions on Books, Men, and Things. Three Parts.

— **Lectures on the English Comic** Writers.

— **Lectures on the English Poets.**

— **Lectures on the Characters of** Shakespeare's Plays.

— **Lectures on the Literature of** the Age of Elizabeth, chiefly Dramatic.

IRVING (Washington). Lives of Successors of Mohammed.

— **Life of Goldsmith.**

— **Sketch-book.**

— **Tales of a Traveller.**

— **Tour on the Prairies.**

— **Conquests of Granada and** Spain. Two Parts.

— **Life and Voyages of Columbus.** Two Parts.

— **Companions of Columbus:** Their Voyages and Discoveries.

— **Adventures of Captain Bonneville** in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West.

— **Knickerbocker's History of New** York, from the beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty.

— **Tales of the Alhambra.**

— **Conquest of Florida under Hernando de Soto.**

— **Abbotsford & Newstead Abbey.**

— **Salmagundi;** or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of LAUNCELOT LANGSTAFF, Esq.

— **Bracebridge Hall;** or, The Humourists.

— **Astoria;** or, Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains.

— **Wolfert's Roost,** and other Tales.

LAMB (Charles). Essays of Elia. With a Portrait.

— **Last Essays of Elia.**

— **Eliana.** With Memoir.

MARRYAT (Captain). Pirate and the Three Cutters. With a Memoir of the Author.

Bohn's Select Library of Standard Works.

Price 1*s.* in paper covers, and 1*s.* 6*d.* in cloth.

1. BACON'S ESSAYS. With Introduction and Notes.
2. LESSING'S LAOKOON. Beasley's Translation, revised, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by Edward Bell, M.A. With Frontispiece.
3. DANTE'S INFERNO. Translated, with Notes, by Rev. H. F. Cary.
4. GOETHE'S FAUST. Part I. Translated, with Introduction, by Anna Swanwick.
5. GOETHE'S BOYHOOD. Being Part I. of the Autobiography. Translated by J. Oxenford.
6. SCHILLER'S MARY STUART and THE MAID OF ORLEANS. Translated by J. Mellish and Anna Swanwick.
7. THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH. By the late Dean Alford.
8. LIFE AND LABOURS OF THE LATE THOMAS BRASSEY. By Sir A. Helps, K.C.B.
9. PLATO'S DIALOGUES: The Apology—Crito—Phaedo—Protagoras. With Introductions.
10. MOLIÈRE'S PLAYS: The Miser—Tartuffe—The Shopkeeper turned Gentleman. Translated by C. H. Walt, M.A. With brief Memoir.
11. GOETHE'S REINEKE FOX, in English Hexameters. By A. Rogers.
12. OLIVER GOLDSMITH'S PLAYS.
13. LESSING'S PLAYS: Nathan the Wise—Minna von Barnhelm.
14. PLAUTUS'S COMEDIES: Trinummus — Menaechmi — Aulularia — Captivi.
15. WATERLOO DAYS. By C. A. Eaton. With Preface and Notes by Edward Bell.
16. DEMOSTHENES—ON THE CROWN. Translated by C. Rann Kennedy.
17. THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.
18. OLIVER CROMWELL. By Dr. Reinhold Pauli.
19. THE PERFECT LIFE. By Dr. Channing. Edited by his nephew, Rev. W. H. Channing.
20. LADIES IN PARLIAMENT, HORACE AT ATHENS, and other pieces, by Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart.
21. DEFOE'S THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.
22. IRVING'S LIFE OF MAHOMET.
23. HORACE'S ODES, by various hands. [*Out of Print.*
24. BURKE'S ESSAY ON 'THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL.' With Short Memoir.
25. HAUFF'S CARAVAN.
26. SHERIDAN'S PLAYS.
27. DANTE'S PURGATORIO. Translated by Cary.
28. HARVEY'S TREATISE ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD
29. CICERO'S FRIENDSHIP AND OLD AGE.
30. DANTE'S PARADISO. Translated by Cary.
31. CHRONICLE OF HENRY VIII. Translated by Major M. A. S. Hume.

WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY.

An entirely New Edition of WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY, *thoroughly Revised, considerably Enlarged, and reset in New Type from beginning to end.*

Demy 4to. 2118 *pages,* 3500 *illustrations.*

Prices: Cloth, £1 11s. 6d.; half-calf, £2 2s.; half-russia, £2 5s.; calf, £2 8s. Also in 2 vols. cloth, £1 14s.

In addition to the Dictionary of Words, with their pronunciation, etymology, alternative spellings, and various meanings, illustrated by quotations and numerous woodcuts, there are several valuable appendices, comprising a Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World; Vocabularies of Scripture, Greek, Latin, and English Proper Names; a Dictionary of the noted Names of Fiction; a Brief History of the English Language; a Dictionary of Foreign Quotations, Words, Phrases, Proverbs, &c.; a Biographical Dictionary with 10,000 Names, &c.

This last revision, comprising and superseding the issues of 1847, 1864, and 1880, is by far the most complete that the Work has undergone during the sixty-two years that it has been before the public. Every page has been treated as if the book were now published for the first time.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS ON THE NEW EDITION.

'We believe that, all things considered, this will be found to be the best existing English dictionary in one volume. We do not know of any work similar in size and price which can approach it in completeness of vocabulary, variety of information, and general usefulness.'—*Guardian.*

'The most comprehensive and the most useful of its kind.'—*National Observer.*

'A magnificent edition of Webster's immortal Dictionary.'—*Daily Telegraph.*

'A thoroughly practical and useful dictionary.'—*Standard.*

'A special feature of the present book is the lavish use of engravings, which at once illustrate the verbal explanations of technical and scientific terms, and permit them to remain readably brief. It may be enough to refer to the article on "Cross." By the use of the little numbered diagrams we are spared what would have become a treatise, and not a very clear one. . . . We recommend the new Webster to every man of business, every father of a family, every teacher, and almost every student—to everybody, in fact, who is likely to be posed at an unfamiliar or half-understood word or phrase.'—*St. James's Gazette.*

Prospectuses, with Specimen Pages, on application.

London: GEORGE BELL & SONS, York Street, Covent Garden.

£7

1754

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA.

1754.